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CONTENTS

I Articles

R.E. Aldridge, The Lost Ending of the *Didache* 1
R.E. Aldridge, Peter and the "Two Ways" 233
K. Berding, Polycarp of Smyrna's View of the Authorship of 1 and 2 Timothy 349
W. Fauth, Der christliche Reiterheilige des Sisinnios-Typs im Kampf gegen eine vielnamige Dämonin 401
J. Fossum, The Myth of Eternal Rebirth. Critical Notes on G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* 305
M.D. Goulder, Ignatius' "Docetists" 16
R. Hanig, Tatian und Justin. Ein Vergleich 31
D.D. Hannah, The Ascension of Isaiah and Docetic Christology 165
M. Heath, Echoes of Longinus in Gregory of Nyssa 395
M. Illert, Zum *Descensus ad inferos* bei Makarios 321
H. Jacobson, A New Biblical Etymology 325
F. Lucchesi, Trois éloges coptes de Jean-Baptiste attribués à Athanase, Théophile et Cyrille d'Alexandrie 323
L.S.B. Maccoull, Paul of Tamma and the Monastic Priesthood 316
W. Mayer, Constantinopolitan Women in Chrysostom's Circle 265
E.P. Meijering, Bemerkungen zum Nachleben des Irenäus im Streit der Konfessionen 74
M.D. Nispel, Christian Deification and the Early *Testimonia* 289
D.T. Runia, Philo of Alexandria and the Greek *Hairesis*-Model 117
P. Schüngel, Gnostische Gotteslehren. Zum 7. und 8. Fragment des Basilides, zu Valentins 5. Fragment und zwei antiken Kommentaren zu diesem Fragment 361
G.E. Sterling, 'The School of Sacred Laws': The Social Setting of Philo's Treatises 148
N.L.A. Tidwell, Didache XIV:1 (κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου) Revisited 197

II Reviews

Anatolios, K., *Athanasius: The Coherence of His Thought* (J. Leemans) 444

Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron herausg. von E. Amand de Mendieta und S.Y. Rudberg (J.C.M. van Winden) 209
Bermejo Rubio, F., *La escisión imposible. Lectura del Gnosticismo Valentiniano* (H.G. Schipper) 441
Cirillo, L., Alois van Tongerloo (eds.), *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di studi "Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico"* (H.G. Schipper) 333
Cocchini, F. (ed.), *Il dono e la sua ombra. Richerche di Origene* (R. Roukema) 100
Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe (G.J.M. Bartelink) 438
de Andia, Y., *Henosis. L'Union à Dieu chez Denys l'Aréopagite* (W. Otten) 328
Dillon, J.M., *The Great Tradition: Further Studies in the Development of Platonism and Early Christianity* 214
Dörrie, H., *Der Platonismus in der Antike. Band V* (J.C.M. van Winden) 106
Étaix, R., *Homéliaires patristiques latins. Receuil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux* (A.A.R. Bastiaensen) 220
Freyburger, G., Laurent Pernot (eds.), *Du héros païen au saint chrétien* (H.G. Schipper) 332
Geerard, M., J. Noret, *CLAVIS PATRUM GRAECORUM* (J.C.M. van Winden) 211
Grane, L., Alfred Schindler, Markus Wriedt (Hrsg.), *Auctoritas Patrum II* (J. van Oort) 108
Gregor von Nyssa, Über das Sechstagewerk. Verteidigungsschrift an seinen Bruder Petrus, eingeleitet, übersetzt u. Kommentiert von F.X. Risch (J.C.M. van Winden) 430
Hammond Bammel, C.P., *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes* (G.J.M. Bartelink) 436
Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-A.D. 400, Porter, S.E. (ed) (A. Kamesar) 339
Hengel, M., *Studies in Early Christology* (J. van Oort) 109
Hombert, P.M., *Gloria gratiae. Se glorifier en Dieu, principe et fin de la théologie augustienne de la grâce* (A.A.R. Bastiaensen) 221
Horn, C. (Hrsg.), *Augustinus, De civitate dei* 110
Keller, A., *Translationes Patristicae Graecae et Latinae* (D.T. Runia) .. 213
Lancha, J., *Mosaïque et culture dans l'Occident Romain* (J. van Oort) 109
Lausberg, H., *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study* (J. den Boeft) 102
MacCormack, S., *The Shadows of Poetry. Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* (J. den Boeft) 326

MARCOVICH, M., *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone* (J.C.M. van Winden) 208
MIKKELSEN, G.B., *Bibliographia Manichaica. A Comprehensive Bibliography of Manichaeism through 1996* (H.G. Schipper) 442
PATTERSON, L.G., *Methodius of Olympus: divine sovereignty, human freedom and life in Christ* (A. van den Hoek) 215
PAULSEN, H., *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des frühen Christentums. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (J. van Oort) 101
Petri Callenicensis patriarchae Antiocheni tractatus contra Damianum, Ebied, R.Y., A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham (eds.) (J. Declerck) 436
Pseudo Cipriano, I Due Monti Sinai e Sion a curadi C. Burini (G.F. Diercks) 335
Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Dassmann, E. e.a. (hrsg.) (J.C.M. van Winden) 337
SCHEFOLD, K., *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (D.T. Runia) 212
SCHMITZ, D. (ed.), *Ilona Opelt: Kleine Schriften* (J. den Boeft) 439
SCHRÖTER, J., *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte. Studien zur Rezeption der Logienüberlieferung in Markus, Q und Thomas* (G. Quispel) 426
TER HAAR ROMENY, R.B., *The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (G. Rouwhorst) 434
WALRAFF, M., *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates. Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person* (P. Allen) 104
WYRWA, DIETMAR, BARBARA ALAND, CHRISTOPH SCHÄUBLIN (Hrsg.), *Die Weltlichkeit des Glaubens in der Alten Kirche* 111

Books Received 112, 228, 345, 447

THE LOST ENDING OF THE *DIDACHE*

BY

ROBERT E. ALDRIDGE

The *Didache* was an important document in the early history of the church. Written perhaps as early as the end of the first century, this little book was (after the New Testament) both the first code of Christian morals and the first guide to church life. As such, it was employed for several centuries for moral instruction for new converts and served as a model for later church manuals and ecclesiastical codes. Church fathers such as Clement of Alexandria and Lactantius quote the *Didache* as Scripture, and Athanasius' paschal letter of 367 AD (famed for first presenting the finalized New Testament canon) cites it as one of two works supplementing the New Testament.

After the fourth century, however, the *Didache* declined in use, being displaced by newer catechetical materials and losing official recognition as the focus of church teachings changed. By the Middle Ages it had become a lost work, and was remembered dimly thereafter (if at all) only from citations in early church fathers and listings in later catalogues of rejected and apocryphal works. It would remain forgotten for a thousand years.

In 1873 an Orthodox prelate, Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, discovered at Constantinople an eleventh century Greek manuscript containing several early Christian writings, including the *Didache*. Bryennios discovered the manuscript in the library of the Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulcher, a property of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and therefore named it the Jerusalem Manuscript.[1]

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[1] Some scholars, however, prefer to call it the *Constantinopolitanus*. The manuscript contains (in order) John Chrysostom's *Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments in the Order of Books*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, *1 Clement*, *2 Clement*, a list of the Hebrew scriptures, the *Didache*, the *Epistle of Mary of Cassoboli*, the long form of the pseudo-Ignatian epistles, and (after the subscription) an *explicatio genealogica* on Christ. *1* and *2 Clement* and Chrysostom's Old Testament synopsis were previously incomplete, and the *Didache* and

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Bryennios published the *Didache* in 1883—in the middle of the period excited by the unveiling of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the Revised Version, the Clementine epistles, the *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, the Cairo Genizah (and ancient Troy). The work created a sensation among scholars and public alike both on account of its early date (between 70 and 125 AD by all accounts) and its striking evidence regarding the organization and rituals of the primitive church.[2] By the end of the decade this great discovery (regarded as of prime importance for understanding the first century church) was the subject of hundreds of books and articles, including by every major patristic scholar of the day.

The *Didache*'s text was widely published in translation[3] and editions of the Greek (based on Bryennios) were prepared by Hilgenfeld, Harnack, Wünsche, de Romestin, Orris, Spence, Hitchcock and Brown, and many others. These editions, without exception, reproduced the *Didache*'s text in isolation from the other works of the Jerusalem Manuscript and without comparison to those works. Photographs of the original manuscript (taken by Hale in 1885 and Gillman in 1887)[4] have been largely overlooked by scholars—and it is these to which we will turn shortly.

The Jerusalem Manuscript contains seven early Christian writings (plus two other short compositions), extending for 120 folia (240 pages) almost without break. Each new work begins on the next line following the end of the previous work, with no intervening space, and is indicated only by a *quadrupunctum* before the title and a great initial before the text proper.[5]

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the long form of the Ignatian epistles were previously unknown. *Barnabas*' complete text had only been recently published (1862) from the *Codex Sinaiticus*.

[2] Its instructions for the Eucharist, for example, reverse the order of bread and wine universally used by the later church and invest different meanings to those elements. Priests are absent from the *Didache* (whose instructions for the Eucharist do no include them) and bishops are elected by the laity rather than the clergy.

[3] In English, French, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Modern Greek by 1885.

[4] In 1885 Rev. Charles R. Hale of Baltimore was permitted to photograph three pages of the Jerusalem Manuscript (folios 51b, 76a and 120a), which were reproduced in J. Rendel Harris' *Three Pages of the Bryennios Manuscript* (1885). In 1887 Henry Gillman, U.S. Consul in Jerusalem (to which the manuscript had been moved) was permitted to photograph the Clementine epistles and the *Didache* (folios 51b through 80b). Gillman's photos of the *Didache* appear in Harris' *Teaching of the Apostles* (1887), while those of the Clementine epistles appear in the 1890 edition of Bishop Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers* (Part I, vol. 1).

[5] Leon employs a graded system of punctuation designed primarily to distinguish various elements of a composition. A *quadrupunctum* (sometimes with additional diagonal

(The *Didache*, for example, begins four lines from the bottom of fol. 76a, with a *quadrupunctum* and a great initial, but with no break in space from the previous material.) The work's single scribe, Leon, wrote in small, neat script, abbreviating heavily, using all available space, even filling both sides of the final folium (after his name and date on the recto) with notes on the genealogy of Christ.[6] There is no unused space in the Jerusalem Manuscript.

Except for in the *Didache*, that is, which ends in the middle of fol. 80b, with the entire remaining half-page being left blank—an extraordinary omission![7] The *Didache*'s ending in chapter 16 is also abrupt and unresolved. That chapter recounts the eschaton inclusively up until the point at which it breaks off (the beginning of Christ's return) and is obviously only half-complete. Leon also punctuates the end of the *Didache* with the lower point used to terminate sentences (except at the end of a work), omitting the *bipunctum cum obelo* which he normally uses in the manuscript to indicate the end of a literary work.[8] This point is of considerable importance since Leon was highly conscious of properly formatting the various

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radiants) is used before titles; a *tripunctum* after. A great initial (not strictly punctuation, but part of the system nonetheless) is used at the beginning of literary text; a *bipunctum cum obelo* at the end. A *bipunctum* is used after final tallies; a lower *punctum* to terminate declarative sentences. Upper and middle points, interrogation marks, numeral bars and large crosses are also used. (See note 9.)

[6] Since Leon's scribal skills were clearly of the highest order and the Jerusalem Manuscript is a virtual library of rare ancient Christian writings, it is not unlikely that Leon was specially selected for the task of producing this codex, which seems to have been intended to preserve decaying treasures. (In addition to the *Didache*'s missing ending, the entire second part of Chrysostom's *Synopsis* is missing, lines are missing from *1 Clement* at regular intervals indicating worn lower edges on the sheets of the exemplar, and there are other damages.) The work's deposition in a patriarchal library was doubtless not accidental.

[7] Fol. 80b contains 16 written lines (all of normal size), occupying two-thirds of that page, while 23 lines per page is standard throughout the manuscript. All previous nine pages of the *Didache*, for example, contain 23 lines each.

In all honesty, there may be a second blank area in the Jerusalem Manuscript, although published descriptions of the work do not mention it and the relevant portion of the manuscript is apparently unphotographed. This would be at the end of Chrysostom's *Synopsis*, which work is obviously incomplete since it concludes with Malachi (fol. 32) and lacks the New Testament. Since the following work begins on fol. 33, the question arises whether the spacing and punctuation at the end of the *Synopsis* is similar to that at the end of the *Didache*.

[8] The photographs of Hale and Gillman show the endings of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (fol. 51b), *1 Clement* (70a), *2 Clement* (76a), the *Onomasticon biblicum* (76a), the *Didache* (80b),

elements of a work[9] and there are no other such "errors" in the photographed portions of the manuscript. It is therefore probable that Leon knew his exemplar was defective and left space accordingly.[10]

Indeed, the final chapter of the *Didache* section in *Apostolic Constitutions*

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and Ignatius' *Epistle to the Romans* (120a). *Barnabas, 2 Clement* and Ign. *Romans* terminate with the *bipunctum cum obelo*; the others do not.

1 Clement terminates not with a *bipunctum cum obelo* but with a *crux magna* (used with nonstandard endings; here indicating continuation) because the scribe considers the Clementine epistles to form a set. *1 Clement*, for example, begins with a double *quadrupunctum* representing both works, and the stichometry and rhetometry (tally of Scriptural passages: a rare distinction!) following *2 Clement* give combined totals for the two epistles. The astericized *quadrupuncta* heralding the Clementines and the stichometry and rhetometry postscribed to them—accorded to no other works in the manuscript—indicate the high esteem in which those works were held.

The punctuation scheme employed in the *Onomasticon biblicum* (the transliterated Hebrew canon with Greek equivalents) also ditters from that used elsewhere and reveals the scribe's sense of rankings in his punctuation. The *Onomasticon* begins with a *quadrupunctum* before the superscription (and a *tripunctum* after), lacks a great initial, separates entries with middle points (*cola*), and concludes with a *tripunctum*. These anomalies occur because the *Onomasticon* is not a literary work but a catalogue of items (the Hebrew canon). It has no literary text and hence no great initial nor *bipunctum cum obelo*. The *tripunctum* (used after titles) appropriately concludes this piece: a list of titles.

It might also be mentioned here that the format punctuation used in the *Didache* sheds light on the matter of the two titles given there. The words *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* are followed by title-terminal punctuation and are thus given as the work's title (which in antiquity was usually called the *Teaching of the Apostles*). The longer form *Teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles* occurs at the beginning of the text proper (after the great initial) and therefore constitutes a descriptive sub-title.

[9] The scribe's arrangement, presentation and formatting of materials in the manuscript is characterized by order and hierarchy throughout. Each work's title, text and subscription were assigned terminal markers—based on traditional Greek punctuation—whose functional importance correlate with the sum of their points and strokes. A few marks (such as Greek crosses and initial capitals) fall outside of the system for obvious reasons.

The works in the Jerusalem Manuscript are also arranged in apparent chronological order (by occurrence, not composition; note 1 follows manuscript order). The only exception is the *Onomasticon*, which logically should stand next to Chrysostom's *Synopsis*; perhaps it followed *2 Clement* in the exemplar. The genealogical exposition appears at the end of the manuscript because it was written as "filler" for the unused portion of the last folio.

[10] Since the ends and beginnings of codices and scrolls are frequently mutilated or missing, it is possible that this was the case with the *Didache*'s exemplar. Leon's allocation of the remainder of the page for the missing material may not have been based on a knowledge of how much space was actually needed.

VII—which gives an expanded version of the *Didache*'s text—[11] contains additional material which may represent the *Didache*'s actual ending. Chapter 32 repeats *Didache* 16's eschatological narrative (which breaks off in verse 8 with "then the world will see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven") and continues thus:

> with the angels of His power, in the throne of His kingdom, to condemn the devil, the deceiver of the world, *and to render to every one according to his deeds. Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous shall enter eternal life,* to inherit those things which *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, such things as God hath prepared for them that love Him*; and they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God, which is in Christ Jesus.

There is good evidence that this is the *Didache*'s true ending (approximately). The use of Scriptural material here is highly relevant in this regard. *Didache* 16:3-8 is an apocalyptic passage closely related to that in Matthew, and *Constitutions*' final lines include material also found in Matt. 16, 24 and 25 and 1 Cor. 2:9. Matt. 16:27-28 says: "For the Son of Man will come with His angels in His Father's glory, and then He will repay everyone according to his deeds for his conduct . . . they will see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." This offers a possible source for several of the phrases appearing in the first half of *Constitutions*' ending.

Matt. 24 parallels most of *Didache* 16, but becomes side-tracked in parables[12] after the Second Coming (v. 30), only a few phrases after the point at which Leon's manuscript breaks off. The thread is picked up again at 25:31-46, which repeats the Second Coming before continuing the narration of end-time events. This section is very similar to 16:27-28, but adds *caelum et gehenna* (v. 46) and transforms the *redditio per opera* ("will repay everyone according to . . .") into the Parable of the Sheep and Goats: "When the Son of Man comes in His glory, and all the angels with Him, He will sit upon His glorious throne, and . . . [PSG = *redditio per opera*]. And these will go off to eternal punishment, but the righteous to eternal life."

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[11] Not complete, however. *Constitutions*' most notable differences from the Bryennian *Didache* (other than its interpolations) are its great reduction of the rules for hosting itinerants (chs. 11-12) and significant alterations in the sections on baptism and liturgy (chs. 7, 9 and 10).

[12] The parables on watchfulness derive from the Marcan source (also used by Luke), to which Matthew has added a few more.

This is thus even closer to the first part of *Constitutions*' ending than is Matt. 16:27, both in sequence of phrases and inclusiveness of material (despite omission of the world-deceiver's condemnation),[13] and even closes with the same words. Indeed, *Didache* 16 is almost a repetition of Matt. 24-25 (minus the parables) and must be related to it. *Constitutions* then closes with the *gaudia incomprehensibilia* (1 Cor. 2:9) and a final statement of Christ's kingdom.[14] This ending offers a fuller account of the eschaton than does Bryennios', carrying the Second Coming further and presenting both judgment day and the heavenly reward of believers. *Didache* 16's close parallel of Matthew 24-25 also supports *Constitutions*' additional material which is common with Matthew 24-25 as likely having been original to *Didache* 16.

Constitutions' conclusion, however, has not received widespread acceptance as the *Didache*'s true ending but is generally regarded as a variant. One reason for this is the expanded nature of *Constitutions* VII, which in reproducing the *Didache* harmonizes its text with Scriptural parallels and interpolates much supporting Scriptural material (roughly equal in amount to the *Didache* itself), none of which is identified. All this material is closely interwoven and completely indistinguishable, so that distinguishing the *Didache*'s text is not possible without previous knowledge of it. Indeed, *Constitutions*' ending appears at first glance to be such additional material. Those *Didache* editions which take note of *Constitutions*' ending therefore cite it as a variant.

Some support for *Constitutions*' ending, however, may be found in the Old Georgian version of the *Didache* (the only other one known), whose existence was revealed in 1932 by Gregor Peradse, a professor at the Georgian Orthodox school in Paris.[15] That version comes from an early nineteenth century manuscript found in Constantinople in 1923 and copied by Simon Pheikrishvili, a Georgian who later studied in Paris. The ending of that version reads as follows (with material common with *Constitutions* italicized):

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[13] Note the occurrence of several elements from this line in *Const.* VII 32 in Rev. 20:8-12: Christ's throne, the *redditio per opera*, and the condemnation of the world-deceiving devil. The latter is lacking in the Matthean passages (and indeed all NT references to the devil as the world-deceiver are from the Book of Revelation).

[14] The combination of *redditio per opera* (Matt. 16:27) and *gaudia incomprehensibilia* (1 Cor. 2:9) also occurs at the end of the resurrection discourse in *2 Clement* 11 (following Lightfoot's chapter divisions).

[15] G. Peradse, "Die *Lehre der zwölf Apostel* in der georgischen Überlieferung," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 31 (1932), pp. 111-16; cites divergent readings. The story of the Old Georgian version's discovery is told in Frederick E. Vokes' *The Mystery of the Didache* (London: SPCK, 1938).

> *Then the world will see our Lord* Jesus Christ, the Son of Man who is [simultaneously] Son of God, *coming on the clouds with power and great glory*, in His holy righteousness *to repay every man according to his works* before all mankind and before the angels. Amen.

This continues *Didache* 16:8 with wording similar to that in *Constitutions*, witnessing the *redditio per opera* and presenting Christ's title ("the Son of Man", albeit expanded into a higher Christological statement) and returning features ("power and great glory") in agreement with Matt. 24:30.[16] The Old Georgian ending carries the *Didache*'s eschatological vision on to judgment day and offers a better resolution of final events than does the Bryennian (although inferior to that of *Constitutions*).

Nevertheless, the Old Georgian version has received little scholarly attention—primarily because the Constantinople manuscript disappeared before Pheikrishvili's transcription could be verified.[17] Its text has therefore not been generally used for text critical purposes (although some of its readings have been cited as variants in two recent *Didache* editions).[18] Nor has it received the critical accommodations accorded to similar textual problems in Scripture and ancient literature. (Compare, for example, the critical treatment given the several endings to Mark 16 or certain passages in the *Iliad*.)

There is an argument supporting the genuineness of the additional material of *Constitutions* and the Old Georgian beyond "the clouds of heaven". Some *Didache* editions and commentaries attempt to justify chapter 16's ending at the words "the clouds of heaven" (a truncation of Dan. 7:13) by presenting parallel quotations which stop at the same words (such as Matt. 26:64, Mk. 14:62, or Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, 120). *Didache* 16, however, is an eschatological synopsis and as such agrees closely with the deuteroparousial material of Matt. 24-25. The phrase "upon the clouds of heaven" in Matt. 24:30 is thus significant for *Didache* 16:8.[19] Matt. 26:64

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[16] Paralleled in Luke 21:27 and Mark 13:26.

[17] The text itself is not usually considered suspect (grammatical analysis supports its authenticity and dates it to the second half of the first millennium), but the accuracy of *every word* is not verified.

[18] The Old Georgian ending is cited as a variant in the editions of Schöllgen (1991) and Rordorf and Tuilier (1978).

[19] C.M. Tuckett states the following: "The very close relationship between the *Didache* and Matthew has often been noted. In particular, [*Didache* 16:8] shares with Mark [13:26] and Matthew [24:30] the use of ὄψεται/ὄψονται and the inversion of the order

et al., by contrast, merely cite Jesus' one-sentence response to the high priest regarding His messiahship and lack thematic connection with *Didache* 16. This eliminates Matt. 26:64 as the source of the phrase in *Didache* 16:8 and points to Matt. 24:30 material beyond "clouds of heaven" as likely related to *Didache* 16's missing material.

There is, however, another witness to portions of the *Didache*'s ending—one which has been largely overlooked and whose ending supports that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This is *De abrenuntiatione in baptismate* ("Baptismal Renunciation"), an eighth century catechetical sermon of St. Boniface,[20]

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of 'coming' and 'clouds' as compared with Dan. 7[:13]. Further, the *Didache* agrees with Matthew's redaction of Mark in using ἐπάνω (Matthew ἐπί) for Mark's ἐν with 'clouds', and adding τοῦ οὐρανοῦ." ("Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*" in Jean-Marie Sevrin, ed., *The New Testament in Early Christianity* [Louvain, 1989], p. 203.)

[20] Boniface of Mainz (c. 680-754; born Winfrith), called "the apostle of Germany." In 722 Boniface chopped down the Thunder Oak at Geismar (sacred to Thor) and used its wood to build a church. Thereafter he was able to lead the Hessians and Thuringians to Christianity. Well educated (at Rome) in Latin and Greek, he is credited with devising the Old High German vowel ciphers. His sermons, preserved in Latin, were almost certainly delivered in Old High German. While the authenticity of *Renunciation* (and other sermons of Boniface) has been questioned, its message agrees well with the onset of his Thuringian mission (c. 725), noting, for instance, the prohibition against wearing phylacteries (which had been introduced by earlier Celtic missionaries).

Renunciation comes from a manuscript in the Abbey of St. Hilary in Melk, Austria (where it is entitled *Ammonitio sive praedictio sancti Bonifacii episcopi de abrenuntiatione in baptismate*) and is given in Bernhard Pez' *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* (1721-29; vol. 4), Edmond Martène's *Veterum scriptorum* (1724-33), Martin Kropff's *Bibliotheca Mellicensis* (1747), and J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (1844-55; vol. 89, col. 870, Sermon 15). Pez' *Thesaurus* also contained the Latin fragment of the *Two Ways* (which stands next to *Renunciation* in the Melk manuscript) and it was this that brought that work and abbey to the attention of later scholars investigating the *Didache*. Boniface's sermon is also preserved in manuscripts in the monastic library of St. Gall, the Metz city library, and the Munich state library.

Boniface's letters contain references to his own copies of sacred books, including a possible allusion to the *Two* Ways or *Didache*. His letter to Edburga, Abbess of Minster-in-Thanet (Epistle 19 in Migne, *PL* 89), entreats her to furnish him with "the epistles of my master the apostle St. Peter, ornamented with gold lettering, for the honor and reverence of the sacred Scriptures before the eyes of flesh in preaching (i.e. to display to his listeners while he preached) and since I desire to have in my presence the words of him who has always directed me greatly in this journey (i.e. his German missionary work)". The present writer has demonstrated elsewhere the early tradition of Peter's authorship of the *Two Ways*, and the copy of *Renunciation* in the Munich manuscript (*Monacensis lat.* 6264) is entitled there *Admonitio s. Petri sive praedicatio sancti Bonifatii ep. de abrenuntiatione in baptismate*. While Boniface's request to the abbess surely refers to Peter's

reminding new converts of their baptismal vows in connection with the approaching Advent season, and clearly based upon the *Didache*. *Renunciation* opens with the "way of death",[21] summarizes the *Didache*'s middle chapters into a list of Christian duties, and continues thereafter with the following:

> Believe in Christ's coming, the resurrection of the flesh, *and the judgment of all men. Evil men will be assigned to eternal fire and righteous men to eternal life.* In that place there is life with God without death, light without shadows, health without sickness, fullness without hunger, happiness without fear, joy without sadness; there eternal glory [is]; there the righteous will shine like the sun, since *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor has arisen in man's heart that which God has prepared for them that love Him. . . .*[22]

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canonical epistles, the "great direction" he received from Peter more likely came from the *Two Ways* or *Didache* (see note 22).

The other *Didache*-derived sermon preserved in the Melk manuscript, the *Doctrina de sapientia* (also given in Pez' *Thesaurus* and Harris' *Teaching of the Apostles*), was written by a certain St. Severin. Some have thought him to be St. Severin of Cologne, perhaps because both he and Boniface preached in the Rhineland. Much more likely, however, is St. Severin of Noricum, the fifth century missionary to lower Austria, since Melk lies in the center of the area of his missionary activity. In the tenth century, Melk became Austria's first royal capital and the abbey, built at the same time, contains the nation's oldest and most treasured medieval manuscript library.

Although by the fifth century, the *Didache* and *Two Ways* had been superseded by newer catechetical materials in Greco-Latin lands, those works continued in use by missionaries in regions where more basic instructional materials were needed. Note also the composition of St. Benedict's *Rule* at that time (the sixth century), whose fourth chapter (the behavior code) opens with the Great Commandment and closes with 1 Cor. 2:9, quite possibly being framed after the *Two Ways-Didache*. The contents of the *Rule*, however, are drawn from Scripture generally.

[21] The first five chapters of the *Didache* consist of the *Two Ways*, an independent work also found at the end of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and in a separate Latin version. Its two major components are the "way of life" and the "way of death". Boniface's version of the "way of death" (*opera diaboli*) expands the list of prohibitions to include local practices such as belief in werewolves (*lupos fictos*), night-monsters (*strigas*), etc.

[22] The Latin text of this passage (following Migne) is given here for convenience sake: *Venturum Christum credite, et carnis resurrectionem, et iudicium omnium hominum. Ibi discernuntur impii in ignem aeternum: justi autem in vitam aeternam. Ibi est vita cum Deo sine morte, lux sine tenebris, salus sine aegritudine, satietas sine fame, felicitas sine timore, gaudium sine tristitia. Ibi aeterna gloria, ibi fulgebunt justi sicut sol, quoniam oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit quantum praeparavit Deus diligentibus se.* Note that the final words (*Deus diligentibus se*) follow the Old Latin construction (giving the NT Greek literally) rather than the colloquial wording of the Vulgate.

Boniface's use of his source[23] ends here, and he addresses next the concerns of the Advent season for which his sermon was prepared. That section of his sermon closes with *caelum et gehenna* (Matt. 25:46) and the *gaudia incomprehensibilia* (1 Cor. 2:9), just as *Constitutions* does. Since Boniface's sermon summarizes the *Didache*, the striking agreement of these two sections strongly evidences this as the true ending of the *Didache*. The possibility of coincidence here is eliminated by the fact that all previous material in *Renunciation* is derived from the *Didache*. (Indeed, *caelum et gehenna* is also witnessed by the Old Georgian version, the legitimacy of whose own ending is also thereby enhanced.)

But while Boniface's ending is surely original, its wording is approximate rather than exact. Just as Boniface considerably re-works the *Didache*'s "way of death" at the beginning of *Renunciation* (tailoring its prohibitions to local conditions), so it is unlikely that he reproduces its ending exactly. Thus the *depictio caeli* ("In that place there is life with God . . ."),[24] lacking in both *Constitutions* and Matt. 25, is likely to have been written or interpolated by Boniface for the benefit of his semi-heathen audience. Likewise, *Constitutions*' ouranobasileian finale ("and they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God, which is in Christ Jesus") may be a later addition.

There is another matter to be considered regarding the *Didache*'s ending: the possibility that the several differences in *Constitutions* from the Bryennian text of *Did.* 16:3-8 may not be unfounded alterations made by *Constitutions'* compiler, but may represent a separate version of the *Didache*—possibly with a slightly different ending. Helmut Koester and John Kloppenborg have demonstrated that *Didache* 16's material is not drawn from

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Boniface's use of *Two Ways-Didache* material is not restricted to Sermon 15, but evidenced copiously throughout his sermons. Sermon 3 contains both "way" sections, Sermon 5 a conclusion resembling that of Sermon 15, Sermon 6 both "way" sections and another conclusion resembling 15's, Sermon 8 a "way of death", Sermon 11 a "way of life", and there are numerous shorter borrowings. Sermon 15 appears to have been written first, since it most closely agrees with the *Two Ways-Didache* format, while the other sermons adapt or expand material taken from 15. The *Two Ways-Didache* is thus clearly one of the basic sources for Boniface's sermons (and missionary endeavors). It is interesting to note in this regard that although Boniface frequently quotes the New Testament in his letters and sermons (especially Paul and James), he seldom cites Peter's epistles.

[23] That source cannot have been the *Apostolic Constitutions* itself, since none of that work's extensive additional material appears in Boniface's sermon.

[24] The present writer confesses ignorance of the source of this passage, which may be either a quotation or a Scriptural amalgam. An amalgam might be derived from Matt. 13:43, Rev. 21:4, etc.

Matthew but probably represents an independent pre-gospel tradition.[25] The Bryennian text's "fiery testing", however, and salvation "by the Accursed One" (Christ) seem not to reflect pre-gospel tradition but later Roman persecution. That these features are absent in *Constitutions* VII 32 does not mean that *Constitutions* faithfully preserves the original work, since it lacks other features—present in the Bryennian text—which are surely original.[26] Rather the two texts seem to be separate versions of an early apocalypse, neither of which preserves the original work exactly.[27]

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[25] See Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin, 1957; *Texte und Untersuchung* series, vol. 65), pp. 173-84; and John Kloppenborg, "Didache 16:6-8 and the Special Matthean Tradition," in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1979, 1/2), pp. 54-67. Kloppenborg concludes that *Didache* 16 represents a pre-gospel tradition, upon which Matthew also drew, which is distinct from the tradition in Mark and Luke.

[26] These features will be discussed in an article in progress by the present writer.

[27] The differences between the Bryennian and *Constitutions* texts of 16:3-8 have also been used as the basis for a very different hypothesis. Aaron Milavec's "The Saving Efficacy of the Burning Process in *Didache* 16.5" (in Clayton N. Jefford, ed., *The Didache in Context: Essays on its Text, History and Transmission* [Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1995], pp. 151-54) argues that the *Didache* has no "lost ending" and that *Constitutions*' material cannot have been in the *Didache*'s original text for reasons connected with these textual differences.

First, because its reference to *caelum et gehenna* is said to conflict with the destruction (rather than punishment) of the wicked implied in the *Didache*'s first section, the *Two Ways*. Second, *Constitutions*' ending is said to add the Lord's judgment of the devil because it omits the "fiery testing" of 16:5, leaving the devil unchecked. And third, *Constitutions*' ending is said to add the *redditio per opera* because it changes the Bryennian *Didache*'s resurrection of the elect to a general resurrection, thereby necessitating a general judgment.

The claim, however, that *Constitutions*' ending was created in order to accommodate these textual changes may be refuted in several ways. First, nowhere does the *Two Ways* state or imply the destruction of the wicked. The "Way of Death" is a condition of this world, not of the next, and connotes separation from God (1:1, 6:1). The fate of the wicked is unstated. Indeed, *Did.* 1:5 may speak of the future punishment of those who receive wrongly. Second, the impression of the resurrection of the saints only (presented in detail by T.H.C. van Eijk, *La Résurrection des Morts* [Paris: Beauchesne, 1974], pp. 23-28) results from the defective condition of Bryennian chapter 16 and from alterations to verse 5 by the Bryennian version's persecutionist reviser.

And third, it errs in its assumptions about the internal consistency of the *Didache* and *Constitutions*. It doesn't consider the *Didache*'s compilation from several earlier sources which weren't fully harmonized by their compiler. Significant problems and inconsistencies also exist in the *Didache* because it presents a church and faith still developing and because its picture of these is incomplete. The Constitutionist's revisions, however, sought to bring the *Didache* into harmony with the contemporary church rather than to iron out internal inconsistencies into accordance with the work's original teachings. Had there

Nevertheless, the two presumable versions of *Didache* 16 are fairly close and their endings are likely to have been just as close, but probably not identical. (There is no indication as to which *Didache* 16 ending Boniface was familiar with, since the Bryennian text breaks off just where Boniface's ending begins—at Christ's coming.) While it is unlikely that the Bryennian ending contained the *depictio caeli*, Bryennian material may be preserved in the Old Georgian ending since that work's version of *Did.* 16:3-8 agrees with the Bryennian text rather than with *Constitutions*. Overall differences, however, between the two endings are not likely to have been great.

In conclusion, the strong agreement of *Constitutions* and *Renunciation* regarding the ending of the *Didache* (also partially supported by the Old Georgian version) evidences their common material as likely representing the *Didache*'s true ending. Although *Constitutions* and the Bryennian text probably represent separate versions of *Didache* 16, the Bryennian text's missing ending is presumably similar to that of *Constitutions*. Thus *Constitutions*' ending may be accepted as the *Didache*'s proximate true ending (putting aside the issue of *Constitutions*' finale). This new ending, adding four and a half verses, might be given as follows:

> [8]Then the world will see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven with the angels of His power, in the throne of His kingdom, [9]to condemn the devil, the deceiver of the world, and to render to every one according to his deeds. [10]Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous shall enter eternal life, [11]to inherit

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been conflict between the "Way of Death" and fourth century church doctrine regarding the fate of the wicked, the Constitutionist would likely have resolved this by introducing eternal punishment into his expansion of the *Didache*'s fifth chapter (using only a few words).

Finally, the Constitutionist interpolates little into the *Didache*'s non-church order material except illustrations from Scripture, and brings those portions of the *Didache* into harmony with contemporary practice only by omitting material or by changing a word or two here and there, never by adding several verses. In short, *Constitutions*' ending is definitely not his style.

Milavec also claims that the empty lower page following the *Didache* in the Jerusalem Manuscript was caused by the scribe's desire to begin the Ignatian epistles atop a fresh page. This is unlikely since even the Clementines, the manuscript's most treasured contents, begin and end in mid-page with no space-break from surrounding material. In addition, the page immediately following the *Didache* (fol. 81a) contains only the spurious *Epistle of Mary of Cassoboli* (to Ignatius), while the Ignatian epistles proper do not begin until two pages later (fol. 82a)—in mid-page with no space-break from the preceding material.

> those things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, such things as God hath prepared for them that love Him. [12]And they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God, which is in Christ Jesus.

The origin of the present (century-old) misunderstanding about the *Didache*'s ending lies with Bryennios' *editio princeps*. Bryennios released the Jerusalem Manuscript's works piece-meal over eight years, beginning with the Clementine epistles in 1875 and concluding with the *Didache* in 1883. He worked alone throughout, even acting as his own editor, agonizing over having to seek another scholar's aid in deciphering a single word on the manuscript's next-to-last page.[28] He thus prepared the *Didache*'s *editio princeps*[29] (from which all later editions derive) with no assistance.

While introducing few revisions into the wording of the text, he revised its punctuation considerably.[30] Most importantly, he omitted the *bi-*, *tri-*, and *quadrupunctum* marks indicating beginnings and endings (since such terminal indicators were not necessary for the separately issued works) and terminated the *Didache*'s final line with a misleading lower punctum. Presumably, Leon's exemplar broke off in mid-sentence and he used that final lower point only to bring closure to his material, the incompleteness of which was indicated both by the lack of a terminal *bipunctum cum obelo* and by the following large gap.

Scholarship of the late nineteenth century followed Bryennios' lead. All subsequent editions of the *Didache* omitted Leon's special punctuation and closed the work with a lower punctum—implying completion to modern readers.[31] These works also rarely noted fol. 80b's blank space—and never its significance. A striking illustration of this is provided by J. Rendel Harris'

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[28] That word was the scribe's own name! The last three words of the manuscript's subscription—"Leon, notary, sinner"—were greatly abbreviated (probably in order to squeeze everything onto a single line) and Bryennios did not recognize the rare form used for "Leon."

[29] Bryennios also personally sent an advance copy to Hilgenfeld, whose edition was thus the first to come out after his own. Bryennios' publisher provided a copy to Harnack.

[30] The *Didache* was also divided into chapters by Bryennios (and into verses by Harnack).

[31] Hitchcock and Brown, for example, state in their introduction, "The Greek text here published is intended to be an exact reproduction of that of Bryennios . . . Punctuation is almost wholly lacking in the *Codex*, and Bryennios' text is here taken as the standard" (*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 1885, civ-v). While the Greek editions of Wünsche and certain others differ somewhat from Bryennios' in general punctuation, they do not do so at the work's conclusion.

1887 *Teaching of the Apostles* (in many other respects in this writer's opinion, one of the best works on the *Didache* ever produced). This reproduces photos of the entire *Didache*—but trims off both end photos exactly at the first and last lines of the *Didache*'s text, thus removing both the blank area following the *Didache*'s apparent end and the (observably different) final punctuation of the previous works![32]

And thus the matter stood for many years. Although some *Didache* editions did cite *Constitutions*' ending as a variant, there was little suggestion that it was anything but a variant. A new witness to part of the ending, the Old Georgian version, was ignored for half a century. Indeed, for a short while greater attention was paid to speculation that *Didache* 16 was originally composed as a conclusion for the *Two Ways*![33]

In recent years, however, patristic scholarship has increasingly recognized the incomplete state of the Bryennian *Didache*'s ending. Critical study of *Didache* 16 and reconstruction of its lost ending (based principally on thematic and structural analogies with Matthew 24 and 2 Thess. 2) have produced results fairly close to those demonstrated here. These have postulated judgment and Christ's reunion with the faithful as components of the missing material.[34] The ending given in *Constitutions* (and partially preserved in *Renunciation* and the Old Georgian version) is quite similar to this and demonstrates the general accuracy of this reconstruction methodology.

Most newer translations of the Bryennian *Didache* also express awareness of its missing ending. Aelred Cody's precise rendering, for instance, concludes with an ellipsis and a note stating that the *Didache* probably had a few more lines which have been lost in the chain of texual transmission.[35]

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[32] There are in fact two instances of final punctuation on fol. 76a: *2 Clement* concludes near the top of that page with a *bipunctum cum obelo*, while the *Onomasticon* concludes farther down with a *tripunctum* (for reasons discussed above).

[33] The section, for example, on *Didache* 16 in Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier's *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1978; pp. 80-83) discusses almost nothing else!

[34] See Ernst Bammel, "Pattern and Prototype of *Didache* 16" in Jonathan Draper (ed.), *The Didache in Modern Research* (Leiden and New York, 1996), pp. 369-71; P. Vielhauer and G. Strecker, "The Final Chapter of the Didache" in Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, 1991-1992), vol. 2, pp. 589-91; Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), p. 73; and Klaus Wengst, *Didache* (Darmstadt, 1984), p. 20. Citing numerous parallels, Wengst went so far as to declare the *redditio per opera* as constituting chapter 16's true ending and incorporated it into his translation of the *Didache* (pp. 90-91).

[35] "The *Didache*: An English Translation", in Clayton Jefford, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Rordorf and Tuilier's translation concludes with an ellipsis and a note not giving *Constitutions*' ending as a variant, but citing it as a paraphrase which very likely gives an idea of the original conclusion which has disappeared![36] Nevertheless, many current *Didache* translations and editions give no indication that there is any problem with the work's conclusion.

A hundred editions of the *Didache* have perpetuated an erroneous ending. May future editions set forth the true one!

. . . Approximately!

P.O. Box 9126, *Morristown*, NJ 07963-9126 U.S.A.

[36] Rordorf and Tuilier, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

IGNATIUS' "DOCETISTS"

BY

MICHAEL D. GOULDER

Of the problems raised by Ignatius' letters, the most intransigent have been three.[1] Were all the Asian churches to whom he wrote under pressure to "Judaize", or only Magnesia and Philadelphia? Were all these churches threatened by a "docetic" teaching, or only some, perhaps different from those with Judaizers?[2] What precisely did the "docetism" consist of? I offer some reflections on the first two of these questions, and a new form (so far as I know) of a solution to the third: "docetism" is a modern misunderstanding for a form of Ebionism.[3]

Jewish Christians

Ignatius had visited the church at Philadelphia, and his experience there was of resistance by aggressive Jewish Christians. In the well-known passage (Φ 6-9) we learn that people there "propounded Judaism", including some of Gentile birth ("uncircumcised"); they refused to regard the Gospel as scripture (γέγραπται),[4] and gave authority only to the ἀρχεῖα, that is the

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[1] For a review see Charles Munier, "Où en est la question d'Ignace d'Antioche? Bilan d'un siècle de recherches 1870-1988", *ANRW II.27.1* (Berlin/New York, de Gruyter 1993), 359-484, esp. 404-413; Christine Trevett, *A Study of Ignatius of Antioch in Syria and Asia* (SBEC 29: Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter, Mellen 1992), esp. 152-199.

[2] For a recent attempt to resolve these two questions see Jerry L. Sumney, "Those who 'Ignorantly deny him': The Opponents of Ignatius of Antioch", *JECS* 1/4 (1993), 345-365. Sumney's strictness of method results in an inevitable conclusion: of three letters only Smyrnaeans has a docetic opposition, and the Jewish Christians behind Philadelphians and Magnesians cannot be shown to be Judaizing. Historians have to weigh less limited evidence.

[3] A previous suggestion that the docetists were Ebionites was made by John Pearson in *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignati* (Cambridge 1672), but this has not been widely taken up.

[4] Ignatius wrote: "For I heard certain people saying, Ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὕρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω; and when I said to them, Γέγραπται, they replied, That is the question". I have followed the interpretation of W. Bauer, *Die Apostolischen Väter*

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Old Testament. They seem to have appealed also to the Jewish priesthood as authoritative: "The priests likewise were good, but better is the High Priest . . ." (9.1).

Jewish Christians were also in evidence in Magnesia (M 8-10), as Bishop Damas and his colleagues must have reported. They encouraged church members to "live after Judaism", observing sabbaths and other "ancient practices", and called themselves by another name beyond (πλέον) Christians (Israel? The Poor People [אביונים/πτωχοί, cf. Gal. 2.10]?).[5] Ignatius compares them to rotten leaven which has gone stale and sour, and insists that Christianity has superseded Judaism, which "believed in it". M 8 mentions two further elements in the Jewish Christian approach: they advocated strange doctrines, including antiquated and unprofitable fables; one of which Ignatius counters by saying that "there is one God who manifested himself through Jesus Christ His Son, who is his Word that proceeded from silence". We seem to have an echo here of the Jewish fables of Tit. 1.14, which the Pastor declared ἀνωφελεῖς in Tit. 3.9, and speculations of a proto-gnostical kind.[6]

It is sometimes thought that Jewish Christianity was limited to these two churches, but there are indications of the same problem elsewhere. In E 6.2 Onesimus is said to praise his church because there dwells no αἵρεσις in it; οὐδὲ ἀκούετέ τινος πλέον ἢ περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαλοῦντος ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

(HNT 18: Tübingen, Mohr 1920); H. Paulsen, in the revised edition (1985), prefers the translation, ". . . I do not believe the gospel", following Mk. 1.15. W.R. Schoedel, "Ignatius and the Archives", *HTR* 71 (1978), 97-106, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Hermeneia: Philadelphia, Fortress 1985), 207-9, translates: "If I do not find (it) in the archives, I do not believe (it to be) in the gospel". "The gospel" would thus not be a written text but the Christian message, as in Paul. Schoedel is surely right to understand "it" in both clauses, and to see the archives as the OT, but his addition of "to be" is implausible. The balance of the clauses suggests the same suppressed object in both, and a written εὐαγγέλιον to balance the written ἀρχεῖα; it is quite likely that Ignatius quotes written Gospels a number of times, including Jn. 3.8 at Φ 7.1; and he goes on in Φ 9 to contrast "the beloved prophets in their preaching" with "the Gospel" as "the completion of immortality". The parallel again suggests a second written authority: cf. S 5.1, "the prophets . . . the law of Moses . . . the Gospel".

[5] Schoedel, 126, suggests "Judaism": in Rev. 2-3 we hear of those who "say that they are Jews but are not" (2.9, Smyrna; 3.9 Philadelphia).

[6] Schoedel notes the link with the Pastorals, and discusses the difficult closing sentence, *Ignatius*, 118-122. See also L.W. Barnard, "The Background of St. Ignatius of Antioch", *VC* 17 (1963), 193-206. Paulsen, 52, gives references for understanding silence as equivalent to God in non-Gnostic ancient religious texts, as well as in Nag Hammadi documents.

Not only does this recall the comment in Φ 6.1, "If anyone propound Judaism to you, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ." More significantly it recalls M 10.1, "If anyone calls himself by another name πλέον τούτου [Christian]". The context in M 8-10 shows that some *Jewish* name beyond "Christian" was in view. The same is likely in E 6. The people who would be speaking "more than about Jesus Christ" are likely to be those propounding Judaism with its sabbath rules and other ancient practices, stale leaven, useless myths and so on. So we have a hint that there were Jewish Christians in Ephesus, as there had been "Nicolaitans" a few years earlier (Rev. 2.6), even if Onesimus was not worried by them.

In T 4f Ignatius is being transparently untruthful. He has many deep meditations about God, and could write to the Trallians about heavenly matters, but it would not be good for them. He could reveal his knowledge of arrays of angels and musterings of principalities, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, but they are babes and might take harm. All this leads on into the warning against heresy in T 6, and implies that the "heretics" have been bragging about their visions of the angels and principalities in heaven. Now not only are angels and archons the stuff of all Jewish visions, and of the Jewish mystical literature over a millennium from 1 Enoch to the Hekhalot writings; we also find Paul writing of Christ as the co-creator of the angelic powers, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, in Col. 1.15-17, alongside warnings against those who judge others about new moons and sabbaths, food and drink, on the basis of their visions (2.16-18). So it must seem probable that there were Jewish Christians active at Tralles too. Furthermore any talk of angels and archons may make us think of the useless myths in M 8.[7]

In S 5 Ignatius speaks of certain persons who ignorantly deny Jesus Christ, and "have not been persuaded by the prophecies nor by the law of Moses, nay nor even to this very hour by the Gospel".[8] This follows a

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[7] Both Schoedel and Paulsen take Ignatius at his word; Paulsen suggests that visions were by now a *Christian* as well as a Jewish practice, with a common lore. But the practice is a *Jewish* Christian one in the NT: there the constant theme of the Johannine literature and the Pastorals is that no man has seen God at any time—cf. M.D. Goulder, "Vision and Knowledge", *JSOT* 56 (1994), 53-71.

[8] It is often thought that Papias supports the idea of an oral Gospel in view of his comment, "I supposed that things from books were not so helpful as those from the living and abiding voice" [of Aristion, the elder John and such] (apud Euseb. *H.E.*, III.39.4); but the argument is frail. Papias knew Mark and Matthew (*ibid.*, 15), he has several phrases echoing the Lucan preface, and he has the apostles Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas as in John, in the Johannine order. There were plenty of spurious works

long assertion of the reality of Jesus Christ's birth, baptism, passion and resurrection in S 2-4, and the "certain persons" are those who say he seemed to have suffered in S 2. The saint expects them to have been persuaded by listening to the Old Testament, presumably familiar to them from hearing it in church, or perhaps in a synagogue. In either case it is striking that the law of Moses should be invoked. But especially significant is the reference to the Gospel, which reminds us of Φ 8. The Gospels are all quite clear that Jesus really suffered and rose again, and Ignatius presses the details from Lk. 24 in S 3;[9] it must seem that the trouble-makers at Smyrna did not regard the Gospels as scripture any more than the Judaizers at Philadelphia.

The argument is not cogent for S, but it is strengthened by comments in Polycarp's Letter, of the same time; no doubt the passage reflects the situation in Smyrna. Citing Eph. 2.8, Polycarp says of the passion of Jesus Christ, "by grace are you saved, not from works. . . . So leaving the empty talk (τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν) and the deceit (πλάνην) of many . . ." (1.3-2.1). Polycarp sees the situation of his day as the continuation of Paul's fight against a Jewish Christian doctrine of salvation by works, wrapped up in the κενὴν ματαιολογίαν of the circumcision party with their Jewish myths in the Pastorals (1 Tim. 1.6; Tit. 1.10). He too seems to give hints of the threat of Jewish Christianity at Smyrna.

With Ignatius few things are clear, and for Ephesus, Tralles and Smyrna all we have to go on is inferences. But the suggestions are there in the texts for all three churches; and the argument is cumulative in that the presence of a Jewish Christian pressure-group at Philadelphia, Magnesia and Tralles makes it more likely that the same movement was even more widespread in Asia. The saint had disputed with such a group at Philadelphia, and must have been told about one at Magnesia, both pressing for Jewish praxis in the church. But he was much more disturbed by their denial of the Lord's passion and other matters, and it is understandable that these absorb his attention in E, T and S.

One further recurring element in the Ignatians suggests the same conclusion. Each letter contains warnings against church gatherings apart from the bishop, "without the sanctuary", celebrating a eucharist that is not

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circulating by the thirteenth decade, and Papias sensibly wanted to check. He never refers to the oral tradition as the Gospel.

[9] F. Neirynck, "Luc. 24, 36-43: Un récit lucanien", in *Evangelica II* (BETL 99: Leuven, Peeters/Leuven University Press 1991), 205-226 (219-223).

valid (E 5, M 4, 7, T 7, Φ 3-4, S 6-8); and yet such Christians are present when Ignatius visits Philadelphia, and they are clearly still regarded as part of the Church in all the letters. It looks therefore as if there were united meetings for teaching, discussion and general edification, but separate gatherings where eating took place. This takes our minds back to Gal. 2.11-14, where Peter had been eating with the Gentile Christians, but when "certain from James" arrived, he separated himself. Often in Diaspora churches the host may have been a Gentile, and no notice taken of purity rules, with the meat perhaps just bought in the market. Good Jewish Christians might well then "separate themselves" as Peter did: the good bishop of Antioch would be all too conscious of the early history of his own church.

Magnesia and Philadelphia

The evidence of a "docetist" threat is all too evident in E, T and S, but has been disputed for M and Φ, letters to the two churches where the Jewish Christian problem is most obvious.[10] However the case for "docetism" at Magnesia is strong.

M 9 attacks those who observe sabbaths (and other ancient practices) rather than living by the Lord's day, "on which our life also arose through Him and through His death, which some deny". After further reproaches to Judaizers in 10 there follows a warning in M 11, "not because I have learned that any of you are so minded; but as being less than any of you, I would have you to be on your guard betimes, that ye fall not into the snares of vain doctrine; but be ye fully persuaded concerning the birth and

[10] Opinion remains divided whether there was (in Ignatius' mind as well as in fact) a single Judaizing-docetic opposition in Asia, or two distinct groups, or even more. The single view was held by T. Zahn, *Ignatii et Polycarpi epistulae martyria fragmenta* (Leipzig, Hinrichs 1876) and J.B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers II. S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp* (²London, Macmillan 1889), and more recently by W. Bauer (HNT 1920) and C.K. Barrett, "Jews and Judaizers in the Epistles of Ignatius", in R. Hamerton-Kelly *et al.* edd. *Jews, Greeks and Christians* (Fs.W.D. Davies: Leiden, Brill 1976), 220-244. Most modern critics think of two groups: Munier, 404-413; Schoedel (118, "the link between Judaizing and docetism, [at Magnesia] was invented by Ignatius"); P.J. Donahue, "Jewish Christianity in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch", *VC* 32 (1978), 81-93; P. Meinhold, *Studien zu Ignatius von Antiochien* (Veröffentlichung des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte 97; Wiesbaden 1979). Paulsen, 64f., sits on the fence. C. Trevett, "Prophecy and Anti-Episcopal Activity: a Third Error combatted by Ignatius", *JEH* 34 (1983), 1-13, thinks of a charismatic movement, separate from the Judaists and the docetists, protesting against episcopalianism.

the passion and the resurrection which took place in the governorship of Pontius Pilate; for these things were truly (ἀληθῶς) and certainly done by Jesus Christ. . . ."

It is doubtful whether we should trust the saint's protestation that he has not heard of any lapse in the church from Pauline orthodoxy. He often gives the impression of flattery and insincerity, praising the churches for their unity behind their bishop in one chapter and deploring their dissident eucharists in another; maintaining that he was innocent of the divisions at Philadelphia (Φ 7), where he knew full well which way the πνεῦμα was blowing. The false modesty of "as being less than any of you" here does not commend his veracity. But this is hardly important. What is clear is that Ignatius thinks the doctrinal error is part of the Judaism. His comment on sabbath observance leads straight into "His death, which some deny"; and the anti-"docetist" warning follows on in M 11 from the anti-Judaist passage in 8-10.

We may note two further points. In the opening chapter Ignatius says he prays that there may be in the churches ἕνωσιν σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (M 1), and the letter ends similarly with a prayer ἵνα ἕνωσις ᾖ σαρκική τε καὶ πνευματική (M 13). It is common for good pastors to pray for spiritual unity in their troublesome flocks; but fleshly union might be a more dangerous concept. It would be easy to understand the saint's language if, as so often, he had in mind the fleshly and spiritual union *of Jesus Christ*, as in M 1. Secondly, we have still to discuss the unprofitable myths of M 8, and the one God whose Son was the Word proceeding from silence. This is not just a matter of Jewish praxis, but is suggestive of some interesting heterodoxy.

There is no ἀληθῶς confession in Φ, but we have no reason to expect one. Φ is the shortest of the Asian letters, and is almost entirely given to exhortations to unity behind the bishop (1-5), in the light of the dispute Ignatius had held in the church (6-9), with some practical details (10-11). All the same we do not lack hints that the "docetist" trouble is in the back of Ignatius' mind. In the Prologue he congratulates the church for being firmly established and "rejoicing in the passion of our Lord and in his resurrection without wavering": ἀδιακρίτως implies some pressure to waver over these key doctrines. Φ 3 warns against noxious herbs, commenting "If any man walketh in strange doctrine, he hath no fellowship with the passion"; one would certainly have no fellowship τῷ πάθει if one were among the "some" who deny it.

Φ 6.1 contains the puzzling statement, "It is better to hear Christianity

from a man with circumcision than Judaism from a man uncircumcised". The second phrase is most easily understood if the Philadelphian church contained enthusiasts for a Judaizing form of Christianity (sabbath, purity laws, etc.), but who drew the line at circumcision. The text continues, "But if both do not speak about Jesus Christ, I look on them as tombstones. . . ." Since Φ 7f. make it clear that the Judaizers were members of the church, one wonders how any Christian, never mind how keen on *kashrut*, could fail to speak *about Jesus Christ*; and the answer suggested is that there is something doctrinally important in the letters' often repeated formula Jesus-Christ, which was not in line with the Judaizers' christology—in other words their "docetism".[11] There is a similar puzzle at T 9.1, "Be ye deaf therefore, when any man speaketh to you *apart from* (χωρίς) *Jesus Christ*": there is no complaint about Jewish praxis at Tralles, but the "docetists" there somehow speak apart from Jesus Christ.

Again, Φ 9 describes a climax: the Jewish priests were good, the patriarchs too and the prophets, "But the Gospel hath a singular preeminence in the advent (παρουσία) of the Saviour, his passion, the resurrection". The incarnation, passion and resurrection are so central to the Pauline gospel that we easily accept them as a natural shorthand for the Christian message in Ignatius too: but it is these three elements which we found in M 11, and which feature so strongly (and exclusively) in E, T and S. When they are so often stressed there as having happened ἀληθῶς, we must suspect the same "docetist" pressures behind Φ also.

Docetism

Eusebius preserves a letter of Serapion, about 200, in which the bishop speaks of claims for the *Gospel of Peter*, and describes its supporters as δοκηταί (*H.E.*, 6.12.6). The fragments which we have of *GP* justify the word "docetist" in only a very loose sense, and the term has been used since early times in an undefined and unhelpful way, often as little more than a term of abuse. Ignatius says "certain unbelievers (ἄπιστοι, faithless Christians) say that he suffered in semblance, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι" (S 2, almost the

[11] Schoedel, 202, interprets, "Anyone—whether Jew or gentile—who does not speak of Christ (and in Ignatius' mind that is bound to be true of anyone devoted to 'Judaism') is outside the church". This seems forced: and Ignatius does not treat the Judaizers as outside the church in Φ 7-9. Paulsen, 84, interprets similarly, comparing M 4, which does not appear to support the point.

same wording in T 10), so it has been natural for them to be labelled "docetists"; and an undefined label for a group whose creed is hard to define at least saves the trouble of thinking.

Since the thesis of P. Weigandt in 1961,[12] the attempt has been made to define and restrict the term. Weigandt allowed its applicability to four early heretical groups, those led by Satornilus, Cerdon and Marcion, and the community which produced the *Acts of John*. We know of Satornilus and Cerdon primarily from brief reports in Irenaeus. For Marcion we have some detailed allegations in Tertullian, and for the fourth group we have the greater part of their text.

Irenaeus brackets Satornilus with Basilides as followers of Menander (*A.H.*, 1.24.1f.). He came from Antioch, and attributed creation to seven angels, not to the unknown Father: the Saviour was unborn, without a body, without form, but seemed to be a man in appearance ("putative autem visum hominem"/δοκήσει δὲ ἐπιπεφηνέναι ἄνθρωπον). The Jewish God was in fact one of the angels, and Christ came to destroy him, saving those who were predestined to salvation, having received the spark of life from the creating angels.

Cerdon is treated with brevity in *A.H.* 27.1. He was also a follower of Menander, and taught in Rome in the mid-second century where he was the teacher of Marcion. He also distinguished the God of the law, a righteous God, from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is benevolent but unknown. For his christology we have to go to Ps-Tertullian (*Her.* 6.1), who tells us that Christ was not born but appeared not "in substantia carnis" but "in phantasmate".

Irenaeus' account of Marcion is sketchy also: Jesus Christ appeared suddenly from heaven in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar in the form of a man (*A.H.*, 1.27.2). For more detail we have to depend on Tertullian, who says Marcion's Christ was "per imaginem substantiae humanae" (*Marc.*, 3.10.2), and with only "phantasma carnis" (4.42.7). He experienced no passion, death, burial or resurrection (*de Carne*, 5.2f., 9); nor is there any physical resurrection of Christians (*Marc.*, 3.8.6f.; 5.7.4; Irenaeus, *A.H.*, 1.27.3). Christ came as a spirit to save the human spirit, not the body.

The *Acts of John* stems probably from the third century,[13] and in chs.

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[12] "Der Doketismus im Urchristentum und in der theologischen Entwicklung des zweiten Jahrhunderts", Diss. theol., Heidelberg 1961. I have not been able to gain access to the work, and have had to rely on Udo Schnelle, *Antidoketische Christologie im Johannesevangelium* (FRLANT 144: Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 1987), 76-83.

[13] K. Schäferdiek, "The Acts of John", in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament*

88-103 reveals a heterodox christology with associations with the Johannine literature: God is spoken of as "the Father" and there are frequent references to the Logos. The human Jesus has a spiritual double: when John touches him, sometimes he encounters solid flesh, and sometimes "his substance was immaterial and incorporeal, as if he did not exist at all" (92f.). The human Jesus suffered on the cross, but the divine Lord was away revealing to John the true cross of light, which alone has significance (97-102).

It is evident that none of the three second-century teachers is in line with the Ignatian opposition. The latter are Judaizers, where the former are anti-semitic. So far from any encouragement to observe sabbath or other ancient practices, any reverence for the ἀρχεῖα or visions of arrays of angels, they all distinguish carefully between the unknown Father (of our Lord Jesus Christ) and the Jewish God. According to Satornilus the Jewish God was merely one of the angels, and Christ came to destroy him; Marcion is even more radical, abolishing the entire Old Testament, and devaluing the physical universe. It may well be, however, that little survived on Satornilus' true teachings, and it is clear that none survived of Cerdon's: both have probably been assimilated to the more familiar position of Marcion. Nor is it at all likely that *AJ* reflects a christology held in the twelfth decade in Asia—or indeed earlier, since the Ignatian opposition is plainly widespread and well rooted. *AJ* is a later text, and offers a perverted version of the Johannine doctrine: the Logos, so carefully defined as having *become flesh* in the Johannines, has drifted apart from the human Jesus, and we are in the unreal world of modalist speculation.

In view of this impasse, I should like to propose a revised form of a 17th century hypothesis, and to argue that Ignatius' opponents were *Ebionites*. The important observation here is Ignatius' reluctance to use the single terms *Jesus* and *Christ*, each of which comes only five times in his letters. By contrast he uses the virtually hyphenated forms *Jesus Christ* and *Christ Jesus* about 130 times, the former far more often than the latter.[14] Thus he never attributes to his opponents the view that Jesus seemed to suffer;

Apocrypha II (ET London, SCM 1965), 192, "the Acts of John first come into view in the fourth century"; but docetist traditions similar to *AJ* are referred to in Clement of Alexandria (189). Clement writes, "It is reported in the traditions that John, when he touched [Jesus'] outward body, put his hand deeply in; and that the solidity of the flesh did not resist him, but made room for the hand of the disciple" (*Adumbrationes*, ad 1 Jn. 1.1; Stahlin III, *GCS* 17, p. 210, 12-15).

[14] There is a similar preponderance of the two names together, hyphenated so to speak, in the Johannine Epistles.

it is always αὐτόν, or Jesus Christ. This then leaves open the possibility that the opposition were "Ebionites", i.e. Jewish Christians with a deviant christology. They might have said, "Of course Jesus suffered on the cross; but Christ had left him before his passion, and Christ only *seemed to have suffered*".

Irenaeus describes only one clearly Jewish-Christian sect, the Ebionites: they circumcise their sons, follow Jewish customs, use only Matthew's Gospel, reject Paul as an apostate, pray towards Jerusalem, etc. (*A.H.*, 1.26.2). For their christology, he links them with Cerinthus of Asia, who however, unlike them, denied creation to "the First God". But like him they "supposed that Jesus had not been born of a virgin, but he had been the son of Joseph and Mary, conceived like all the rest of mankind, and had been more righteous, prudent and wise. And after his baptism Christ from the supreme Power (αὐθεντίας) descended into him in the form of a dove, and then he proclaimed the unknown Father and performed miracles. But in the end Christ departed from Jesus, and Jesus has suffered (πεπονθέναι) and risen again, but Christ has remained untouched by suffering (ἀπαθῆ), as he was a spiritual being" (1.26.1).

Irenaeus' account is confirmed by an excerpt from the Gospel of the Ebionites, in which the Spirit (rather than "Christ") descends like a dove and enters Jesus, following his Baptism; and the divine voice adds the words, "Today have I begotten you" (Epiphanius, *Panar.*, 30.13.7).

An Ebionite Opposition in Ignatius

The first point which strikes one in Irenaeus' account is how *congenial* the reported Ebionite christology would be to Ignatius' Jewish Christians. It is a *prophetic, possessionist* christology. In the ἀρχεῖα we read of human beings like Elijah or Elisha, on whom the hand of the Lord falls, or who are taken by the Spirit of the Lord; they may then perform superhuman feats, and run before Ahab's chariot from Carmel to Jezreel. According to Epiphanius, Ebionites said that Christ clothed himself with Jesus (ἐνεδύσατο, 30.3.1); scripture uses the same image of Gideon, and Amasai, and Zechariah. When the Word of the Lord comes on a prophet, he may be carried away to the divine council, or to a valley of dry bones, where divine truths are revealed to him; just as Jesus, indwelt for a period by Christ, was able to proclaim the unknown Father and perform miracles. The Ebionite Jesus is in line with the Old Testament prophet, possessed by a divine power for a period.

The period during which Christ possessed Jesus lasted from after his Baptism till before his Passion; and it is noticeable that this is precisely the period *excluded from Ignatius' confessional catalogues:* -

> For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary according to a dispensation, of the seed of David but also of the Holy Ghost; and he was born and was baptized that by his passion he might cleanse water (E 18.2).
>
> Be ye fully persuaded concerning the birth and passion and resurrection, which took place in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate; for these things were truly and certainly done by Jesus Christ our hope (M 11).
>
> Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and those on earth and those under the earth; who moreover was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised him (T 9).
>
> He is truly of the race of David according to the flesh, but Son of God by the divine will and power, truly born of a virgin and baptized by John that *all righteousness might be fulfilled* by Him, truly nailed up in the flesh for our sakes under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch . . . that *He might set up an ensign* unto all the ages through his resurrection (S 1.1f.).

Ignatius asserts the reality of (i) Jesus Christ's human paternity back to the line of David; (ii) his birth by the virgin Mary; (iii) his baptism; (iv) his crucifixion/passion under Pilate, (v) his death, and (vi) his resurrection. For the last, he offers proof in the form of physical details taken from Lk. 24. There were plenty of such physical details which would similarly have sealed his case for events in the ministry: say, the woman with flux who touched him, or his breaking bread and eating at the Last Supper. But Ignatius never refers to any event between the baptism and the passion, let alone offers evidence for their reality: when he says Jesus Christ ἐδιώχθη under Pontius Pilate, he is referring to the passion. This would cohere with an opposition which asserted the physical reality of the ministry, the period when Jesus and Christ were united; but at the same time Christ would not be σαρκοφόρος, incarnate.

(i) Ignatius is in the same difficulty as every other early Christian, with the need to assert that Jesus Christ is both of the seed of David and is also Son of God. Paul said he was both in Rom. 1.3f., and the Pastorals keep up the tradition (2 Tim. 2.8), and Matthew and Luke both try forms of the solution that he was adopted into Joseph's family, who were Davidids. The matter remains a mystery to Ignatius, but he wishes to continue the

seed-of-David tradition because it emphasizes Jesus Christ's humanity. The best he can do is to say it was done κατ' οἰκονομίαν (E 18.2).

(ii) The Ebionites denied the virginal conception, asserting that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, conceived in the normal way. Ignatius disputes this repeatedly. In addition to the passages above (E, T, S), we may notice E 7.2: εἷς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ. Jesus Christ was a single physician, to heal the bites of the rabid heretical dogs, both σαρκικός and πνευματικός—unlike the Ebionite view with a split person, a fleshly Jesus possessed by a spiritual Christ. He was γεννητός, born of Mary, but also ἀγέννητος, unborn, from God; *God in man*—not like the Ebionite "saviour" Christ who was unborn and only temporarily taking Jesus over; and not from God at all, but from the highest Power, the senior archon or archangel.

(iii) For the Ebionites, the baptism of Jesus was the crucial moment, at which Christ entered him. Ignatius twice refers to the baptism of Jesus Christ, both times with embarrassment. In E 18.2 "he was baptized ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίσῃ"; that does seem a most cumbrous reason for being baptized! In S 1 "he was baptized in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him": there was indeed authority for saying that in Matt. 3.15, but the formula is vague and evasive. In this matter we find an increasing defensiveness in our texts. Mark 1.10 has Jesus see the Holy Spirit descending εἰς αὐτόν. Matthew and Luke both amend this to ἐπ' αὐτόν. John omits the Baptism altogether, and merely has the Baptist testify to having seen the Spirit descending and remaining ἐπ' αὐτόν. Ignatius is in line with mainstream Christian tradition in reducing the significance of the Baptism: it was not the great moment when Christ entered Jesus, as the Ebionites maintained—Jesus Christ was a unity from before the Incarnation.

(iv) When Ignatius purports to quote the opposition's doctrine, it is always *the Passion* which is the point at issue. It is his death "which some deny" (M 9.1f.); "But if, as some who are godless, that is faithless, say τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν . . ." (T 10); "not as some faithless people say τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι" (S 2). The passion and death are the second, and more crucial, point of the Ebionite christology. They could agree with any orthodox preacher who said that Christ went about doing good, healing the sick, proclaiming the kingdom, etc.; but should the preacher go on to say that he suffered death upon the cross for our sake, they must beg to

differ—it was Jesus who suffered and died, Christ only seemed to suffer, but he was of course ἀπαθής, for he was a spiritual being. There is a significant echo of Ignatius' opponents in Irenaeus' account of the Cerinthian/Ebionite system. The narrative of Christ's interaction with Jesus is told, as we should expect, in the aorist tense; but with the passion, Irenaeus slips into the perfect—κατελθεῖν . . . κηρῦξαι . . . ἐπιτελέσαι . . . ἀποστῆναι . . . τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι. The perfect, so familiar from disputes with the Ebionites in Ignatius' time, has been carried over into Irenaeus' report.

It is the passion which is the central fact proclaimed in Ignatius' ἀληθῶς catalogues, and it is constantly his central theme. We may return to E 7.2 for a final illustration: "There is one physician, of flesh and of spirit, born and unborn, God in man, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, both from Mary and from God, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. It was *in his death* that Jesus Christ showed himself to be true Life—not, as the Ebionites say, with Jesus dying and Christ bringing divine life. It was not a divided being, as they maintain, a suffering Jesus and a non-suffering Christ. Jesus Christ was a unity throughout, suffering at first, while on the cross, but beyond suffering now he has risen.

(v) It is noticeable that both the Ebionites and Ignatius' opponents draw the line at the Passion, not at *the death* of Jesus; though naturally Ignatius himself wishes to stress that Jesus Christ died, and so wrought our salvation, while the Ebionites denied this, thinking that only Jesus died. The concentration on the suffering rather than the dying is surprising, because it raises questions about hunger, weariness, thirst, etc. which were to cause Christian theologians trouble later; but these are not in view—τὸ πάθος covers what we call the Passion, including the death. Ignatius defines the point at which Jesus Christ became ἀπαθής (E 7.2) and twice denies the opposition's assertion of his πεπονθέναι; and these are just the terms which Irenaeus attributes to the Ebionites in *A.H.*, 1.26.1.

(vi) Irenaeus says that the Ebionites supposed *Jesus to have risen again*, Christ having already ascended to heaven. Paul believed that the Jerusalem church thought as he did: that "Christ", i.e. Jesus-Christ, had been raised the third day, and had appeared to Cephas, James and the others (1 Cor. 15.4-7). However Ignatius gives us a rather different impression. In S 3 he writes, "For I know and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection . . . ", and evidence is offered of his being touched, and of his eating and drinking, after rising, taken from Lk. 24. Ignatius clearly thinks that his opponents neither know nor believe this: they think the

post-Easter appearances were non-corporeal. They do not believe that Jesus-Christ "raised himself truly" (S 2.1) at all.

How has this come to pass? It is not at all likely that Ignatius has misunderstood his opponents, because the stress on the physicality of the risen Lord, the stories of touching, eating and drinking, are shared by Luke and John: from the 80s at least some Christians have been denying the physicality of the resurrection, and these stories are the response of the mainstream (Pauline) church. It is much more likely that Ignatius knew perfectly well what he was up against, and it is in line with what Paul says in 1 Cor. 15.

At first Paul and the other apostles could be at one in having "seen the Lord", and he can appeal to this unanimity in 15.1-11. With time, however, theological reflection moves in different directions, and a possessionist christology raises the question, "What then did the apostles see, a physical or a 'spiritual' being?" As it was only seeing that was in the tradition, it was open to the Corinthian opposition to sideline Jesus' resurrection. For them the great thing was that the kingdom of God was here already (4.8,20; cp.15.50); they thought that "there is no resurrection of the dead" (15.12), and the idea that the resurrected come corporeally was absurd (15.35). Perhaps they saw Jesus in the way Luke describes his appearance to Paul, or perhaps it was his "angel" (Acts 12.15), or a vision of Christ. It is this non-bodily resurrected being which is still being defended in Ignatius' time, and it belongs with Ebionite thinking. Jesus rose after his passion, they said (Irenaeus), but not as a united sarcic-pneumatic being. Ignatius' opponents did not hold with a sarcic-pneumatic whole either: their resurrected being was non-corporeal, perhaps the heavenly Christ appearing like Raphael in the book of Tobit.

(vii) We may add a final point. In M 8 Ignatius warns: "Be not seduced by strange doctrines nor antiquated fables which are profitless. For if even to this day we live after the manner of Judaism, we avow that we have not received grace: for the divine prophets . . . were persecuted . . . that they which are disobedient might be fully persuaded that there is one God who manifested himself through Jesus Christ his Son, who is His Word, that proceeded from silence". Ignatius held that Jesus Christ was the Son of the one God, with no intervening power; before God's Word, Jesus Christ, there was silence. His opponents, the disobedient, held a more complex position: there was not just a single God, and there was some intervening being between Him and His Word. Now Irenaeus says that the Ebionites held such a complex theology: "but after [Jesus'] baptism Christ

descended into him from the highest Power (ab ex principitate quae est super omnia/ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας). This "highest power" is carefully distinguished from the "unknown Father". So here also Ignatius' Jewish-Christian "docetists" believe the same doctrine as Irenaeus' Ebionites.[15]

In this way it is possible to make good sense of the Judaizing "docetism" which has been such a puzzle for Ignatian studies. Jewish Christians had from early on adopted a prophetic, or possessionist understanding of Jesus. A heavenly Spirit, or Christ, had entered him at his Baptism and left him before his Passion, enabling him during his ministry to work miracles and reveal divine mysteries. Ignatius never mentions any problem over the period of the ministry. His opponents only parted company with him when he said that Jesus Christ had suffered: for them this was not right—*Jesus* had suffered indeed, but *Christ only seemed to have suffered.* They in fact denied that Christ had been conceived and born of Mary, and had been baptized, and that he rose again; and Ignatius repeatedly asserts that Jesus Christ experienced all these things. But their "docetism" applied only to their assertion that "he seemed to have suffered", and the "he" there was Christ, not Jesus. This interpretation is confirmed by Ignatius' almost unvarying insistence on the double names Jesus-Christ, Christ-Jesus, which excludes the Ebionite division; and by the warnings in T 9, "Be ye deaf, when any man speaketh to you *apart from Christ Jesus*", and Φ 6, "if either one or the other *speak not concerning Jesus Christ*", which give the game away. Even his words about the one God whose Word proceeded from silence (M 8) agree with the Ebionite claim that Christ came not from God but from the highest power.

The University of Birmingham
Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2 TT

[15] It is noticeable that Ignatius does not hint at any division in the godhead over creation, the teaching which Irenaeus ascribes to Cerinthus (*A.H.*, 1.26.1).

TATIAN UND JUSTIN. EIN VERGLEICH

VON

ROMAN HANIG

Als C. Markschies zu dem Ergebnis kam, daß der Valentinus der Fragmente kein Valentinianer sei,[1] mußte er zwangsläufig auch das Verhältnis des vermeintlichen Erzketzers zu seinen Schülern bedenken.[2] Hier stellte Markschies zunächst fest, daß die Verbindungen zwischen diesen und ihm nicht so eng seien wie meist angenommen,[3] dann aber auch, daß die Antike mehrere Beispiele für eine Lehrdiskontinuität aufweise. Als Beispiele nennt er Platò und Aristoteles, Simon Magus und die Simonianer, Markion und Apelles, Lukian und Arius sowie Justin und Tatian.[4]

Diese Nebeneinanderstellung wird niemanden überraschen, wenn und insofern er an den "abtrünnigen" Tatian denkt, der nach des Irenäus' Darstellung *Iustini auditor* war, nach dessen Tode aber von der Kirche abfiel und angeblich einerseits valentinianische, andererseits enkratitische Elemente in seine Lehre aufnahm.[5] Unter dieser Rücksicht hat vermutlich auch

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[1] C. Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus? Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentins* (WUNT 65, Tübingen 1992) 406.

[2] Vgl. ebd. 392-402.

[3] Vgl. ebd. 392-396.

[4] Vgl. ebd. 396 f.

[5] Vgl. Irenäus, *Haer.* 1,28,1. Zu den irenäischen und den späteren Zeugnissen über Tatian vgl. v. a. A. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der Alten Kirche und im Mittelalter* (TU 1/1-2, Leipzig 1882) 203-232; J. Dräseke, Zu Tatianos' "Rede an die Hellenen", *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 43 (1900) 603-612; M. Elze, *Tatian und seine Theologie* (FKDG 9, Göttingen 1960) 106-124; L.W. Barnard, The Heresy of Tatian—Once Again, *Journal of ecclesiastical history* 19 (1968) 1-10, 3-5; speziell zum Bericht des Epiphanius vgl. A. Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine* (CAnt 4, Paris 1992) 343-361. Elze und Barnard sehen in der *Oratio* Ansatzpunkte gegeben, die von Irenäus aufgegriffen und fortgeführt werden konnten (so dann auch U. Neymeyr, *Die christlichen Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert. Ihre Lehrtätigkeit, ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Geschichte* [SVigChr 4, Leiden 1989] 185). Eng damit verbunden ist die Frage, wieweit Tatian von gnostischen bzw. valentinianischen Vorstellungen beeinflußt ist. Einflüsse sehen etwa J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten* (Leipzig-Berlin 1907) 105 f.;

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Markschies das Paar in seine Beispielreihe aufgenommen.[6] Hingegen wird man nicht so schnell daran denken, daß die Abweichungen vielleicht schon zu Lebzeiten des Justin bestanden[7] und an einer zentralen Stelle einsetzten,

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A.v. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. Band 1: Die Entstehung des kirchlichen Dogmas* (Tübingen ⁴1909 = ND Darmstadt 1990) 501 Anm. 1; insb. aber R.M. Grant, The Heresy of Tatian, *Journal of theological studies N.S.* 5 (1954) 62-68; ders., Tatian and the Bible. In: *Studia Patristica* 1 (TU 63, Berlin 1957) 297-306, 298-300; ders., Tatian (*Or.* 30) and the Gnostics, *Journal of theological studies N.S.* 15 (1964) 65-69; ders., *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (London 1988) 128 f.; vgl. auch M. Zappalà, Taziano e lo gnosticismo, *Rivista trimestrale di studi filosofici e religiosi* 3 (1922) 307-338. Dagegen bereits H.A. Daniel, *Commentationis de Tatiano apologeta specimen* (Halle 1835) 25; ferner E. Preuschen, Tatian, *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*³ 19 (1907) 386-394, 391 f.; G. Bardy, Tatien, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 15 (1946) 59-66, 65; M. Elze, *Tatian* 84 f., 98 f.; G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian and his Discourse to the Greeks, *Harvard theological review* 57 (1964) 161-188, 165-167; L.W. Barnard, Heresy 6-8; ders., Apologetik I. Alte Kirche, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 3 (1978) 371-411, 380. In diesem Zusammenhang wirft insbesondere *Or.* 30,1 die Frage auf, für welche Gruppe Tatian spricht. Neben den Genannten vgl. dazu noch R.C. Kukula, *Tatians sogenannte Apologie. Exegetisch-chronologische Studie* (Leipzig 1900) 32-36; F. Bolgiani, Taziano, 'Oratio ad Graecos', cap. 30,1. In: *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten. Vol. 1*, hrsg. v. P. Granfield und J.A. Jungmann (Münster 1970) 226-235; M. Marcovich, *Patristic Textual Criticism. Part 1* (Illinois Classical Studies. Suppl. 6, Atlanta, Georgia 1994) 25-27. Aufgrund einer ausführlichen Untersuchung kommt M. Elze, *Tatian* 54-57, zum Ergebnis, daß Tatian "innerhalb der 'rechtgläubigen' Christenheit und in ihrem Namen spricht" (ebd. 57).

[6] Dafür sprechen jedenfalls die beiden Belege, auf die C. Markschies, *Valentinus* (wie Anm. 1) 396 Anm. 54, verweist: A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius. Teil 2: Die Chronologie. Band 1: Die Chronologie der Litteratur bis Irenäus* (Leipzig 1897) 286-289, und U. Neymeyr, *Christliche Lehrer* (wie Anm. 5) 184 f. Nach Harnack "waltet ein Verhältniss zwischen Justin und Tatian ob, wie es zwischen einem Lehrer und dem ihn hörenden Schüler besteht" (S. 286). Nach Neymeyr sind zwar "die Unterschiede in der Lehre beider zu auffällig", um sagen zu können, Tatian habe "Justins Lehre einfach übernommen" (S. 184), doch sieht er keine unversöhnlichen Gegensätze, vielmehr radikalisiere Tatian die Lehre Justins "vom Christentum als der wiedergefundenen Urphilosophie" (ebd.). Obgleich er Spannungen zur römischen Gemeinde annimmt (S. 185), nennt er Gottes- und Logoslehre nicht.

[7] Datierung und Entstehungsort der *Oratio* sind bis heute umstritten, da keine der herangezogenen Belegstellen eindeutig interpretierbar ist. Ausführliche Diskussionen finden sich bei A. Harnack, *Überlieferung* (wie Anm. 5) 196-199. 212 f. (um 152/153 außerhalb Roms); ders., *Geschichte II/1* (wie Anm. 6) 284-287 (nicht nach 155, wohl außerhalb Roms); F.X. Funk, Zur Chronologie Tatians. In: Ders., *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen. Band 2* (Paderborn 1899) 142-152, v. a. 142-149 (nach Justins Tod um 163-167); R.C. Kukula, *Apologie* (wie Anm. 5) 40-52 (um 172/73, Kleinasien); A. Puech, *Le discours aux grecs de Tatien* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres 17, Paris 1903) 6-13. 90-97 (um 171, außerhalb Roms); A. Casamassa, *Gli apologisti greci. Studio introduttivo* (Lat. N.S. 9/10, Rom 1944) 144-147 (nach Justins Tod, vor 172, Griechenland); L. Leone, Due date della vita di Taziano, *Orientalia christiana periodica* 27 (1961) 27-37

nämlich bei der Gottes- und Logoslehre. Ein wesentlicher Grund hierfür dürfte sein, daß seit Jahrzehnten "die" Logoslehre der christlichen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts als eine weithin einheitliche aufgefaßt wird.[8] Erst in der letzten Zeit mehren sich die Stimmen derer, die darauf hinweisen, daß bei den Apologeten sehr unterschiedliche Auffassungen vom Logos bezeugt sind.[9]

Der vorliegende Beitrag kann hinsichtlich dieser Frage nur einige Anstöße

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(um 160/161 oder etwas früher); L.W. Barnard, Heresy (wie Anm. 5) 1-3 (um 160); ders., Apologetik (wie Anm. 5) 378 f. (um 160); M. Marcovich, Introduction. In: Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, ed. by M. Marcovich (PTS 43, Berlin-New York 1995) 1-3 (nach 165, in Rom). R.M. Grant, The Date of Tatian's Oration, *Harvard theological review* 46 (1953) 99-101, schlägt eine Spätdatierung in die Zeit nach 176/177 vor, die er seitdem trotz verschiedener Einwände (ausdrücklich von G.W. Clarke, The Date of the Oration of Tatian, *Harvard theological review* 60, 1967, 123-126) mit im wesentlichen unveränderten Argumenten vorträgt: vgl. z. B. noch R.M. Grant, Five Apologists and Marcus Aurelius, *Vigiliae christianae* 42 (1988) 1-17, 11-13; ders., *Greek Apologists* (wie Anm. 5) 112-115. Infolge seiner Teilungshypothese kommt A.E. Osborne, *Tatian's discourse to the Greeks: A literary analysis and essay in interpretation* (Diss. Univ. of Cincinnati 1969), der S. 65-92 ausführlich die chronologischen Fragen diskutiert, zur Überzeugung, daß *Or.* 31-41 ("Part 2") bald nach der Konversion Tatians in Rom, *Or.* 1-30 und 42 ("Part 1") hingegen erst nach dem Tod Justins außerhalb Roms verfaßt wurde.

[8] Typisch ist bereits die Aussage von H. Hagemann, *Die Römische Kirche und ihr Einfluß auf Disciplin und Dogma in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Freiburg i. Br. 1864) 113: "Jedenfalls stimmen sie (sc. Tatian und Justin) in der Hauptfrage der damaligen Zeit, in der Lehre vom Logos, mit einander fast vollständig überein". Vgl. z. B. auch A.v. Harnack, *Lehrbuch* (wie Anm. 5) 528-536 (insb. 532: "Die Logoslehre der Apologeten ist ganz wesentlich einstimmig"; 533 Anm. 2: "Zwischen Justin, Tatian und Theophilus hat in der eigentlichen Logoslehre schwerlich eine wirkliche Differenz bestanden"); J. Lortz, *Tertullian als Apologet. Band 1* (MBTh 9, Münster i. W. 1927) 190 Anm. 244: "Die Griechen vertreten die Logostheorie in mehr oder minder großer Übereinstimmung"; W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos. Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus* (Göttingen ^{6}1967) 304-333; F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, hrsg. v. K. Aland (Tübingen ^{7}1968) 90-92; E.F. Osborn, From Justin to Origen. The Pattern of Apologetic, *Prudentia* 4 (1972) 1-22, 2-4; K. Beyschlag, *Grundriß der Dogmengeschichte. Band 1: Gott und Welt* (Darmstadt ^{2}1988) 117-128; A. Gilg, *Weg und Bedeutung der altkirchlichen Christologie* (ND München 1989) 21-31. Auch wenn in diesen Untersuchungen i. d. R. gewisse Differenzen durchaus festgehalten werden, zielen sie letztlich doch auf die Darstellung einer im wesentlichen einheitlichen Logoslehre.

[9] So z. B. L. Abramowski, Der Logos in der altchristlichen Theologie. In: *Spätantike und Christentum. Beiträge zur Religions- und Geistesgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Kultur und Zivilisation der Kaiserzeit*, hrsg. v. C. Colpe, L. Honnefelder, M. Lutz-Bachmann (Berlin 1992) 189-201; R.M. Hübner, Εἷς θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Zum christlichen Gottesglauben im 2. Jahrhundert—ein Versuch, *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 47 (1996) 325-344, v. a. 343. Die Logoslehren einiger Kirchenväter beschreibt knapp T. Dolidse, Die Christos-Logos-Lehre in der grosskirchlichen Theologie des 2. Jahrhunderts. In: *Prinzipat und*

geben—eine neuerliche Untersuchung der Gottes- und Logoslehre des Tatian muß unter Berücksichtigung der nachfolgenden Feststellungen an anderer Stelle erfolgen. Stattdessen sollen hier einige zentrale Stellen aus Tatians *Oratio* mit Parallelen aus den erhaltenen Schriften Justins verglichen werden.[10] Dabei wird sich zeigen, daß bei aller vorhandenen Übereinstimmung doch deutliche Verschiebungen zu sehen sind, die alle in die gleiche Richtung zielen.

1 *Die Bekehrung zum Christentum und die Bedeutung der Monarchie Gottes*

Justin und Tatian schildern beide, was sie bewogen hat, sich dem Christentum anzuschließen. Ersterer bietet sogar zwei Beweggründe an, deren Verhältnis hier nicht diskutiert werden kann.[11] Nach der sog. zweiten

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Kultur im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert, hrsg. v. B. Kühnert, V. Riedel, R. Gordesiani (Bonn 1995) 118-130. Einen knappen Überblick über die Logosvorstellungen der Antike gibt jetzt G.C. Stead, Logos, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 21 (1991) 432-444.

[10] Einige Vergleichspunkte sind bereits in der Literatur zusammengestellt worden, am ausführlichsten von H. Dembowski, *Die Quellen der christlichen Apologetik des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Teil 1: Die Apologie Tatian's* (Leipzig 1878) v. a. 16-36. 55-61. 65-78. 85-88. 94-96; vgl. auch A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 10-13; M. Marcovich, Introduction (wie Anm. 7) 1 f.; siehe auch P. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten. Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte* (WUNT II 18, Tübingen ²1989) 246: "Eine Einzelstudie über Tatians Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von Justin dürfte sich als durchaus fruchtbar erweisen." Nicht alle dabei gebrachten (tatsächlichen oder vermeintlichen) Parallelen sind aussagekräftig: In *Or.* 3,7 hat Tatian den (wohl richtig konjizierten) Begriff φιλόψοφος vermutlich aus Justin, 2. *Apol.* 3(8),1, übernommen (vgl. A. Puech, *Discours* 11; M. Marcovich, Introduction 1). Auch das Bild, daß die Knaben wie Pferdeherden zu unzüchtigen Zwecken zusammengetrieben werden (*Or.* 28,3), könnte aus Justin, *1. Apol.* 27,1, stammen (vgl. A. Puech, *Discours* 11; M. Marcovich, Introduction 1; anders H. Dembowski, *Quellen* 77. 95 f.; A. Harnack, *Geschichte II/1*, wie Anm. 6, 286 Anm. 4). Gewisse Berührungen zeigen auch die Aussagen über die Bezahlung eines Zeugen im Vorfeld der Kaiserapotheose (*Or.* 10,3; *1. Apol.* 21,3; vgl. H. Dembowski, *Quellen* 34-36. 95; A. Puech, *Discours* 11), nur geringe hingegen die Erwähnungen der Philänis in *Or.* 34,9 und *2. Apol.* 15,3 (vgl. H. Dembowski, *Quellen* 87. 96; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten*, wie Anm. 5, 112 Anm. 4). Übereinstimmungen bestehen schließlich zwischen der Seelenlehre Tatians und den Ausführungen des alten Mannes in Justins Dialog. Hierzu A. Puech, *Discours* 12, und insb. M.O. Young, Justin Martyr and the Death of Souls. In: *Studia Patristica* 16 (TU 129, Berlin 1985) 209-215. Einige weitere Vergleichsstellen werden bei H. Dembowski, *Quellen* 17 f. 30-34. 56-60. 66-69. 73-75. 85 f. 87 f., behandelt. Hinsichtlich der Frage nach der Möglichkeit einer christlichen Philosophie vergleicht J.T. King, The First Controversy over the Possibility of a Christian Philosophy. A Survey of the Opposing Views of Justin and Tatian, *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 1 (1976) 81-92, beide Autoren.

[11] Vgl. O. Skarsaune, The Conversion of Justin Martyr, *Studia theologica* 30 (1976) 53-73.

Apologie war der Eindruck, den die Standhaftigkeit der Christen angesichts des Todes auf Justin machte, ein wichtiger Grund für seine Konversion.[12] Dem Dialog zufolge war die durch den alten Mann vermittelte Entdeckung der Propheten der entscheidende Anstoß; denn den Worten des Mannes zufolge sprachen diese im Geiste Gottes und sagten sie das Kommende voraus, sahen sie allein das Wahre und teilten es den Menschen mit.[13] Beweisgründe für ihre Worte liefert zum einen die Geschichte, zum anderen zeichneten sie sich durch Wunder aus.[14] Endlich bietet der Alte auch den Inhalt ihrer Lehre: Demnach waren die Propheten glaubwürdig, da sie mit ihren Worten und Taten Gott, den Schöpfer des Alls und Vater, verherrlichten und den von ihm kommenden Christus, seinen Sohn, verkündeten (ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων καὶ πατέρα θεὸν ἐδόξαζον καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κατήγγελλον).[15] Justin schildert anschließend die Wirkung der Rede des Alten:

> Ἐμοὶ δὲ παραχρῆμα πῦρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνήφθη, καὶ ἔρως ἔχει με τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, οἵ εἰσι Χριστοῦ φίλοι· διαλογιζόμενός τε πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ταύτην μόνην εὕρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον.[16]

Wesentlich für die Konversion des Justin war also gemäß dieser Schilderung die Überzeugungskraft der Propheten, und zwar hinsichtlich ihrer Lehre von Gott, insbesondere aber ihrer Ankündigung Christi. Nicht umsonst wird als Beweismittel neben den Dynameis der Propheten der Weissagungsbeweis genannt, der in erster Linie auf Christus zielt und bekanntlich von Justin weitergeführt wurde. Nicht zufällig sind es auch gerade die Freunde *Christi* (Χριστοῦ φίλοι), zu denen er sich hingezogen fühlt.

Auch Tatian stellt die Begegnung mit den prophetischen Schriften als entscheidendes Datum für seine Bekehrung dar.[17] Gleichwohl zeigen sich beachtliche Differenzen:

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[12] Vgl. Justin, *2. Apol.* 12,1.

[13] Vgl. Justin, *Dial.* 7,1.

[14] Vgl. Justin, *Dial.* 7,2 f.

[15] Justin, *Dial.* 7,3 (Marcovich, PTS 47, 83,15-17).

[16] Justin, *Dial.* 8,1 (M. 84,2-6): "Mir aber wurde in der Seele augenblicklich ein Feuer entzündet, und es erfaßte mich Liebe zu den Propheten und zu jenen Männern, die Christi Freunde sind; ich erwog bei mir seine Lehren und fand (darin) die allein zuverlässige und nützliche Philosophie." Zu den Ausführungen des alten Mannes über die Propheten vgl. J.C.M. van Winden, *An Early Christian Philosopher. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho Chapters One to Nine* (PP 1, Leiden 1971) 111-117, zu Justins Reaktion ebd. 118-121.

[17] Daher kann P. Lampe, *Stadtrömische Christen* (wie Anm. 10) 245 Anm. 468, auch

> Περινοοῦντι δέ μοι τὰ σπουδαῖα συνέβη γραφαῖς τισιν ἐντυχεῖν βαρβαρικαῖς, πρεσβυτέραις μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὰ Ἑλλήνων δόγματα, θειοτέραις δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων πλάνην· καί μοι πεισθῆναι ταύταις συνέβη διά τε τῶν λέξεων τὸ ἄτυφον καὶ τῶν εἰπόντων τὸ ἀνεπιτήδευτον καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ποιήσεως τὸ εὐκατάληπτον καὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὸ προγνωστικὸν καὶ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τὸ ἐξαίσιον καὶ τῶν ὅλων τὸ μοναρχικόν.[18]

Justin läßt den Alten nur zwei Gründe dafür anführen, weshalb die prophetischen Schriften als wahr anzusehen sind; Tatian bringt gleich sechs Argumente. Während er dabei die Nennung der Dynameis ausläßt, führt auch er die prophetische Fähigkeit der alttestamentlichen Verfasser an. Anders als Justin bringt er diese jedoch in keinerlei Bezug zu Christus oder dem Logos. Es ist nicht die Vorankündigung Christi, die für Tatian entscheidend ist, sondern, neben dem Alter der barbarischen Schriften,[19] letztlich die Zuspitzung ihrer Lehre auf das τῶν ὅλων τὸ μοναρχικόν.[20] Dementsprechend

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durchaus sagen, Tatians Bekehrungserzählung weise "grösste Ähnlichkeit zu der Justins auf".

[18] Tatian, *Or.* 29,2 (Marcovich, PTS 44, 55,9-15. Die in vorliegender Arbeit verwendeten Kapitelangaben zur *Oratio* folgen dieser Ausgabe): "Als ich aber die wesentlichen Dinge bei mir bedachte, da geschah es, daß ich auf einige barbarische Schriften stieß, ältere im Vergleich zu den Lehren der Griechen, göttlichere im Vergleich zum Irrtum jener. Und mir geschah es, daß ich von diesen (Schriften) überzeugt wurde durch die Bescheidenheit der Worte und die Einfachheit der Verfasser, durch die treffliche Erfassung der Schöpfung des Alls und das Vorherwissen der zukünftigen Ereignisse, durch die Außerordentlichkeit der gegebenen Weisungen und die Alleinherrschaft über das All."

[19] Zum Stellenwert des Alters bei Tatian vgl. M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 36. 58; zu seinem ausführlichen Altersbeweis vgl. H. Dembowski, *Quellen* (wie Anm. 10) 87-93; R.C. Kukula, "Altersbeweis" und "Künstlerkatalog" in Tatians Rede an die Griechen. In: *Jahresbericht des k. k. ersten Staatsgymnasiums im II. Bezirke von Wien für das Schuljahr 1899/1900* (Wien 1900) 3-28; A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 82-89; A.J. Droge, *Homer or Moses? Early Christian Interpretations of the History of Culture* (HUTh 26, Tübingen 1989) 82-101; P. Pilhofer, *Presbyteron kreitton. Der Altersbeweis der jüdischen und christlichen Apologeten und seine Vorgeschichte* (WUNT II 39, Tübingen 1990) 253-260.

[20] Ähnlich E. Fascher, Tatian 9, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* II 4 (1932) 2468-2471, hier 2470, und auch M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 23: "Das bedeutet doch nicht weniger, als daß Kosmologie und monotheistische Gotteslehre für Tatian die Hauptstücke der christlichen Theologie bilden." Vgl. auch H. Dembowski, *Quellen* (wie Anm. 10) 54; ferner A. Harnack, *Tatian's Rede an die Griechen übersetzt und eingeleitet* (Giessen 1884) 3. Unter etwas anderer Rücksicht unterscheidet auch L.W. Barnard, Apologetik (wie Anm. 5) 379, beide Bekehrungserzählungen: "Kein 'alter Mann' hilft Tatian wie Justin auf der geistlichen Wanderschaft, und die Propheten oder Jesus Christus werden mit keinem Wort erwähnt. So sehr Tatians 'Bekehrungsgeschichte' derjenigen Justins an der Oberfläche ähneln mag, in Wirklichkeit ist sie von dieser grundver-

haben für ihn die in der Schrift mitgeteilten allergöttlichsten Aussprüche diejenigen, die sie angenommen haben, zu Freunden *Gottes* (θεοφιλεῖς) gemacht.[21]

Obgleich der Begriff des Monarchischen bei Tatian nur an zwei Stellen belegt ist,[22] ist er für ihn durchaus zentral.[23] Das zeigt nicht nur die Aufnahme unter die eben zitierten Bekehrungsgründe, sondern auch die Attacke gegen die Griechen in *Or.* 14,1: Soeben hatte er jene als θεομάχοι bezeichnet, die den Diener des leidenden Gottes verschmäht hatten.[24] Nun wirft er den Griechen vor, den Gottesfeinden ähnlich zu sein, und er führt aus, worin ihre Theomachie besteht: ῥήμασι μὲν στωμύλοι, γνώμην δ' ἔχοντες ἀλλόκοτον, [καὶ] τὴν πολυκοιρανίην μᾶλλον ἤπερ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐξησκήσατε, καθάπερ ἰσχυροῖς νομίζοντες <ἀσφαλὲς τοῖς> δαίμοσι κατακολουθεῖν.[25] Die

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schieden. Er war kein tiefschürfender Student der Philosophie, sondern ein Beobachter der menschlichen Natur und Lebenspraxis." So auch bereits ders., Heresy (wie Anm. 5) 6.

[21] Tatian, *Or.* 12,4 (M. 28,23-26): Τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα δυνατὸν κατανοῆσαι τῷ μὴ κενοδόξως ἀποσκορακίζοντι τὰς θειοτάτας ἑρμηνείας, αἳ κατὰ χρόνον διὰ γραφῆς ἐξελη-λεγμέναι πάνυ θεοφιλεῖς τοὺς προσέχοντας αὐταῖς πεποιήκασιν ("dies kann Stück für Stück von demjenigen begriffen werden, der nicht prahlerisch die allergöttlichsten Erklärungen abkanzelt, welche, im Lauf der Zeit schriftlich aufgezeichnet, diejenigen ganz und gar zu Gottesfreunden gemacht haben, welche sie angenommen haben"). Vgl. *Or.* 42,1. Der Ausdruck θεοφιλεῖς findet sich zwar auch (ein einziges Mal) bei Justin: In *Dial.* 7,1 bezeichnet der alte Mann damit allerdings nur die Propheten. Vgl. J. Lortz, *Tertullian als Apologet. Band 2* (MBTh 10, Münster i. W. 1928) 4 f.

[22] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 14,1 (μοναρχίαν M. 31,3); 29,2 (μοναρχικόν M. 55,14 f.).

[23] Zur Aufnahme des Begriffs μοναρχία bei den Christen vgl. W. Marcus, *Der Subordinatianismus als historiologisches Phänomen. Ein Beitrag zu unserer Kenntnis von der Entstehung der altchristlichen "Theologie" und Kultur unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Begriffe OIKONOMIA und THEOLOGIA* (München 1963) 85-89, sowie neuerdings die ausführliche Monographie von G. Uríbarri Bilbao, *Monarquía y Trinidad. El concepto teológico "monarchia" en la controversia "monarquiana"* (PUPCM. E 62, Madrid 1996), der S. 95-104 auch die Verwendung bei Tatian untersucht.

[24] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 13,6.

[25] Tatian, *Or.* 14,1 (M. 31,1-4): "In Worten geschwätzig, aber eine widersinnige Denkart besitzend, übt ihr die Vielherrschaft gründlicher ein als die Monarchie, gleich als ob ihr meintet, <es sei sicher, den> gewaltigen Dämonen zu gehorchen." Dazu G. Uríbarri Bilbao, *Monarquía y Trinidad* (wie Anm. 23) 101: "Tres aspectos típicos de la monarquía entre los apologetas aparecen con nitidez en este texto: el carácter misionero, apologético y polémico del concepto, y su contenido primordial: el monoteísmo." (Vgl. ebd. 101 f.) Zur Verwendung des aus dem bekannten Homerzitat Ilias 2,204-206 genommenen, negativ konnotierten Begriffs der πολυκοιρανίη vgl. N. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, *Les citations des poètes grecs chez les apologistes chrétiennes du II^e siècle* (RTHP 4,47, Louvain 1972) 230-232. 236-238.

Betonung der Monarchie gegenüber der Polyarchie ist für Tatian bezeichnend, wie eine Reihe weiterer Stellen belegt: So betont er, daß die Christen anstelle der irrenden Dämonen nur den einen, nicht irrenden Herrn kennen[26]; die vom Geist verlassene Seele suchte Gott in der Irre und bildete sich viele Götter, indem sie den streitsüchtigen Dämonen folgte[27]; dementsprechend fordert er auf, sich von den Dämonen loszusagen und dem zu folgen, der allein Gott ist.[28]

Auch bei Justin findet sich der Begriff der Monarchie, allerdings nur ein einziges Mal, und zwar im Munde des Tryphon, der gleich zu Beginn des Dialogs fragt, ob denn die Philosophen nicht immer von Gott sprechen und ob sie nicht ständig Untersuchungen anstellen über die Monarchie und Vorsehung, ob es nicht Aufgabe der Philosophie sei, über das Göttliche nachzuforschen.[29] Nach Eusebius soll Justin auch ein Werk Περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας verfaßt haben, doch bleibt unsicher, ob er damit nicht bereits die pseudojustinische Schrift im Auge hat.[30]

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[26] Tatian, *Or.* 9,3 (M. 22,14-16): Ἡμεῖς δὲ (. . .) ἀντὶ πλανητῶν δαιμόνων ἕνα τὸν ἀπλανῆ δεσπότην μεμαθήκαμεν. Die zentrale Stellung des Einheitsgedankens (im Rahmen der Wahrheitsfrage) bei Tatian betont M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 36-40. 127.

[27] Tatian, *Or.* 13,4 (M. 30,19-21): ζητοῦσα τὸν θεὸν κατὰ πλάνην πολλοὺς θεοὺς ἀνετύπωσε, τοῖς ἀντισοφιστεύουσι δαίμοσι κατακολουθοῦσα.

[28] Tatian, *Or.* 19,9 (M. 40,34): παραιτησάμενοι τοὺς δαίμονας θεῷ τῷ μόνῳ κατακολουθήσατε. Zur Gegenüberstellung von heidnischem Polytheismus und christlichem Monotheismus bei Tatian vgl. G. Uríbarri Bilbao, *Monarquía y Trinidad* (wie Anm. 23) 98 f. Den strengen Monotheismus Tatians benennen auch A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 54; E. Preuschen, Tatian (wie Anm. 5) 392; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 63 u. ö.; R.M. Grant, *The Early Christian Doctrine of God* (Charlottesville 1966) 22; J. Barbel, *Geschichte der frühchristlichen griechischen und lateinischen Literatur. Band I* (CiW 14,1a/b, Aschaffenburg 1969) 67. Zur Betonung des Monotheismus bei den Apologeten vgl. J. Lortz, Das Christentum als Monotheismus in den Apologien des zweiten Jahrhunderts. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums und der Byzantinischen Literatur. FS Albert Ehrhard*, hrsg. v. A.M. Koeniger (Bonn 1922) 301-327, leicht überarbeitet wiederum in: ders., *Tertullian II* (wie Anm. 21) 1-30.

[29] Justin, *Dial.* 1,3 (M. 70,19-22): Οὐχ οἱ φιλόσοφοι περὶ θεοῦ τὸν ἅπαντα ποιοῦνται λόγον, ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε, καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας <αὐτοῦ> αὐτοῖς καὶ προνοίας αἱ ζητήσεις γίνονται ἑκάστοτε; Ἡ οὐ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἐξετάζειν περὶ τοῦ θείου. Zum Begriff der μοναρχία bei Justin vgl. W. Marcus, *Subordinatianismus* (wie Anm. 23) 87, sowie G. Uríbarri Bilbao, *Monarquía y Trinidad* (wie Anm. 23) 83-92, insb. 84-89.

[30] Vgl. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4,18,4.

2 *Gott und der Hervorgang des Logos*

2.1 *Bezeichnungen für den Logos*

Justin geht an zwei Stellen seines Dialoges mit Tryphon ausführlicher auf den Hervorgang des Logos aus Gott ein, nämlich *Dial.* 61,1-3 und 128,2-4.[31] Die erste Stelle ist eingebettet in seine Argumentation für die Existenz eines vom Schöpfer unterschiedenen anderen Gottes, die Tryphon *Dial.* 55,1 verlangt hat. Justin gibt zunächst einen Beweis mit Hilfe von Gen 18,1-19,24, der Tryphon zufriedenstellt (*Dial.* 55,3-57,3). Dieser möchte nun Argumente für Jungfrauengeburt und Menschwerdung hören (*Dial.* 57,3), Justin hingegen bringt weitere Belege für die Gottheit Christi, insbesondere greift er die Erscheinung im Dornstrauch auf (*Dial.* 57,4-60,5). Dieser Kontext macht deutlich, daß Justin mit Hilfe verschiedener Beweistexte aus dem AT *zwei* Dinge zeigen will, die für ihn zusammengehören, die Gottheit Christi und die Existenz eines anderen Gottes.[32] In diesem Sinn leitet er nun in *Dial.* 61,1-3 ausführlich den nächsten Belegtext Spr 8,21-36 ein:[33]

> Μαρτύριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὑμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δώσω, ὅτι ἀρχὴν πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ θεὸς γεγέννηκε δύναμίν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικήν, ἥτις καὶ »δόξα κυρίου« ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καλεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ »υἱός«, ποτὲ δὲ »σοφία«, ποτὲ δὲ »ἄγγελος«, ποτὲ δὲ »θεός«, ποτὲ δὲ »κύριος« καὶ »λόγος«, ποτὲ δὲ »ἀρχιστράτηγον« ἑαυτὸν λέγει, ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ φανέντα τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦ.[34]

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[31] Zur Logoschristologie des Justin vgl. aus der jüngeren Zeit v. a. B. Studer, Der apologetische Ansatz zur Logos-Christologie Justins des Märtyrers. In: *Kerygma und Logos. Beiträge zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum. FS Carl Andresen*, hrsg. v. A.M. Ritter (Göttingen 1979) 435-448; M.J. Edwards, Justin's Logos and the Word of God, *Journal of early christian studies* 3 (1995) 261-280, die beide auf ihre Weise dazu beitragen, die Verwendung des Logosbegriffes durch Justin differenzierter zu betrachten. Lehrreich ist auch die Untersuchung von P. Hofrichter, Logoslehre und Gottesbild bei Apologeten, Modalisten und Gnostikern. Johanneische Christologie im Lichte ihrer frühesten Rezeption. In: *Monotheismus und Christologie. Zur Gottesfrage im hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum*, hrsg. v. H.-J. Klauck (QD 138, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1992) 186-217, hier 187-197.

[32] Vgl. P. Hofrichter, Logoslehre und Gottesbild (wie Anm. 31) 187-189; ferner N. Brox, *Terminologisches zur frühchristlichen Rede von Gott* (SBAW. PH 1996/1, München 1996) v. a. 34-39.

[33] Zu diesem Abschnitt des Dialogs vgl. O. Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy. A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (NT. S 56, Leiden 1987) 388-391.

[34] Justin, *Dial.* 61,1 (M. 174 f., 1-6): "Ich sagte: Freunde! Noch ein anderes Zeugnis

Bereits bei diesen Bezeichnungen für die aus Gott gezeugte δύναμις λογική (δόξα κυρίου bzw. δόξα τοῦ γεννήσαντος in *Dial.* 61,3, υἱός, σοφία, ἄγγελος, θεός, κύριος, λόγος, ἀρχιστράτηγος) zeigen sich auffällige Unterschiede zum Sprachgebrauch des Tatian:[35] Dieser gebraucht δόξα insgesamt sechsmal singularisch und viermal im Plural. Als Name oder Synonym für den Logos kommt der Begriff aber nirgendwo in Frage.[36] Den Begriff υἱός verwendet Tatian kein einziges Mal im Singular; lediglich in *Or.* 25,5 werden einmal die Söhne des Kronos erwähnt.[37] σοφία findet sich insgesamt siebenmal, doch ist ein Bezug zum Logos nicht zu erkennen.[38] Den Begriff ἄγγελος verwendet Tatian ausschließlich im Plural.[39] Der κύριος-Titel findet sich kein einziges Mal,[40] und auch der Begriff ἀρχιστράτηγος wird von ihm nicht verwendet. Schließlich findet sich keine einzige Stelle, an der Tatian das Gottesprädikat (θεός) ausdrücklich einem anderen als dem einzigen Gott zuspricht, und selbst beim Gebrauch der Logos-Bezeichnung weicht er von den Sprachregelungen seines Lehrers ab, indem er zwischen λόγος, δύναμις λογική und δύναμις λόγου differenziert.[41] Demnach bezeichnet die λογικὴ δύναμις das Vermögen des Vaters, mittels dessen der Logos ursprünglich bei diesem war (σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ λογικῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Λόγος)[42] und aus dem er hervortritt (λόγος ἐκ λογικῆς δυνάμεως; ὁ Λόγος προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ

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will ich euch aus den Schriften geben, (und zwar dafür,) daß Gott als Anfang vor allen Geschöpfen eine gewisse logoshafte Dynamis aus sich heraus gezeugt hat, die auch 'Herrlichkeit des Herrn' vom heiligen Geist genannt wird, bald 'Sohn', bald 'Weisheit', bald 'Engel', bald 'Gott', bald 'Herr' und 'Logos', bald aber sich selbst 'oberster Feldherr' nennt, als sie in Gestalt eines Menschen dem Jesus, Sohn des Nave, erscheint."

[35] Dazu V.A.S. Little, *The Christology of the Apologists* (London 1934) 189.

[36] Zu δόξα vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 11,3; 12,3; 18,6; 26,7; 32,1; 33,1 (M. 26,13; 28,16; 38,25; 51,25; 60,4; 62,6), zu δόξαι *Or.* 27,1; 27,3; 31,6; 35,1 (M. 52,1; 52,9; 59,39; 66,6).

[37] Th. Böhm hat in einem Referat am 20.9.97 auf der Tagung der "Arbeitsgemeinschaft 2. Jahrhundert" in Benediktbeuern wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß Tatian sogar im Diatessaron bei Joh 1,18 weder μονογενὴς θεός noch μονογενὴς υἱός, sondern lediglich μονογενής geschrieben, also das (vermutlich ursprüngliche) υἱός getilgt hat. Vgl. dazu jetzt ders., Bemerkungen zu den syrischen Übersetzungen des Johannesprologs, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (im Druck für 1998).

[38] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 1,5; 13,6; 26,4; 26,5 (2x); 31,1; 41,7 (M. 8,28; 30,24; 50,15; 51,19 2x; 57,5; 74,25).

[39] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 7,2; 7,3; <7,4> (2x); 12,8; 15,9 (M. 17,6; 18,13. 19. 20; 29,40; 33,33).

[40] E.J. Goodspeed, *Index apologeticus sive Clavis Iustini martyris operum aliorumque apologetarum pristinorum* (Leipzig 1912) 158, gibt zwar κύριοι für *Or.* 1,1 an, aber das ist ein Druckfehler für Κύπριοι.

[41] Zur Unterscheidung von δύναμις λογική und δύναμις λόγου vgl. M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 74 f., und S. Di Cristina, L'idea di Δύναμις nel *De Mundo* e nell'*Oratio ad Graecos* di Taziano, *Augustinianum* 17 (1977) 485-504, 496-499.

[42] Tatian, *Or.* 5,1 (M. 13,5 in der Fassung von M. Elze, *Tatian*, wie Anm. 5, 72).

πατρὸς δυνάμεως).[43] Diese Dynamis Gottes wird von Tatian noch mehrfach genannt.[44] Hingegen scheint der (doppelt determinierten) ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Λόγου eine gewisse selbständige Wirkweise zuzukommen, da ihr u.a. die Fähigkeit des Vorausschauens (ἡ δὲ τοῦ Λόγου δύναμις, ἔχουσα παρ' ἑαυτῇ τὸ προγνωστικόν)[45] und die Verstoßung der abtrünnigen Engel (ἡ τοῦ Λόγου δύναμις ... παρῃτήσατο)[46] zugesprochen werden. Diese "Selbständigkeit" läßt sich der undeterminierten λόγου δύναμις nicht so eindeutig zuweisen.[47] Wie immer sich diese nicht einfach zu durchschauende Terminologie genau erklären läßt, so ist doch eindeutig, daß die δύναμις λογική keine selbständige Wesenheit darstellt und auch nicht mit dem Logos, sondern höchstens mit dem (allerdings nicht ausdrücklich genannten) λόγος ἐνδιάθετος identifiziert werden kann.

Justin erklärt in *Dial.* 61,1 nun auch, warum all die hier genannten Prädikate der δύναμις λογική zukommen: erstens weil diese Kraft dem väterlichen Willen gehorsam ist (ἔκ τε τοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν τῷ πατρικῷ βουλήματι) und zweitens weil sie aus dem Vater durch das Wollen erzeugt wurde (ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς θελήσει γεγεννῆσθαι).[48] Daß dieses Gezeugtsein für Justin eine eigenständige Existenzform impliziert, verdeutlicht er an der zweiten wesentlichen Parallelstelle *Dial.* 128,2-4:[49]

> καὶ ὅτι δύναμις αὕτη, ἣν καὶ »θεὸν« καλεῖ ὁ προφητικὸς Λόγος, ⟨ὡς⟩ διὰ πολλῶν ὡσαύτως ἀποδέδεικται, καὶ »ἄγγελον«, οὐχ ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὀνόματι μόνον ἀριθμεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν τί ἐστι, καὶ ⟨περὶ τούτου⟩ ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις διὰ βραχέων τὸν λόγον ἐξήτασα, εἰπὼν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην γεγεννῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός.[50]

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[43] Tatian, *Or.* 7,1 (M. 17,2) und 5,4 (M. 14,14 f.).

[44] So spricht er mehrfach von der Dynamis des Schöpfers (τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ: *Or.* 4,3 M. 12,14 f.; τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος αὐτὸν δύναμιν: *Or.* 12,3 M. 28,20 f.) und kann in diesem Zusammenhang Gott selbst als Dynamis alles Sichtbaren und Unsichtbaren bezeichnen (δύναμις ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων: *Or.* 5,1 M. 13,4). Die δύναμις θεοῦ wird *Or.* 16,8 und 18,1 (M. 34,29; 37,3) genannt.

[45] Tatian, *Or.* 7,3 (M. 18,14).

[46] Tatian, *Or.* 7,4 (M. 18,21-23).

[47] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 5,1 (M. 13,1): τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν Λόγου δύναμιν παρειλήφαμεν; 18,5 (M. 38,19): Λόγου δυνάμει κατακολούθησον. Von den beiden letzten der insg. 13 oder 14 Vorkommen von "δύναμις" bezieht sich eines noch auf den Geist (*Or.* 13,4 M. 30,17), während *Or.* 16,4 (M. 34,13) textkritisch unklar ist.

[48] Vgl. Justin, *Dial.* 61,1 (M. 175,7 f.). Zur Bedeutung des Zeugungsbegriffs bei Justin vgl. E.R. Goodenough, *The Theology of Justin Martyr. An Investigation into the Conceptions of Early Christian Literature and its Hellenistic and Judaistic Influences* (Jena 1923 = ND Amsterdam 1968) 147 f.

[49] Zu dieser Passage vgl. knapp O. Skarsaune, *Proof from Prophecy* (wie Anm. 33) 422 f.

[50] Justin, *Dial.* 128,4 (M. 293,23-28): "Und daß diese Dynamis, die der prophetische

Im Rahmen dieser Ausführungen gibt Justin zu erkennen, daß auch andere die Dynamis mit ähnlichen Begriffen versehen wie er:

> Καὶ μὴ νομίζητε, ὦ οὗτοι, ὅτι περιττολογῶν ταῦτα λέγω πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γινώσκω [καί] τινὰς προλέγειν ταῦτα βουλομένους, καὶ φάσκειν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων φανεῖσαν τῷ Μωσεῖ ἢ τῷ 'Αβραὰμ ἢ τῷ 'Ιακὼβ »ἄγγελον« καλεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους προόδῳ, ἐπειδὴ δι' αὐτῆς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγγέλλεται, »δόξαν« δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀχωρήτῳ ποτὲ φαντασίᾳ φαίνεται, »ἄνδρα« δέ ποτε καὶ »ἄνθρωπον« καλεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐν μορφαῖς τοιαύταις σχηματιζόμενος φαίνεται αἷσπερ βούλεται ὁ πατήρ· καὶ »Λόγον« ⟨δὲ αὐτὴν⟩ καλοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμιλίας φέρει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.[51]

Justins Gegner[52] bezeichnen also die δύναμις λογική mit den Begriffen ἄγγελος, δόξα, ἀνήρ, ἄνθρωπος und λόγος. Während Justin dieselben Bezeichnungen verwenden kann,[53] vermißt man gegenüber der *Dial.* 61,1 vorgenommenen Aufstellung die Titel υἱός, σοφία, θεός, κύριος, ἀρχιστράτηγος. Die Folgerung, daß sich hinter den nicht namentlich genannten τίνες Tatian

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Logos sowohl 'Gott' nennt, wie durch viele (Zeugnisse) gleichfalls gezeigt worden ist, als auch 'Engel', nicht wie das Licht der Sonne allein dem Namen nach gezählt wird, sondern auch der Zahl nach etwas anderes ist, auch <hierüber> habe ich im vorhergehenden knapp die Untersuchung angestellt, als ich sagte, daß diese Dynamis vom Vater gezeugt worden ist." Zur Ablehnung des Sonnengleichnisses bei Justin vgl. F.J. Dölger, Sonne und Sonnenstrahl als Gleichnis in der Logostheologie des christlichen Altertums, *Antike und Christentum* 1 (1929) 271-290, 274 f.

[51] Justin, *Dial.* 128,2 (M. 292,6-15): "Und glaubt nicht, Ihr Männer, daß ich aus Geschwätzigkeit wiederholt diese Dinge sage, sondern da ich einige kenne, die diese (Schriftstellen) laut verkünden und behaupten wollen, daß die Dynamis, die vom Vater des Alls her dem Mose und Abraham und Jakob erschien, bei ihrer Herabkunft zu den Menschen 'Engel' genannt werde, da durch sie das vom Vater Kommende den Menschen verkündet werde, 'Herrlichkeit' aber, da sie bisweilen in einem unfaßbaren Glanz erscheine, bisweilen aber 'Mann' und 'Mensch' genannt werde, da sie sich in solchen Gestalten geformt offenbare, wie sie der Vater wolle; und 'Logos' nennen sie <sie>, da sie die Worte vom Vater zu den Menschen trage."

[52] Vgl. dazu P. Hofrichter, Logoslehre und Gottesbild (wie Anm. 31) 193, der *Dial.* 128,2-4 mit Justin, *1. Apol.* 63,14, in Verbindung bringt. M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 77, nimmt mit Verweis auf *Dial.* 62,2 (διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν) jüdische Gegner an. Ausführlich auf Justins Gegner geht jetzt G. Uríbarri Bilbao, *Monarquía y Trinidad* (wie Anm. 23) 89-92, ein, der einen "prämonarchianischen Monarchianismus" feststellt: "Justino combate aquí una opinión que podemos definir como 'monarquianismo premonarquiano'" (ebd. 91). Vgl. auch J. Moingt, La réception du prologue de Jean au II^{e} siècle, *Recherches de science religieuse* 83 (1995) 249-282, 261 f.: "Ce débat nous instruit des dissensions dont le nom Logos était la cause et l'objet dans le camp chrétien" (ebd. 262).

[53] Für ἄγγελος, δόξα und λόγος vgl. etwa *Dial.* 61,1, für ἀνήρ und ἄνθρωπος *Dial.* 59,1. Zu den Titeln des Logos bei Justin vgl. E.R. Goodenough, *Justin* (wie Anm. 48) 168-173.

verbirgt, kann man daraus nicht ziehen; denn es trifft zwar zu, daß auch dieser den Logos bzw. die logoshafte Dynamis nicht mit den fünf zuletzt genannten Bezeichnungen versieht, doch trifft dies (mit Ausnahme vielleicht der Logos-Bezeichnung selbst) auch für die erstgenannten Titel zu.

2.2 *Die abstrakte Beschreibung des Hervorgangs*

Eine größere Nähe zu Tatians Auffassung zeigt hingegen die sich anschließende Schilderung bei Justin, wie jene Gruppe sich den Hervorgang der δύναμις λογική vorstellt:

> Ἄτμητον δὲ καὶ ἀχώριστον τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν, ὅνπερ τρόπον τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φασὶ φῶς ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι ἄτμητον καὶ ἀχώριστον τοῦ ἡλίου ὄντος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· καί, ὅταν δύσῃ, συναποφέρεται τὸ φῶς· οὕτως ὁ πατήρ, ὅταν βούληται, λέγουσι, δύναμιν αὐτοῦ προπηδᾶν ποιεῖ, καὶ, ὅταν βούληται, πάλιν ἀναστέλλει εἰς ἑαυτόν. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ποιεῖν αὐτὸν διδάσκουσιν.[54]

Bei seiner Schilderung des Hervorgangs des Logos verwendet Tatian zwar nicht das Bild von der Sonne und ihren Strahlen. Doch verwendet er auffälligerweise einige Ausdrücke, die Justins Gegner kennzeichnen:

> Θεὸς ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν Λόγου δύναμιν παρειλήφαμεν. Ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης τῶν ὅλων, αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων τοῦ παντὸς ἡ ὑπόστασις, κατὰ μὲν τὴν μηδέπω γεγενημένην ποίησιν μόνος ἦν· καθὸ δὲ πᾶσα δύναμις ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων αὐτὸς ὑπόστασις, ἦν σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα· σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ λογικῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Λόγος, ὃς ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὑπέστη[σεν]. (2) Θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτοῦ προπηδᾷ Λόγος· ὁ δὲ Λόγος οὐ κατὰ κενοῦ χωρήσας ἔργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται. Τοῦτον ἴσμεν τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ἀρχήν. (3) Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ μερισμόν, οὐ κατ' ἀποκοπήν· τὸ γὰρ ἀποτμηθὲν τοῦ πρώτου κεχώρισται, τὸ δὲ μερισθὲν οἰκονομίας τὴν αἵρεσιν προσλαβὸν οὐκ ἐνδεᾶ τὸν ὅθεν εἴληπται πεποίηκεν.[55]

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[54] Justin, *Dial.* 128,3 (M. 292 f., 16-21): "Sie sagen, daß diese Dynamis unabgeschnitten und ungetrennt vom Vater existiert, genauso wie das Licht der Sonne auf der Erde unabgeschnitten und ungetrennt ist von der Sonne, die am Himmel steht; aber wenn sie untergeht, verschwindet mit (ihr) das Licht. So, sagen sie, bewirkt der Vater, wenn er will, daß seine Dynamis hervorspringt, und wenn er will, zieht er (sie) wieder zu sich zurück. Sie lehren, daß er auf dieselbe Weise auch die Engel erschaffe."

[55] Tatian, *Or.* 5,1-3 (vgl. M. 13 f., 1-12; hinsichtlich der textkritischen Entscheidungen folge ich hier M. Elze, *Tatian*, wie Anm. 5, 71-79): "Gott war im Anfang; daß der Anfang aber die Dynamis des Logos ist, haben wir durch Überlieferung erhalten. Denn der Despotes des Alls, der selbst als die Hypostase des Alls existierte, war, als die Schöpfung noch nicht geworden war, allein. Insofern er aber selbst die ganze Dynamis (und) die Hypostase der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Dinge war, war mit ihm das All;

Diese Ausführungen Tatians werfen eine Vielzahl textkritischer und inhaltlicher Probleme auf, welche hier im einzelnen nicht behandelt werden können.[56] Lediglich auf drei Auffälligkeiten soll hingewiesen werden.[57]

Erstens spricht Tatian davon, daß der im Vater sich befindende Logos als Logos hervorspringt (προπηδᾷ Λόγος). Der Begriff προπηδάω begegnet in der griechischen Literatur zwar relativ häufig, wird jedoch in aller Regel in anderen Zusammenhängen verwendet[58]: Meist geht es um das "Vor-

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mit ihm bestand aufgrund der logoshaften Dynamis auch der Logos selbst, der in ihm war. Durch seinen Willen aber springt er aus seiner Einfachheit als Logos hervor. Der Logos aber, der nicht zwecklos hervortritt, wird das erstgeborene Werk des Vaters. Diesen kennen wir als den Anfang des Kosmos. Er entstand aber gemäß einer Gliederung, nicht gemäß einer Abschneidung; denn das Abgeschnittene ist vom Ersten getrennt worden, das Gegliederte aber, welches das Vorhaben der Verwaltung übergenommen hat, hat den nicht ärmer gemacht, von dem es genommen ist."

[56] Textkritisch ist lediglich anzumerken, daß Elze mit guten Gründen einige der von Schwartz (*Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos*, ed. E. Schwartz [TU 4/1, Leipzig 1888]) vorgenommenen Konjekturen zurückweisen konnte, die aber z. T. von Marcovich wieder aufgenommen wurden. Zur Überlieferung der *Oratio* und zu textkritischen Problemen vgl. A. Harnack, *Überlieferung* (wie Anm. 5) 1-97; R.C. Kukula, *Apologie* (wie Anm. 5) 18-40; J. de Zwaan, Ad quosdam Tatiani adversus Graecos orationis locos, *Mnemosyne* 48 (1920) 313-320; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 14 f.; M. Whittaker, Some Textual Points in Tatian's Oratio ad Graecos. In: *Studia Patristica* 7 (TU 92, Berlin 1966) 348-351; dies., Introduction. In: Tatian: *Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments*, ed. and transl. by M. Whittaker (OECT, Oxford 1982) xx-xxii; M. Marcovich, The Transmission of Tatian and Athenagoras. In: *Le strade del testo*, hrsg. v. G. Cavallo (studi e commenti 5, Bari 1987) 125-137, 127-132; ders., *Criticism* (wie Anm. 5) 17-28; ders., Introduction (wie Anm. 7) 3-5. Inhaltlich ist zu bemerken, daß die knappe Sprache Tatians an manchen Stellen das Erkennen eines eindeutigen Sinngehalts erschwert. Beispielsweise ist bei der kurzen Aussage Θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτοῦ προπηδᾷ λόγος grammatikalisch kaum zu entscheiden, ob das αὐτοῦ auf θελήματι oder auf τῆς ἁπλότητος zu beziehen ist, ob wiederum τῆς ἁπλότητος von θελήματι oder von προπηδᾷ abhängt (dazu B. Ponschab, *Tatians Rede an die Griechen. Beilage zum Jahresberichte des humanistischen Gymnasiums Metten für das Schuljahr 1894/95* [Metten 1895] 21; A.E. Osborne, *Discourse*, wie Anm. 7,104 Anm. 3), ob schließlich der hier genannte λόγος als Subjekt zu verstehen ist ("der Logos springt hervor") oder nicht doch der im Vorsatz genannte λόγος, ὃς ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ("er springt als Logos hervor"). Dementsprechend vielfältig sind auch die verschiedenen Übersetzungen. Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Stil bietet v. a. C.L. Heiler, *De Tatiani apologetae dicendi genere* (Diss. phil. Marburg 1909); vgl. auch A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 14-36, und A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 29-51. 214-217.

[57] Auffällig ist natürlich bereits der an Joh 1,1 erinnernde Anfang: Θεὸς ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ.

[58] Dies ist auch für entsprechende lateinische Begriffe festzuhalten: *Prosilio* ist bei Irenäus und Novatian nicht zu finden, die Belege bei Tertullian, *An.* 50,5; *Uxor.* 1,5,3; Nat. 1,7,16; Val. 14,3, sowie Cyprian, *Epist.* 36,1,2, sind nicht einschlägig. *Emico* sucht man bei Irenäus und Novatian wiederum vergebens. Von den Vorkommen bei Tertullian

springen" im Rahmen einer militärischen oder kriegerischen Aktion,[59] um hastige Auftritte von Personen (meist junger Männer)[60] oder um das (allerdings meist krankhafte oder gar tödliche) Heraustreten von Körperteilen.[61] Im Kontext der Gotteslehre ist der Begriff fast nirgendwo vorzufinden: Nach Tatian und Justin wird προπηδάω in diesem Zusammenhang erst wieder in zwei bei Athanasius erhaltenen, angeblichen Fragmenten des Dionysius von Alexandrien gebraucht.[62] Daher ist es von Bedeutung, daß auch Justins

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(vgl. noch *An.* 3,1; *Herm.* 29,3; *Marc.* 5,18,1; *Nat.* 1,12,7; *Pud.* 5,9; *Spect.* 8,1) ist lediglich *An.* 14,5 von Interesse. Hier erwähnt er nämlich, daß Straton, Aenesidemus und Heraklit auf der Einheit der Seele bestehen. Diese sei zwar durch den ganzen Körper verbreitet, aber doch überall sie selbst. So komme auch ein Luftstrom im Rohr durch die Löcher in verschiedener Weise zum Vorschein, sei aber nicht sowohl zerschnitten als vielmehr verteilt: *nam et ipsi unitatem animae tuentur, quae in totum corpus diffusa et ubique ipsa, uelut flatus in calamo per cauernas, ita per sensualia uariis modis emicet, non tam concisa quam dispensata* (Waszink, CChr. SL 2, 800). Man wird wohl nicht soweit gehen können, hier eine direkte Beziehung zu Tatians Ausführungen zu behaupten. Dennoch fällt erstens die relativ hohe Anzahl von auch innerhalb der Logoslehre gebrauchten Termini auf. Zweitens zeigt sich eine indirekte Beziehung; denn einerseits konnte mit Hilfe des hier verwendeten Bildes in der Variante von Flötenspieler und Flöte (bzw. Musikinstrument) die Inspiration der Propheten durch den Geist erklärt werden (z. B. Philo, *Heres* 259; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 9,1; dazu J. Geffcken, *Apologeten*, wie Anm. 5, 179 f., mit weiteren Belegen; J.H. Waszink in: *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De anima*, ed. with introduction and commentary by J.H. Waszink [Amsterdam 1947] 218); andererseits wurde das von Tatian und Justin gebrauchte Feuerbild zuerst von Philo, *Gig.* 25, zur Erklärung der Verteilung des göttlichen Geistes nach Num 11,17 herangezogen. Drittens kann man vermuten, daß Tatian den Straton von Lampsakos kannte, mit dem er die Annahme der Sterblichkeit der Seele teilte (vgl. M. Elze, *Tatian*, wie Anm. 5, 90; M.O. Young, Death of Souls, wie Anm. 10; anders allerdings A.E. Osborne, *Discourse*, wie Anm. 7, 145-166; vgl. auch J. Feuerstein, *Die Anthropologie Tatians und der übrigen griechischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts mit einleitender Gottes- und Schöpfungslehre* [Diss. Münster 1906] 72-86) und dessen (allerdings nur) bei Clemens v. Alex., *Strom.* 1,77,1, bezeugte Schrift Περὶ εὑρημάτων er möglicherweise in *Or.* 1 verwendete; vgl. A. Harnack, *Überlieferung* (wie Anm. 5) 224 Anm. 281: "Es wird also nicht zu kühn sein, anzunehmen, dass Tatian hier aus Philostephanus und Straton, resp. aus einem von beiden geschöpft hat."

[59] Vgl. z. B. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II 47; 267; 286; 601; III 151; 233; 260; IV 196; 421; V 55; 85; 280; 305; 336; 474; VI 21; 82; 139; 173; 183; 261; Heliodorus, *Aethiop.* 9,17,2; Lucianus, *Dial. meretr.* 13,2; *Hist. conscr.* 49.

[60] Vgl. z. B. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 2,34,3 (ein Eber); Lucianus, *Alex.* 13 (Alexander); Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6,2,3 (Origenes).

[61] Vgl. z. B. Philo, *Abr.* 153; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 3,21,5; Plotin, *Enn.* V 5, 7,23-27; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 9,10,15; *Vita Const.* 1,59,1.

[62] Vgl. Dionysius v. Alex., *Ref. et apol. Fg.* 5, bei Athanasius, *Dion.* 23,2 (Feltoe 191 = Opitz 63,7-9); *Fg.* 13, ebd. 23,3 (F. 197 = O. 63,18 f.). A. Adam, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. Band 1: Die Zeit der Alten Kirche* (Gütersloh ^{5}1985) 155, hält die Vorstellung des Springens

Gegner, die dem Logos eine eigenständige Existenz absprechen, diesen Begriff verwenden. Zugleich ist darauf zu achten, daß das Hervorspringen der Dynamis in der Darstellung des Justin zwar innerhalb des AcI aktivisch ausgedrückt ist (προπηδᾶν), aber im Gesamt des Vorgangs tatsächlich ein zweifach vom Vater abhängiges Geschehen darstellt: Dieser selbst ist es, der bewirkt (ποιεῖ), daß die Dynamis hervorspringt. Und dies geschieht nur dann, wenn bzw. wann immer er will (ὅταν βούληται). Die Abhängigkeit der Dynamis vom Vater zeigt sich schließlich darin, daß sie keinen Einfluß darauf hat, wie lange sie im Zustand des Hervorgesprungenseins verbleibt. Wiederum wird dies zweifach ausgedrückt: Der Vater treibt sie zurück in sich selbst (πάλιν ἀναστέλλει εἰς ἑαυτόν), was auch hier allein auf *seinem* Willen beruht (ὅταν βούληται). Man darf daher aus der Ausdrucksweise Tatians nicht vorschnell folgern, daß das aktivisch ausgedrückte Hervorspringen als Logos (προπηδᾷ) bereits eine eigenständige Existenz implizieren muß,[63] zumal auch bei ihm der Vorgang auf den Willen Gottes zurückgeführt wird (θελήματι).[64] In jedem Fall ist beachtlich, daß Tatian sich nicht scheut, jenes (in diesem Zusammenhang kaum gebrauchte) Wort zu verwenden, gegen das Justin so deutlich Stellung bezieht.

Auch der nachfolgende Satz ist sehr auffällig: ὁ δὲ Λόγος οὐ κατὰ κενοῦ χωρήσας ἔργον πρωτότοκον τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεται. Den Begriff πρωτότοκος gebraucht Tatian nur an dieser einen Stelle.[65] Natürlich erinnert das Wort unmittelbar an Kol 1,15 (ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως). Zu beachten ist hier freilich, daß Tatian nicht vom Erstgeborenen spricht,

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zwar für "ungewöhnlich", verweist aber auf Weish 18,5 (gemeint: 18,15) und Thomaspsalm 1,41 als Parallelen. In beiden Fällen ist jedoch der militärische Gebrauch festzustellen, das Subjekt in den Thomaspsalmen zudem der bereits herangewachsene, also gerade nicht im Springen entstehende "Sohn von Glanz und Reichtum" (ThPs 1,39), während in Weish 18,15 (Subjekt ist hier immerhin ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος) das Verbum προπηδᾶν fehlt.

[63] Möglicherweise deutet H. Hagemann, *Römische Kirche* (wie Anm. 8) 195, die Stelle aus diesem Grund so, daß der Logos "als ein wirkliches Wesen" hervorspringe (vgl. ebd. 194 f.). Ähnlich auch V.A.S. Little, *Christology* (wie Anm. 35) 184 f.

[64] Will man dabei das αὐτοῦ auf θελήματι beziehen, so ist das letzte Bezugswort das im Vorsatz genannte αὐτῷ, mit dem Gott bezeichnet worden war. Bezieht man αὐτοῦ auf τῆς ἁπλότητος, bleibt θελήματι absolut stehen. In jedem Fall ist also der Wille Gottes gemeint, der das Geschehen bestimmt. So auch W. Steuer, *Die Gottes- und Logoslehre des Tatian mit ihren Berührungen in der griechischen Philosophie* (Leipzig 1893) 57, und M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 73 f. Vgl. auch L.M. Leone, La dottrina del Logos nel "Discorso ai Greci" di Taziano, *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana N.S.* 11 (1961/62) 287-296, 291 f.

[65] Hiermit nicht vergleichbar ist der neutestamentlich nicht belegte Ausdruck πρωτόγονος, mit dem Tatian, *Or.* 7,5 (M. 18,25), den Erstgeborenen bezeichnet, welcher abfiel und zum Dämon wurde.

sondern vom erstgeborenen ἔργον.[66] Eine solche Verbindung von πρωτότοκος und ἔργον ist im TLG für die frühe Kirche nicht belegt.[67] Lediglich bei Philo findet sich eine vergleichbare Kombination, und zwar in Gestalt einer Textvariante von Spr 8,22 f.: ὁ θεὸς ἐκτήσατό με πρωτίστην τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με.[68] Hier wird die Weisheit also als allererstes (πρωτίστην) der Geschöpfe dargestellt. Anders als Tatian verwendet Justin den Ausdruck πρωτότοκος meist substantivisch (Jesus Christus bzw. der Logos ist der πρωτότοκος Gottes),[69] und an den wenigen Stellen eines adjektivischen Gebrauchs verknüpft er den Begriff nicht mit einem ἔργον, sondern mit einer Person.[70] Das ist bei Justin auch zwingend: Für ihn ist der Logos ja wahrlich mehr als nur ein Werk; er ist als πρωτότοκος auch Gott: ὃς (sc. ὁ υἱός) Λόγος καὶ πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ θεὸς ὑπάρχει.[71] Justin könnte den Logos nicht ἔργον nennen, das würde ihm die Eigenständigkeit, die eigene Existenzweise rauben. Was aber will man umgekehrt für Tatian folgern? Kann man ihm Arianismus vor Arius unterstellen, wie dies der Scholiast des *Parisinus gr. 174* tut?[72] Genügt es, eine mangelhafte Terminologie festzustellen, die mittels der Verwendung der nachfolgenden Bilder korrigiert werde?[73] Zumindest dies ist klar, daß er dem einheitlichen Sprachgebrauch seines Lehrers nicht folgt.[74]

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[66] Für B. Ponschab, *Tatians Rede* (wie Anm. 56) 20, ist dies Beleg dafür, daß der Logos "nicht als leerer Schall, sondern als 'Realität' (ἔργον)" hervortritt.

[67] So auch A. Harnack, *Rede* (wie Anm. 20) 51.

[68] Philo, *Ebr.* 31 (Wendland II 176,9 f.). Die LXX selbst hat Spr 8,22 f.: κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέν με ἐν ἀρχῇ. Eine Verbindung von Tatians Ausdruck mit Spr 8,22 stellt auch A. Gilg, *Christologie* (wie Anm. 8) 24, her.

[69] Vgl. Justin, *1. Apol.* 23,2; 33,6; 46,2; 53,2; *Dial.* 84,2; 85,2; 100,2; 138,2.

[70] Vgl. Justin, *Dial.* 116,3 (τοῦ πρωτοτόκου αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ M. 270,22); 125,3 (τέκνον πρωτότοκον M. 286,18). Vgl. E.R. Goodenough, *Justin* (wie Anm. 48) 172.

[71] Justin, *1. Apol.* 63,15 (Marcovich, PTS 38, 123,40 f.).

[72] Vgl. *Arethae Scholia in P* ad *Or.* 5,1 (M. 77,13-25): "Es scheint sich dieser Mann nicht weit von dem arianischen Geschwätz zu entfernen. Als eine werkzeugliche Ursache (ὀργανικὸν αἴτιον) stellt er den Sohn hin (. . .). Denn seht doch! Durch das wenig früher (Stehende) führt er vor der sichtbaren Schöpfung allein Gott als seiend ein, der in sich allerdings die Wesenswerdung (οὐσίωσιν) des Kosmos enthält, gleichwie nunmehr auch den Sohn: das aber ist selbst das Dogma der Arianer." Dazu S. Di Cristina, L'idea (wie Anm. 41) 495. Zum Scholiasten vgl. A. Harnack, *Überlieferung* (wie Anm. 5) 90-96, der angesichts des Kommentars zu *Or.* 5 anmerkt: "Man kann hier lernen—wenn man es nicht schon wüsste—, warum die vorkatholische Literatur bis auf wenige Stücke 'verloren gegangen ist'" (ebd. 96).

[73] A. Casamassa, *Apologisti greci* (wie Anm. 7) 159 f., nimmt Tatian vor dem Scholiasten in Schutz: "Ma la espressione di Taziano può ben considerarsi effetto di una terminologia

Die dritte Auffälligkeit zeigt sich beim Versuch der Beschreibung, wie der Hervorgang des Logos *nicht* zu verstehen ist: Der Logos entstand nach Tatian nicht nach Art einer Abschneidung (οὐ κατ' ἀποκοπήν), da das Abgeschnittene vom Ersten getrennt wird (τὸ γὰρ ἀποτμηθὲν τοῦ πρώτου κεχώρισται).[75] Wenn aber der Logos nicht abgeschnitten ist (ἀποτμηθέν), ist er für Tatian ein ἄτμητος, und wenn er von Gott nicht getrennt ist (κεχώρισται), ein ἀχώριστος. Genau diese Begriffe verwenden freilich die Gegner des Justin, wenn sie sagen, daß die hervorgebrachte Dynamis vom Vater weder abgeschnitten noch getrennt sei (ἄτμητον δὲ καὶ ἀχώριστον; ἄτμητον καὶ ἀχώριστον)—wobei zu bemerken ist, daß sie, genau wie Tatian, damit in erster Linie eine Aussage über die Dynamis treffen, während Justin mit dem von ihm verwendeten Ausdruck ἀποτομή nichts über den Logos sagt,

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imperfetta, più che indice di fede non retta, perchè trova un correttivo nell'altra espressione 'lume da lume' che Taziano adopera sulle orme del suo maestro Giustino." Sehr ähnlich auch G. Bardy, Tatien (wie Anm. 5) 63. Wieweit die herangezogenen Bilder tatsächlich eine Korrektur darstellen, wird sich unten zeigen.

[74] Eine interessante Verknüpfung von Logos und ἔργον findet sich bei Philo, der *Sacr.* 65 ausführt, daß Gott im Sprechen zugleich schuf, ohne daß etwas zwischen Sprechen und Schaffen zu setzen sei, oder, besser gesagt: Gottes λόγος war (zugleich) sein ἔργον: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίει, μηδὲν μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν τιθείς· εἰ δὲ χρὴ δόγμα κινεῖν ἀληθέστερον, ὁ λόγος ἔργον ἦν αὐτοῦ (Cohn I 228,19-229,2). Obgleich die Differenz zur Aussage Tatians offensichtlich ist, bleibt zu überlegen, ob diese Auffassung vom Gotteswort nicht doch ein Ausgangspunkt zur Interpretation der tatianischen Logoslehre sein kann. Vgl. B. Ponschab, *Tatians Rede* (wie Anm. 56) 21. Zum Verhältnis von Philo und Tatian vgl. W. Steuer, *Gottes- und Logoslehre* (wie Anm. 64) 91-111.

[75] Die tatianische Unterscheidung von μερισμός und ἀποκοπή ist bei Justin nicht vorhanden (vgl. *Dial.* 128,4); dazu B. Ponschab, *Tatians Rede* (wie Anm. 56) 39; A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 57 f.; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 77; G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian (wie Anm. 5) 169 Anm. 38; W. Marcus, *Subordinatianismus* (wie Anm. 23) 71 f. Die Verwendung beider Begriffe erklärt R.M. Grant, Studies in the Apologists, *Harvard theological review* 51 (1958) 123-134, 126 f., mit Hilfe der Grammatiker, so daß er folgern kann: "Tatian's description of the utterance of the Logos is based on grammatical rather than philosophical analogies" (ebd. 128). Später nähert er sich der Auffassung von Elze etwas an (vgl. ders., *Greek Apologists*, wie Anm. 5, 130). Dieser betont die platonischen Parallelen (vgl. M. Elze, *Tatian*, wie Anm. 5, 77 f.); ähnlich A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 104 Anm. 6, und bereits A.v. Harnack, *Lehrbuch* (wie Anm. 5) 738 Anm. 1. Welche Konsequenzen hieraus für die Logoslehre des Tatian folgen, kann im Rahmen des Vergleichs nicht untersucht werden. Fragwürdig erscheint mir jedoch in jedem Fall die These von W. Marcus, *Subordinatianismus* (wie Anm. 23) 129: "Ich glaube, ich gehe nicht fehl, wenn ich das tatianische 'Teilung nicht Abtrennung' für sachlich identisch halte mit der justinischen Formel: ἀριθμῷ, ἀλλὰ οὐ γνώμῃ. Der Ausdruck 'Teilung' soll nichts anderes ausdrücken, als ein 'tatsächliches Für-sich-existieren'".

sondern vielmehr allein die Unversehrtheit des Vaters betonen möchte.[76]

Obgleich Justin und Tatian also den gleichen Vorgang des Hervortretens des Logos bzw. der logoshaften Dynamis in durchaus verwandter Weise schildern, zeigen sich einige auffällige Unterschiede, wobei Tatian in der Nähe jener Position zu stehen scheint, die von Justin abgelehnt wird. Dem entspricht, daß zu dessen ausdrücklicher Feststellung, daß mit dem Hervorgang des Logos ein der Zahl nach anderes Etwas entstehe (*Dial.* 128,4: ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν τί ἐστι), bei Tatian kein Pendant zu finden ist. Er spricht lediglich davon, daß der entstandene Logos ein ἔργον ist, aber welche Seinsweise ihm zukommen soll, bleibt unerwähnt.

2.3 *Der unterschiedliche Gebrauch derselben Bilder für den Hervorgang des Logos*

Die soeben festgestellte Tendenz zeigt sich noch deutlicher beim Gebrauch der Bilder, mit denen Justin und Tatian den Hervorgang des Logos veranschaulichen. Justin hatte, wie oben geschildert, in *Dial.* 61,1 zunächst die verschiedenen Bezeichnungen für die δύναμις λογική aufgezählt und damit geschlossen, daß diese aus dem Vater durch das Wollen erzeugt worden sei (ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς θελήσει γεγεννῆσθαι).[77] Bevor er nun den angekündigten Beweistext Spr 8,21-36 zitiert, schiebt er zwei Bilder ein, die den geschilderten Vorgang erläutern sollen:

> Ἀλλ' οὐ τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γινόμενον ὁρῶμεν; Λόγον γάρ τινα προβάλλοντες, λόγον γεννῶμεν, οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομήν, ὡς ἐλαττωθῆναι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγον, προβαλλόμενοι. Καὶ ὁποῖον ἐπὶ πυρὸς ὁρῶμεν ἄλλο γινόμενον, οὐκ ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου ἐξ οὗ ἡ ἄναψις γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μένοντος, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναφθὲν καὶ αὐτὸ ὂν φαίνεται, οὐκ ἐλαττῶσαν ἐκεῖνο ἐξ οὗ ἀνήφθη.[78]

Anschließend leitet Justin zu Spr 8,21-36 über, wobei er diesen Text als Zeugnis für seine eben gemachten Ausführungen versteht. In dieser Überleitung betont er nochmals, daß der Logos der Weisheit selbst der vom

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[76] Vgl. im Bild Justin, *Dial.* 61,2 (M. 175,10 f.: οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομήν, ὡς ἐλαττωθῆναι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγον); direkt auf die Ousia des Vaters bezogen *Dial.* 128,4 (M. 293,28 f.: οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομήν, ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας).

[77] Vgl. Justin, *Dial.* 61,1 (M. 175,7 f.).

[78] Justin, *Dial.* 61,2 (M. 175,9-14): "Aber sehen wir nicht auch bei uns Derartiges geschehen? Wenn wir nämlich einen Logos aussprechen, erzeugen wir einen Logos, wobei wir (ihn) nicht nach Art einer Abschneidung hervorbringen, als ob der Logos in uns vermindert würde. Desgleichen sehen wir auch an einem Feuer ein anderes entstehen, ohne daß jenes vermindert würde, von dem die Entzündung erfolgte, sondern dasselbe bleibt, und das aus ihm entzündete (Feuer) erscheint selbst seiend, ohne jenes zu vermindern, von dem es entzündet würde."

Vater des Alls erzeugte Gott (ὁ θεὸς ... γεννηθείς), Logos (λόγος), Weisheit (σοφία), Kraft (δύναμις) und Herrlichkeit des Erzeugers (δόξα τοῦ γεννήσαντος) ist.[79] Ein- und Überleitung stellen damit offenbar zugleich eine Rahmung und damit auch eine Interpretationshilfe für die beiden Bilder dar.

Betrachtet man nun das erste Gleichnis vom Aussprechen eines Wortes, so sieht man, daß Justin hierin zwei Aussagen trifft:

1 Beim Aussprechen (προβάλλοντες) eines Wortes (Λόγον) erzeugen wir ein Wort (λόγον γεννῶμεν).
2 Das Aussprechen erfolgt nicht nach Art einer Abschneidung (οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομήν), d.h. die Vernunft (λόγον), die in uns ist, wird durch das Aussprechen nicht verringert (ἐλαττωθῆναι).

Die zweite Aussage betrifft den Urheber des Wortes: Durch das Aussprechen wird an diesem nichts verändert. Er bleibt er selbst, behält den Logos in vollem Umfang. Welchen Zweck aber verfolgt Justin mit der ersten Aussage? Wenn es ihm alleine darum gegangen wäre, aufzuzeigen, daß das Aussprechen eines Wortes keine Verminderung beim Sprecher erzeugt, wäre sie überflüssig. Es muß also einen Sinn haben, wenn Justin ausdrücklich feststellt, daß das προβάλλειν eines λόγος einen λόγος erzeugt. Dieser Sinn erhellt aus den bereits zitierten Ausführungen aus *Dial.* 128,4 über die Entstehung des Logos. Dort führt Justin aus, daß die Dynamis auch der Zahl nach ein anderes Etwas ist, insofern diese Kraft vom Vater gezeugt wurde (τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην γεγεννῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός).[80] Die Erzeugung garantiert für Justin also, daß ein Zweites entsteht. Damit ist wohl auch der Ausdruck λόγον γεννῶμεν geklärt: Das Aussprechen eines Logos im Sinne einer Erzeugung setzt diesen in eine eigene Existenzform.[81]

Das Bild vom ausgesprochenen Wort enthält folglich in seinen beiden Aussagen zwei Vergleichsmomente, auf die es Justin ankommt: Er möchte zum einen betonen, daß die Quelle (des Logos) nicht vermindert wird. Es geht ihm aber zweitens auch darum, daß das aus der Quelle Hervorgegangene (der Logos selbst) in eine eigenständige Existenz tritt.

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[79] Justin, *Dial.* 61,3 (M. 175,15-17): Μαρτυρήσει δέ μοι ὁ Λόγος τῆς σοφίας, αὐτὸς ὢν οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων γεννηθεὶς καὶ λόγος καὶ σοφία καὶ δύναμις καὶ δόξα τοῦ γεννήσαντος ὑπάρχων.

[80] Justin, *Dial.* 128,4 (M. 293,27 f.).

[81] Zur mit dem Sprechbild verwandten Vorstellung der ἀπόρροια vgl. H. Dörrie, Emanation. Ein unphilosophisches Wort im spätantiken Denken (1965). In: Ders., *Platonica Minora* (STA 8, München 1976) 70-88.

Dieses zweifache Anliegen tritt beim Feuerbild noch deutlicher hervor.[82] Auch hier können zwei Aussagen unterschieden werden, von denen eine die Quelle, die zweite das Entstandene betrifft:

1 Wenn an einem Feuer ein anderes entsteht, wird jenes, das als Quelle diente, nicht vermindert, sondern bleibt dasselbe.
2 Aber auch das entstandene Feuer erhält eine eigene Existenz (καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναφθὲν καὶ αὐτὸ ὂν φαίνεται), obwohl es doch nur abgeleitet war und seiner Quelle nichts entrissen hat.

Auch bei der Wiederholung dieses Bildes zum Abschluß der Ausführungen im 128. Kapitel des Dialogs sind diese beiden Aussagen festzustellen. Dort schreibt Justin: καὶ παραδείγματος χάριν παρειλήφειν ὡς τὰ ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀναπτόμενα πυρὰ ἕτερα ὁρῶμεν, οὐδὲν ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου, ἐξ οὗ ἀναφθῆναι πολλὰ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ ταὐτοῦ μένοντος.[83] Hier betont Justin zwar stärker, daß das ursprüngliche Feuer sich nicht verändert hat; möglicherweise verwendet er aus diesem Grund sogar den Plural: selbst mehrfache Ableitungen können das ursprüngliche Feuer nicht vermindern.[84] Gleichwohl bleibt aber auch hier eindeutig bestehen, daß die entzündeten Feuer in eine eigenständige Existenz treten: Justin bezeichnet sie als πυρὰ ἕτερα, was an seine Rede vom ἕτερος θεός erinnern muß.

Tatian kennt dieselben Bilder, die er offenbar von Justin übernommen hat, da sich die Parallele zu Philo auf das Feuerbild beschränkt.[85] Auch er verwendet sie, um den zuvor abstrakt beschriebenen Hervorgang des Logos zu veranschaulichen. Dementsprechend findet sich wie bei Justin, *Dial.* 61,2, ein Anschluß mit γάρ:

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[82] Vgl. M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 76 f.

[83] Justin, *Dial.* 128,4 (M. 293,30-33): "Auch hatte ich um eines Beispiels willen angeführt, daß wir die an einem Feuer entzündeten Feuer als andere sehen, obgleich jenes nicht vermindert wird, von dem viele entzündet werden können, sondern dasselbe bleibt."

[84] Sowohl in *Dial.* 61,2 wie in *Dial.* 128,4 wird auf zweifache Weise ausgedrückt, daß das ursprüngliche Feuer unverändert bleibt: erstens sagt Justin, daß es nicht vermindert wurde (οὐκ ἐλαττουμένου bzw. οὐδὲν ἐλαττουμένου), zweitens ergänzt er, daß es dasselbe blieb (τοῦ αὐτοῦ μένοντος bzw. ταὐτοῦ μένοντος).

[85] So richtig M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 76; vgl. auch A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 11 f.; A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 35. Skeptisch hingegen J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (wie Anm. 5) 112 mit Anm. 4. Ob die Kenntnis auf der Benutzung des Dialogs beruht, der Verwendung einer gemeinsamen Quelle (so H. Dembowski, *Quellen*, wie Anm. 10, 23. 94 f., vgl. ebd. 19-23; ähnlich W. Bornstein, *Beiträge zu Tatians Rede an die Griechen* [Diss. phil. Rostock 1923] 22-25) oder sich allein aus dem Schülerverhältnis ergibt (so A. Harnack, *Geschichte II/1*, wie Anm. 6, 286 Anm. 4), kann dahingestellt bleiben.

"Ωσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ μιᾶς δᾳδὸς ἀνάπτεται μὲν πυρὰ πολλά, τῆς δὲ πρώτης δᾳδὸς διὰ τὴν ἔξαψιν τῶν πολλῶν δᾳδῶν οὐκ ἐλαττοῦται τὸ φῶς, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Λόγος προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἄλογον πεποίηκε τὸν γεγεννηκότα.[86]

Obgleich Tatian das gleiche Bild verwendet, gibt es beachtliche Unterschiede zur justinischen Fassung. Zunächst stellt man fest, daß Tatian einen Träger des Feuers nennt (die Fackel).[87] Man mag darin eine Präzisierung sehen, insofern das Bild bei Justin für sich genommen noch nicht die gewünschten Implikationen erlaubt, da ein Feuer ja auch durch Teilung des brennenden Materials in zwei oder auch mehrere Feuer geteilt werden könnte. Doch zeigen sich im Zusammenhang mit dieser Präzisierung auch Bedeutungsunterschiede: Auf der Seite der Quelle benennt Tatian nämlich zwei Dinge ausdrücklich, die Fackel und das Licht dieser Fackel. Damit wird natürlich impliziert, daß diese Fackel auch Feuer trägt. Diesen drei Elementen stehen drei Vergleichspunkte in der abstrakten Beschreibung gegenüber, in welcher ausdrücklich die δύναμις des Vaters, damit auch der Vater selbst als Träger dieser Dynamis sowie drittens der väterliche Logos genannt werden. Damit entsprechen sich also Fackel und Vater, die jeweils Träger sind von Feuer bzw. δύναμις. Die Frage der Verminderung bezieht sich nun weder auf den Träger noch auf das Getragene, sondern auf das, was das Getragene impliziert: Das Feuer der Fackel entsendet Licht—dieses Licht (und nicht wie bei Justin das Feuer) wird durch das Entzünden eines anderen Feuers nicht vermindert; die δύναμις des Vaters enthält auch Vernunft, und diese Vernunft wird durch Ableitungen aus dem Vermögen des Vaters nicht verringert. Der erste Unterschied zu Justin besteht also darin, daß Tatian aus dem einen Vergleichspaar (Feuer-Vater, Feuer-Logos) ein kompliziertes Vergleichsgeflecht geschaffen hat (Licht-väterlicher Logos, Feuer-Dynamis, Fackel-Vater).

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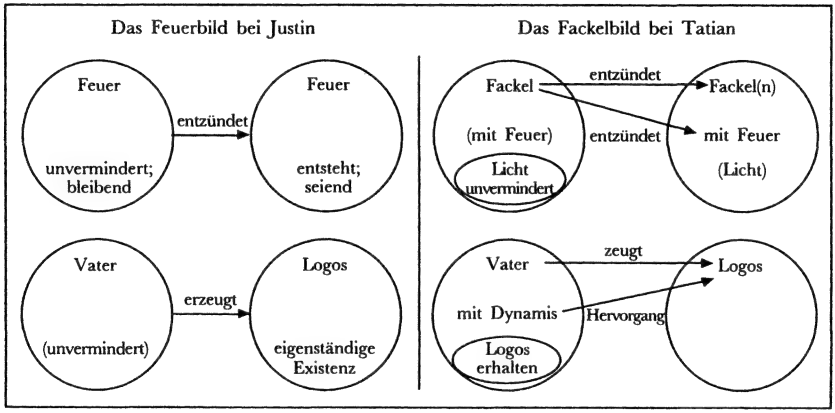
[86] Tatian, *Or.* 5,4 (M. 14,12-15): "Wie nämlich von einer Fackel viele Feuer entzündet werden, das Licht der ersten Fackel aber durch die Entzündung der vielen Fackeln nicht vermindert wird, so hat auch der Logos, als er aus der Dynamis des Vaters hervorging, den Erzeuger nicht alogisch gemacht."

[87] Unter dieser Rücksicht unpräzise sind C.P. Bammel, Justin der Märtyrer. In: *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte. Band 1*, hrsg. v. M. Greschat (Stuttgart u. a. 1984) 51-68, hier 62, und M. Marcovich, Introduction (wie Anm. 7) 2, wenn sie die Fackel bereits in Justins Bild mit aufnehmen.



Diese Ausführlichkeit ist nun aber nur auf der Seite der Quelle festzustellen. Auf der Seite des Entstehenden zeigen sich Probleme, und das ist wohl nicht zufällig so: Im Bild werden die vielen Feuer bzw. Fackeln genannt; das von jenen ausgehende Licht findet keine Erwähnung. In der Auflösung wird auf der Seite des Entstehenden lediglich der Λόγος προελθών genannt. Wem entspricht er im Bilde? Eigentlich kommen unter den drei vorhandenen Möglichkeiten (Fackeln, Feuer, Licht) nur die "vielen Feuer" an den "vielen Fackeln" in Frage (so Justin), wenn der entsprechende Vergleichspunkt der des Neuentstehens sein soll. Unter dieser Voraussetzung hätte das Bild in der Realität freilich nur dann eine *genaue* Entsprechung, wenn dem Λόγος προελθών ein Träger zugeordnet würde, während er seinerseits wie Feuer ein Licht aussenden müßte. Beides jedoch erwähnt Tatian mit keinem Wort. Tatsächlich scheint er den entstandenen Logos eher mit dem Licht vergleichen zu wollen, da er an einer anderen Stelle eine anthropologische Deutung von Joh 1,5 bietet, die darauf hinweist:

> Καθ' ἑαυτὴν γὰρ σκότος ἐστί (sc. ἡ ψυχή), καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ φωτεινόν, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄρα τὸ εἰρημένον· »ἡ σκοτία τὸ φῶς οὐ καταλαμβάνει«. Ψυχὴ γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔσωσεν, ἐσώθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ φῶς τὴν σκοτίαν κατέλαβεν, ᾗ Λόγος μέν ἐστι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φῶς, σκότος δὲ ἡ ἀνεπιστήμων ψυχή.[88]

[88] Tatian, *Or.* 13,2 (M. 30,6-11): "Für sich selbst ist sie (sc. die Seele) nämlich Finsternis, und nichts Leuchtendes gibt es in ihr, und dies ist eben, was gesagt wurde: 'Die Finsternis erfaßt nicht das Licht'. Denn nicht die Seele ist es, die den Geist gerettet hat, sondern sie wurde von ihm gerettet; und das Licht erfaßte die Finsternis, insofern der Logos das Licht Gottes ist, Finsternis aber die unverständige Seele." Vgl. hierzu J. Feuerstein, *Anthropologie* (wie Anm. 58) 87 f. 90; R.M. Grant, Tatian and the Bible (wie Anm. 5)

Mit der Bezeichnung des Logos als τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φῶς, die an das von Justin abgelehnte Bild des Logos als τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς (*Dial.* 128,3) erinnert, nähert sich Tatian nun doch an das Sonnengleichnis an.[89] Zugleich sieht man sehr deutlich, daß er sich bei der Verwendung seines Fackelbildes nicht für die Seite des Entstandenen interessiert. Damit aber ist der zweite entscheidende Unterschied zu Justin markiert: Dieser hat in seinem Feuerbild je eine Aussage für die Quelle *und* das aus ihr Entstehende getroffen. Tatian beschränkt sich ganz auf die Seite der Quelle: Das Licht der ersten Fackel wird nicht vermindert, Gott wurde nicht alogisch. Ob das entstehende Feuer bzw. das entstehende Licht eine eigenständige Existenz antritt, ob es seinem Ursprung vergleichbar ist oder nicht, wird von Tatian nicht mitgeteilt. Er interessiert sich allein für die Frage der Einheit Gottes, die gewahrt bleiben muß: Bei der Quelle darf keine Veränderung eintreten.[90]

Dieselbe Intention zeigt Tatian bei der Verwendung des zweiten Bildes, das ebenfalls mit γάρ angeschlossen ist, also wiederum der Erläuterung dienen soll. Die Entscheidung, was genau damit begründet werden soll, ist hier nicht ganz so einfach zu treffen, da das Bild vom Sprechen zugleich

298; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 83; G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian (wie Anm. 5) 185 f. Jüngst hat T. Baarda, John 1:5 in the *Oration* and *Diatessaron* of Tatian. Concerning the Reading ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ, *Vigiliae christianae* 47 (1993) 209-225, gezeigt, daß die auffällige Ersetzung von κατέλαβεν durch καταλαμβάνει auf Tatian selbst zurückgeht. Skeptisch hinsichtlich einer Verwendung des Johannesprologs hingegen J. Moingt, Réception (wie Anm. 52) 262 f.

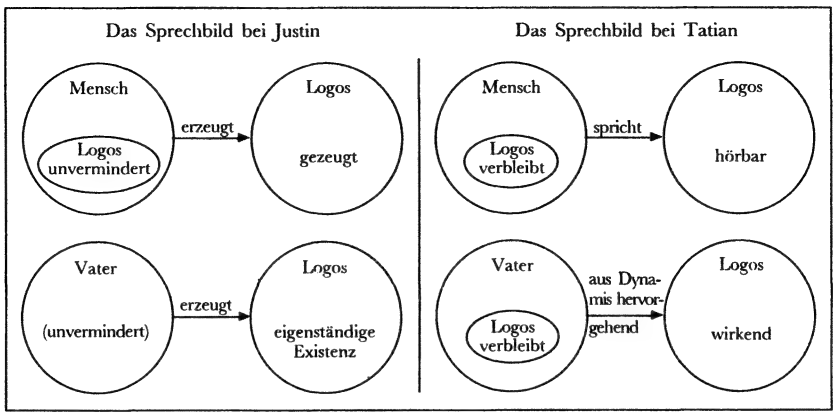
[89] So bereits F.J. Dölger, Sonne und Sonnenstrahl (wie Anm. 50) 275: Tatian habe "mit der Betonung der Fackel den Lichtgedanken, der beim Sonnengleichnis so wirkungsvoll war, mit (sc. in das Feuergleichnis) hereinzuziehen gesucht".

[90] Daß etwa Irenäus, *Haer.* 2,17,4, auf die Valentinianer antwortet, das für die Vorgänge im Pleroma verwendete Fackelbild sei nicht geeignet, eine Abstufung zwischen den einzelnen Äonen zu veranschaulichen, da eine Fackel, die später angezündet werde, doch kein anderes Licht habe als jenes schon vorher seiende, spricht nicht gegen die obigen Feststellungen. Welche Implikationen die beiden Bilder auch immer enthalten mögen: Tatian zieht Schlußfolgerungen allein im Hinblick auf die Quelle (anders offenbar V.A.S. Little, *Christology*, wie Anm. 35, 187). Darin zeigt er große Nähe mit Philo, der das Fackelbild *Gig.* 25 zur Erklärung von Num 11,17 einsetzt und dabei erklärt, daß selbst ein zehntausendfaches Entzünden das Ursprungsfeuer nicht vermindert (Wendland II 46,21-47,2): "Aber verstehe das nicht so, daß die Wegnahme gemäß einer Abtrennung (ἀποκοπήν) oder einer Scheidung (διάζευξιν) erfolgt, sondern wie es wohl bei einem Feuer geschieht, welches, auch wenn es zehntausend Fackeln entzündet, nicht im geringsten vermindert im gleichen Zustand verbleibt (ὅ, κἂν μυρίας δᾷδας ἐξάψῃ, μένει μήδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐλαττωθὲν ἐν ὁμοίῳ)". Dazu knapp M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 77; A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 105.

eine Überleitung zu den nachfolgenden Ausführungen über die Schöpfung darstellt[91]:

> Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ λαλῶ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούετε· καὶ οὐ δήπου διὰ τῆς μεταβάσεως τοῦ λόγου κενὸς ὁ προσομιλῶν τοῦ λόγου γίνομαι, προβαλλόμενος δὲ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φωνὴν διακοσμεῖν τὴν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀκόσμητον ὕλην προῄρημαι. (6) Καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ γεννηθεὶς ἀντεγέννησε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποίησιν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὴν ὕλην δημιουργήσας, οὕτω κἀγὼ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου μίμησιν ἀναγεννηθεὶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς κατάληψιν πεποιημένος μεταρρυθμίζω τῆς συγγενοῦς ⟨ὑμῖν⟩ ὕλης τὴν σύγχυσιν.[92]

Mit der justinschen Verwendung des Sprechbildes vergleichbar ist nur der erste Teil von Tatians Ausführungen. Damit dieses Gleichnis nicht ohne Entsprechung in der Realität bleibt, muß sich das γάρ auf den unmittelbar vorangehenden Teilsatz über den Hervorgang des Logos beziehen, der damit als Vergleichsgröße sowohl für das vorangehende Fackel- wie für das jetzige Sprechbild gelten muß. Das Sprech-Bild lautet bei Tatian vollständig also so:



[91] Vgl. M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 79.

[92] Tatian, *Or.* 5,5 f. (M. 14,16-23; Interpunktion verändert): "Denn auch ich rede, und ihr hört; und doch werde ich, der eine Ansprache hält, durch den Übergang des Logos in keiner Weise des Logos beraubt, sondern indem ich meine Stimme von mir gebe, habe ich vor, die ungeordnete Materie in euch zu ordnen. Und wie der im Anfang gezeugte Logos wiederum unsere Schöpfung erzeugte, indem er sich selbst die Materie bildete, so verbessere auch ich, zur Nachahmung des Logos wiedergeboren und zur Erfassung des Wahren geschaffen, die Unordnung der <euch> verwandten Materie."

ὁ Λόγος προελθὼν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἄλογον πεποίηκε τὸν γεγεννηκότα. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ λαλῶ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούετε· καὶ οὐ δήπου διὰ τῆς μεταβάσεως τοῦ λόγου κενὸς ὁ προσομιλῶν τοῦ λόγου γίνομαι.[93]

Auf der Bildebene sehen wir zunächst die Quelle: das redende Subjekt, welches Logos besitzt; das Hervorgebrachte ist allein der Logos. Es findet ein reales Aussprechen statt, das eine Wirkung zeitigt: Das Wort kommt bei den Hörenden an, es geschieht eine μετάβασις des Logos. Der Sprechende wird dadurch aber keineswegs des in ihm sich befindlichen Logos beraubt.[94] An dieser Stelle sind nun die Entsprechungen zwischen dem Bild und der Realität viel exakter als beim vorherigen Fackelbild: dem sprechenden Subjekt, das Logos besitzt, entspricht der zeugende Vater. Das Hervorgebrachte ist hier wie dort der Logos, der auch in der Realität "ausgesprochen" wird (ὁ Λόγος προελθών) und Wirkung erzielt. Auch hier wird die Quelle dadurch nicht des Logos beraubt.

Im Vergleich mit Justin zeigen sich aber wiederum zwei Unterschiede: Die erste Differenz ist die gleiche, die schon beim Fackelbild festzustellen war: Justin trifft eine Aussage sowohl über die Quelle wie über das aus der Quelle Hervorgegangene, Tatian nicht. Obwohl er eine Wirkung des Vorgangs zum Ausdruck bringt, interessiert er sich nicht für die Existenzform des Hervorgegangenen; ihm geht es allein um die Frage, welche Konsequenzen dieser Vorgang für die Quelle (und für das Gesamtgeschehen) hat. Dem entspricht auf terminologischer Ebene, daß Tatian den für Justin so zentralen Begriff γεννάω zwar nicht völlig meidet, aber doch eher beiläufig verwendet und vor allem aus ihm keine argumentativen Konsequenzen zieht.[95]

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[93] Tatian, *Or.* 5,4 f. (M. 14,14-17): "Der Logos hat, als er aus der Dynamis des Vaters hervorging, den Erzeuger nicht alogisch gemacht. Denn auch ich rede, und ihr hört; und doch werde ich, der eine Ansprache hält, durch den Übergang des Logos in keiner Weise des Logos beraubt."

[94] A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7), merkt S. 106 Anm. 1 an, daß Tatian den Logosbegriff in doppeltem Sinn verwendet (als "reason" und als "speech"). Aufgrund der Aussage λόγον γεννῶμεν fehle bei Justin diese Doppeldeutigkeit.

[95] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 5,4 (οὐκ ἄλογον πεποίηκε τὸν γεγεννηκότα M. 14,15); 5,6 (Καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ γεννηθεὶς ἀντεγέννησε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποίησιν M. 14,19 f.); 7,1 (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γεννήσαντος αὐτὸν [sc. Λόγον] πατρὸς M. 17,2). Die weiteren Verwendungen von γεννάω betreffen andere Subjekte (vgl. *Or.* 6,3; 32,6; 33,5; 41,8; 42,1). Dazu L.W. Barnard, Heresy (wie Anm. 5) 4: "The process of begetting and the relationship of the Father and the Son are not emphasised." Anders V.A.S. Little, *Christology* (wie Anm. 35) 186.

In diesen Konsequenzen für den Sprechenden liegt zugleich der zweite Unterschied: Justin spricht davon, daß das Aussprechen eines Logos den Logos im Sprechenden nicht *verringert* (*Dial.* 61,2: ὡς ἐλαττωθῆναι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγον; ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου; 128,4: ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου). Der Logos scheint für ihn also eine quantitative Größe zu sein, die ein Mehr oder Minder zuläßt. Tatian hingegen verwendet den Logosbegriff hier absolut: Die mögliche Alternative ist nicht, daß der Vater *weniger* Logos hätte, sondern daß er ἄλογος wäre, nicht, daß der Sprechende weniger Logos besäße, sondern daß er κενὸς τοῦ λόγου wäre.[96]

3 *Einige heilsgeschichtliche Daten im Vergleich*

Auch bei der Darstellung der heilsgeschichtlichen Daten, die sich an den Hervorgang des Logos anschließen und bis zum Endgericht reichen, zeigen sich einige signifikante Unterschiede zwischen Justin und Tatian. Einige wichtige Beispiele sollen nachfolgend genannt werden.

3.1 *Die Schöpfung*

Für Justin ist der Logos bekanntlich der Schöpfungsmittler. Der eine Gott hatte ihn ja zu diesem Zweck aus sich herausgesetzt. Eines der deutlichsten Zeugnisse hierfür bietet *2. Apol.* 6,3:

> Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱός, ὁ Λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων [καὶ] συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε, »Χριστὸς« μὲν κατὰ τὸ »κεχρῖσθαι« καὶ κοσμῆσαι τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν λέγεται.[97]

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[96] Die Forschung ist bislang weitgehend über diese Differenzen hinweggegangen. Eine der Ausnahmen stellt J. Moingt, Réception (wie Anm. 52) 255 Anm. 6, dar: "Cette image peut venir de Justin, *Dialogue*, 128 (. . .), mais il l'utilise différemment de Tatien de manière à mettre en évidence la distinction numérique du Père et de celui qu'il engendre." Vgl. auch F.J. Dölger, Sonne und Sonnenstrahl (wie Anm. 50) 275; ferner J.M. Fuller, Tatianus. In: *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, hrsg. v. H. Wace and W.C. Piercy (London 1911 = ND Peabody, Mass. 1994) 927-933, 930; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 75.

[97] Justin, *2. Apol.* 6,3 (Marcovich, PTS 38, 145,6-9): "Der Sohn von jenem aber, der allein wahrhaftig Sohn genannt wird, der als Logos vor den Geschöpfen mit ihm war und gezeugt wurde, als er am Anfang durch ihn alles gegründet und geordnet hat, wird 'Christus' genannt, weil er gesalbt wurde und Gott das All durch ihn geordnet hat." Dazu E.R. Goodenough, *Justin* (wie Anm. 48) 164-167.

Auch bei Tatian wird der Logos zum Zwecke der Schöpfung hervorgebracht. Er kann sogar davon sprechen, daß das im Anfang gezeugte Wort seinerseits unsere Schöpfung für sich selber erzeugt hat, indem es die Materie ordnete,[98] doch kann hieraus keine eigenständige Existenz des Logos abgeleitet werden, wird doch die Erschaffung der Materie sogleich ausdrücklich auf den einen Schöpfer von allem zurückgeführt.[99] Daß dieser eine Schöpfer mit dem einzigen Gott zu identifizieren ist, ergibt sich aus anderen Stellen.[100] Am eindringlichsten ist dabei *Or.* 19,9:

> Τῶν παθῶν ⟨δ'⟩ ἂν ὑπάρχῃς ἀνώτερος, τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντων καταφρονήσεις. Τοιούτους ἡμᾶς ὄντας μὴ ἀποστυγήσητε, ἀλλὰ παραιτησάμενοι τοὺς δαίμονας θεῷ τῷ μόνῳ κατακολουθήσατε. »Πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ⟨γέγονε⟩ καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ἕν«.[101]

Offenkundig zitiert Tatian hier Joh 1,3, verändert aber die Stelle in signifikanter Weise. Während der Prolog bekanntlich die Schöpfungsmittlerschaft des Logos an dieser Stelle aussagt, verzichtet Tatian hier auf jegliche Erwähnung des Logos.[102] Das johanneische (und auch von Justin gebrauchte)

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[98] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 5,6. Anders als Justin, *1. Apol.* 10,2; 59,1-6, lehrt Tatian also nicht die Ewigkeit der Materie. Dazu M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 80; A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 114-116.

[99] Tatian, *Or.* 5,6 f. (M. 14,19-26; Interpunktion leicht verändert): "Und wie der im Anfang gezeugte Logos wiederum unsere Schöpfung erzeugte (καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Λόγος ἐν ἀρχῇ γεννηθεὶς ἀντεγέννησε τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποίησιν), indem er sich selbst die Materie bildete, so verbessere auch ich, zur Nachahmung des Logos wiedergeboren und zur Erfassung des Wahren geschaffen, die Unordnung der <euch> verwandten Materie. Denn weder ist die Materie anfangslos wie Gott, noch ist sie aufgrund der Anfangslosigkeit Gott gleichmächtig, sondern sie entstand, wobei sie nicht von einem anderen geschaffen wurde, sondern vom alleinigen Demiurgen des Alls hervorgebracht wurde (γενητὴ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἄλλου γεγονυῖα, μόνου δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντων δημιουργοῦ προβεβλημένη)."

[100] Vgl. W. Steuer, *Gottes- und Logoslehre* (wie Anm. 64) 41-45, der später aber davon ausgeht, daß Tatian "den Logos zum eigentlichen Weltschöpfer macht" (ebd. 58, vgl. 59-62); ähnlich J. Feuerstein, *Anthropologie* (wie Anm. 58) 25.

[101] Tatian, *Or.* 19,9 (M. 40,32-35): "Wenn du über die Leidenschaften erhaben bist, wirst du alles, was im Kosmos ist, verachten. Verschmäht uns nicht, die wir dies erfüllen, sondern weist die Dämonen zurück und gehorcht dem alleinigen Gott. 'Alles ist von ihm <geworden> und ohne ihn ist nichts geworden.'"

[102] Vgl. A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 58 Anm. 1. Für A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 113 f., besteht kein Zweifel, daß mit θεός der Logos gemeint sei (ähnlich R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists*, wie Anm. 5, 128). Er hält sogar alle Aussagen über den Schöpfer für Aussagen über den Logos: "In all passages, therefore, where Tatian refers to the creative activity of God, we are to understand that by 'God' he means the Word. This is another example, then, of Tatian's desire to establish firmly that the Word is God" (ebd. 114). Dagegen ist trotz der nicht uninteressanten Argumentation erstens festzuhal-

δι' αὐτοῦ ändert er dementsprechend in das im neuen Kontext notwendige ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ab.[103]

3.2 *Das Erscheinen Gottes in der Welt*

Bekanntlich sucht man bei Tatian vergebens nach *ausdrücklichen* Aussagen über Jesus Christus: Weder der Name noch der Messiastitel finden bei ihm Verwendung. Aber auch der Logos bleibt "bei Tatian eigentümlich wesenlos. Er darf noch bei der Schöpfung und dem Fall der Engel und Menschen wirken (cap. 7), danach tritt er praktisch nicht mehr in Erscheinung."[104] Die Forschung hat hierfür zurecht auf das protreptische Anliegen der *Oratio*

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ten, daß in *Or.* 19,9 der Logos schlicht und einfach nicht genannt wird. Zweitens müßte bei Osbornes Überlegungen zuerst zweifelsfrei feststehen, daß der nur zum Zweck der Schöpfung herausgesetzte λόγος tatsächlich in eine eigenständige Existenz tritt, die eine notwendige Voraussetzung für die Zuschreibung der Gottesprädikation darstellt. Die mehrfach von Osborne gebrauchte, Tatian dennoch nicht entsprechende Bezeichnung des Logos als "Sohn" (z. B. 97. 103. 104. 106) läßt vermuten, daß er diese Entscheidung schon frühzeitig getroffen hat.

[103] So auch M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 82; vgl. T. Baarda, John 1:5 (wie Anm. 88) 210 f. Skeptisch hinsichtlich einer Anspielung auf Joh 1,1 in *Or.* 5,1 sowie des Zitats von Joh 1,3 an dieser Stelle ist J. Moingt, Réception (wie Anm. 52) 262 f.: "Nous hésitons cependant pour le premier, car, s'il s'agissait d'une citation, ce serait un contresens manifeste. Le second texte reproduit le même contre-sens (il parle de Dieu là où le Prologue parle du Logos), tout en suivant plus littéralement le texte du Prologue" (ebd. 262). Die angenommenen Fehldeutungen sollten m. E. jedoch weniger an den aufgegriffenen Quellen zweifeln lassen, als vielmehr auf die Eigenheiten Tatians aufmerksam machen. Eine analoge Situation findet man ja auch in *Or.* 15,9 vor: Dort spricht Tatian davon, daß die Menschen nach dem Verlust der Unsterblichkeit durch die im Glauben vollzogene Selbstabtötung den Tod besiegt haben und ihnen durch die Buße Berufung zuteil wurde gemäß dem Worte: "nachdem sie nur kurze Zeit unter Engel erniedrigt worden waren" (ἐπειδὴ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἠλαττώθησαν M. 33,33). Dieses Zitat ist offenkundig Ps 8,6 nachgebildet, ein Vers, der bekanntlich wörtlich in Hebr 2,7 aufgenommen (ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους) und Hebr 2,9 ausdrücklich auf Jesus bezogen wird (τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν). Vgl. dazu R.M. Grant, Tatian and the Bible (wie Anm. 5) 305 ("Tatian's concern for anthropology is greater than his concern for Christology"); M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 83. 102; R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists* (wie Anm. 5) 128.

[104] M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 81 f. Mit Recht folgert er (ebd. 82), "daß für Tatian der Logos lediglich eine kosmologische Funktion hat" und damit die Auffassung, wonach die Apologeten die Logostheologie zur Rechtfertigung des Christusglaubens aufgegriffen hätten (vgl. W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, wie Anm. 8, 317 f.; A. Gilg, *Christologie*, wie Anm. 8, 26 f.), für ihn nicht zutrifft. Ähnlich bereits H. Dembowski, *Quellen* (wie Anm. 10) 53; ferner A. Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche. Band 1: Von der Apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451)* (Freiburg-Basel-Wien ³1990) 229. Vgl. auch M. Whittaker, Introduction (wie Anm. 56) xv.

hingewiesen: Tatian möchte nicht den christlichen Glauben darlegen, sondern dafür werben,[105] weshalb es auch naheliegt, daß er die von den anderen Apologeten gleichfalls geübte "monotheistische Auswahl"[106] vornimmt. Damit steht in Verbindung, daß er seiner Darstellung einen möglichst objektiven Charakter geben will und deshalb zwar einerseits ausgiebig auf griechische Quellen zurückgreift, andererseits aber die christlichen Offenbarungsschriften—ganz anders als Justin—nur beiläufig heranzieht.[107] Insofern ist die Feststellung richtig, daß wir von Tatians Theologie weniger wissen (und wissen können) als etwa von der seines Lehrers.[108] Gleichwohl muß daran festgehalten werden, daß auch Tatian einen Einblick in den christlichen Glauben geben will[109] und daß er dabei auch durchaus nicht alle heilsgeschichtlichen Daten getilgt hat—sie werden nur nicht ausdrücklich mit dem Logos oder mit Christus verbunden.

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[105] Die Gattungsfrage ist bis heute umstritten. Geklärt ist weithin nur, daß es sich bei der *Oratio* um keine Apologie im eigentlichen Sinn handeln kann. Neuerdings wurde sie von R.M. Grant, Five Apologists (wie Anm. 7) 12 f.; ders., *Greek Apologists* (wie Anm. 5) 115-117, als Λόγος συντακτικός gedeutet. Als Alternative bietet sich an, die *Oratio* als einen *Protrepticus* aufzufassen. Hierzu jetzt M. McGehee, Why Tatian Never "Apologized" To The Greeks, *Journal of early christian studies* 1 (1993) 143-158. Der protreptische Charakter wurde allerdings schon früher gesehen. Vgl. etwa B. Ponschab, *Tatians Rede* (wie Anm. 56) 8; J. Lortz, *Tertullian II* (wie Anm. 21) 107; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 41-43; B. Altaner, A. Stuiber, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter* (Freiburg-Basel-Wien [8]1978) 71.

[106] J. Lortz, *Tertullian II* (wie Anm. 21) 3. Diese Konzentration der Darstellung auf den Monotheismus beeinhaltet fast von alleine ein Zurückdrängen der Person Jesu (vgl. ebd. 5-7). Vgl. auch L.W. Barnard, Heresy (wie Anm. 5) 10; ders., Apologetik (wie Anm. 5) 380.

[107] Diese Methode gibt Tatian in *Or.* 31,2 (M. 57,8-12) selbst an: "Zu Zeugen werde ich aber nicht unsere eigenen Leute nehmen, sondern als Helfer vielmehr Griechen verwenden. Das eine nämlich wäre unvernünftig, da von euch ja nicht angenommen, das andere aber könnte wohl Erstaunen hervorrufen, da ich euch ja mit euren eigenen Waffen Widerstand leiste und für euch unverdächtige Beweismittel nehme." Dazu ausführlich A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 76-81; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 17-19. Vgl. auch A. Kalkmann, Tatians Nachrichten über Kunstwerke, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 42 (1887) 489-524, 517-520.

[108] Vgl. M. McGehee, Tatian (wie Anm. 105) 158.

[109] Vgl. die Ankündigung in *Or.* 4,5 (Φανερώτερον δ' ἐκθήσομαι τὰ ἡμέτερα M. 12,23), mit der Tatian zu seiner Darlegung der christlichen Lehre c. 5-20 (21) überleitet, in der eine Vielzahl von Themen mehr oder minder ausführlich abgehandelt wird. Dazu J. Lortz, *Tertullian II* (wie Anm. 21) 106-109, hier 107: "Belehrung des Gegners, Mitteilung eigenen Besitzes ist das tiefere Ziel trotz der vielen scharf polemischen Teile. So merkwürdig es klingen mag, der turbulente Tatian ist hier durchaus treuer Schüler seines Lehrers Justin."

So schließt Tatian die ausführliche Darstellung der christlichen Lehre, die er *Or.* 5-20 gegeben hat, im 21. Kapitel ab: Οὐ γὰρ μωραίνομεν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ λήρους ἀπαγγέλλομεν, θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ γεγονέναι καταγγέλλοντες.[110]

Der Unterschied zu Justin ist offenkundig, insofern es für diesen der Logos ist, der in Menschengestalt erschienen ist. Die sprachlich nächsten Parallelen zur Äußerung Tatians finden sich dabei sowohl im Dialog mit Tryphon wie in der ersten Apologie. In *1. Apol.* 5,4 erklärt Justin, daß der Logos die Wahrheit nicht allein bei den Griechen durch Sokrates ans Licht brachte, sondern auch bei den Barbaren, und zwar als er selbst Gestalt annahm, Mensch wurde und Jesus Christus genannt wurde.[111] Im Dialog erklärt er an der bereits zitierten Stelle *Dial.* 61,1, daß die δύναμις λογική auch als ἀρχιστράτηγος bezeichnet wurde, und zwar als sie dem Josua, Sohn des Nave, in Gestalt eines Menschen erschien (ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ φανέντα τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦ).[112] Natürlich ist für Justin der Logos θεός, so daß er wohl in analoger Weise davon sprechen könnte, daß Gott in Menschengestalt erschienen ist. Doch bleibt er diesbezüglich so präzise, daß er die Menschwerdung unmittelbar immer nur mit dem Logos oder mit Christus in Verbindung setzt.[113]

Dasselbe gilt auch für die Leidensaussagen, die Justin ebenfalls nur von Christus, dem menschgewordenen Logos, aussagt.[114] Wie sollte es auch möglich sein, daß der Gott, der seinen Himmel nicht verläßt, ins Leiden gerät? Während nun aber Justin ausdrücklich die Apathie Gottes erwähnt,[115]

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[110] Tatian, *Or.* 21,1 (M. 42,1 f.): "Denn wir sind keine Narren, griechische Männer, noch verkünden wir Possen, wenn wir mitteilen, daß Gott sich in der Gestalt eines Menschen befunden hat." Unpräzise ist, wenn H. Dembowski, *Quellen* (wie Anm. 10), in diesem Zusammenhang mehrfach vom "Gottessohn" spricht (vgl. ebd. 61. 62. 64. 66).

[111] Justin, *1. Apol.* 5,4 (M. 39,16-18): Οὐ γὰρ μόνον <ἐν> Ἕλλησι διὰ Σωκράτους ὑπὸ Λόγου ἠλέγχθη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου μορφωθέντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου γενομένου καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κληθέντος. Die hierbei angedeutete Vorstellung vom λόγος σπερματικός (vgl. *2. Apol.* 8,3; 13,3) fehlt bekanntlich bei Tatian. Dazu M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 37; R. Joly, *Christianisme et philosophie. Etudes sur Justin et les Apologists grecs du deuxième siècle* (Université libre de Bruxelles. Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres 52, Bruxelles 1973) 79; ausführlich J.T. King, Controversy (wie Anm. 10).

[112] Justin, *Dial.* 61,1 (M. 175,5 f.).

[113] Vgl. neben den genannten Belegen noch Justin, *1. Apol.* 42,3; 52,3; 63,10.16; *Dial.* 48,1; 64,7; 68,3; 76,1; 101,1; 105,1; 125,3.

[114] Vgl. etwa Justin, *1. Apol.* 63,10. 16.

[115] Vgl. Justin, *1. Apol.* 25,2 (M. 68,7): θεῷ δὲ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν ("wir haben uns dem ungezeugten und leidensunfähigen Gott geweiht"). Dazu H. Frohnhofen, *Apatheia tou theou. Über die Affektlosigkeit Gottes in der griechischen Antike und bei*

findet man ἀπαθής nicht unter den von Tatian angeführten Gottesprädikaten, was um so mehr auffallen muß, als dieser sonst eine Vielzahl aus der Reihe der philosophischen Gottesprädikate übernimmt.[116] Im Gegenteil kann er sogar ausdrücklich vom leidenden Gott sprechen:

> Καὶ αἱ μὲν πειθόμεναι ⟨τῇ θεοῦ⟩ σοφίᾳ σφίσιν αὐταῖς ἐφεῖλκον τὸ πνεῦμα συγγενές, αἱ δὲ μὴ πειθόμεναι καὶ τὸν διάκονον τοῦ πεπονθότος θεοῦ παραιτούμεναι θεομάχοι μᾶλλον ἢπερ θεοσεβεῖς ἀνεφαίνοντο.[117]

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den griechischsprachigen Kirchenvätern bis Gregorios Thaumaturgos (EHS. T 318, Frankfurt/M. u. a. 1987) 146-149.

[116] Der Gott Tatians ist μόνος ἄναρχος (*Or.* 4,3 M. 12,10 f.; 5,7 M. 14,23), ἀόρατος (*Or.* 4,3 M. 12,13; vgl. *Or.* 4,2 M. 12,8: οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρατὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς) und ἀφανής (*Or.* 4,3 M. 12,13), ἀνονόμαστος (*Or.* 4,5 M. 12,21), ἀνενδεής (*Or.* 4,5 M. 12,22), ἄσαρκος (*Or.* 15,4 M. 32,15) und ἀσώματος (*Or.* 25,3 M. 49,18). In gewisser Weise ist er auch ἄχρονος (οὐκ ἔχει σύστασιν ἐν χρόνῳ: *Or.* 4,3 M. 12,10), ἄφθαρτος und ἀθάνατος (ἡ ἀφθαρσία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ: *Or.* 7,1 M. 17,4; ἔχῃ καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον: *Or.* 7,1 M. 17,5; πατρὸς ἀφθαρσίας: *Or.* 32,1 M. 60,3 f.) sowie ἀκατάληπτος oder ἀψηλάφητος (οὐ τέχνῃ περιληπτός: *Or.* 4,2 M. 12,7). Tatian erwähnt jedoch an keiner Stelle, daß Gott ἀπαθής ist (Hinweis von Prof. Dr. R. Hübner). Er spricht lediglich vom πάθος des Diogenes (*Or.* 2,1 M. 9,2-4), den πάθη der Dämonen und Menschen (*Or.* 8,2 M. 10,10-12), dem menschlichen πάθος (*Or.* 17,3 M. 35,11) und der Erhebung des Menschen über die πάθη (*Or.* 19,9 M. 40,32). Vgl. W. Steuer, *Gottes- und Logoslehre* (wie Anm. 64) 27-31; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 63 f.

[117] Tatian, *Or.* 13,6 (nach M. 30,24-27): "Und diejenigen (sc. Seelen), die der Weisheit <Gottes> gehorchten, haben den verwandten Geist an sich gezogen, diejenigen aber, die nicht gehorchten und den Diener des Gottes, der gelitten hat, zurückwiesen, erwiesen sich mehr als Gottesstreiter denn als Gottesfürchtige." Marcovich setzt als erster moderner Editor πεποιηκότος an die Stelle von πεπονθότος (anders PG, Otto, Schwartz, Goodspeed, Whittaker). Eine Begründung gibt er an anderer Stelle: vgl. ders., *Criticism* (wie Anm. 5) 20: "The Holy Spirit is a servant of the Creator, not necessarily of Christ (τοῦ πεπονθότος θεοῦ). Consequently, read Καὶ αἱ μὲν πειθόμεναι <τῇ θεοῦ> (θείᾳ Schwartz, p. VIII) σοφίᾳ . . ., αἱ δὲ μὴ πειθόμεναι καὶ τὸν διάκονον τοῦ πεποιηκότος θεοῦ παραιτούμεναι . . .". Da es keine vergleichbare Parallele bei Tatian gibt (nur noch *Or.* 19,5 wird διάκονος gebraucht, bezieht sich dort aber auf die μαντική), ist diese Begründung nicht ausreichend. Natürlich erscheint im Verlauf der Textgeschichte eine Verschreibung gut möglich, allerdings aus dogmatischen Gründen doch wohl eher in die andere Richtung (weshalb Handschrift V vielleicht auch das von M und P geführte πεπονθότος ausläßt). Ein Indiz für die Ursprünglichkeit des πεπονθότος ergibt sich im übrigen nicht nur aus dem Fehlen des ἀπαθής-Prädikats bei Tatian, sondern auch aus dem Begriff θεομάχοι, den Tatian aus Apg 5,39 übernommen haben dürfte: Petrus und die Apostel erinnern Apg 5,29-31 an Leiden, Tod, Auferstehung und Erhöhung Jesu und bekräftigen, daß mit ihnen der heilige Geist ist, den Gott denen gegeben habe, die ihm gehorchen (καὶ τό πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ Apg 5,32). Auf der anderen Seite stehen die Mitglieder des Hohen Rates, die Gamaliel warnt, sich nicht als θεομάχοι zu erweisen (Apg 5,39). Daß Tatian die μὴ πειθόμεναι vermutlich mit ihnen identifiziert,

Wie bereits bei der Aussage über die Gestaltannahme Gottes vermißt man auch bei dieser Stelle jede nähere Auskunft, "welchen" Gott Tatian hier meint.[118] Da er freilich nirgendwo davon spricht, daß es einen δεύτερος θεός geben könnte, muß man davon ausgehen, daß es der eine und einzige Gott ist, der für Tatian Mensch wurde und gelitten hat.[119]

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ergibt sich auch daraus, daß er die unmittelbar nachfolgend angesprochenen Griechen deutlich von ihnen unterscheidet (Τοιοῦτοί τινές ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἕλληνες: *Or.* 14,1 M. 31,1).

[118] Die Forschung geht meist ganz selbstverständlich davon aus, daß an beiden Stellen der inkarnierte *Logos* als Gott bezeichnet würde: vgl. z. B.A. Harnack, *Rede* (wie Anm. 20) 4; W. Steuer, *Gottes- und Logoslehre* (wie Anm. 64) 75 f.; A. Casamassa, *Apologisti greci* (wie Anm. 7) 160; R. Grant, *Gods and the One God. Christian Theology in the Graeco-Roman World* (London 1986) 87; St. M. Burgess, *The Holy Spirit: Ancient Christian Traditions* (Peabody ²1994) 30. J. Lortz, *Tertullian II* (wie Anm. 21) 6, meint, daß "der Bote Gottes gelitten habe". Aber von alledem sagt Tatian nichts! Er spricht auch nicht davon, daß der Geist Diener *Christi* gewesen sei, wie A.v. Harnack, *Lehrbuch* (wie Anm. 5) 218 Anm. 1, angibt (ähnlich G. Bardy, Tatien, wie Anm. 5, 64; M. Marcovich, *Criticism*, wie Anm. 5, 20). Vermutlich richtiger ist daher das Urteil von B. Ponschab, *Tatians Rede* (wie Anm. 56) 42: "Darum ist es ziemlich sicher, daß Tatian nicht den Logos, sondern den Gott inkarniert denkt—freilich nicht ohne seinen Logos, der aber die subjektive Erlösung zu bewirken hat. Wir haben also hier einen kräftigen Ansatz zum Sabellianismus" (vgl. ebd. 40). Die von ihm angenommene doketistische Christologie (vgl. ebd. 33 f.) ist angesichts der Leidensaussage jedoch fragwürdig. Dazu etwa A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 77 f.; G. Bardy, Tatien (wie Anm. 5) 64 f.; G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian (wie Anm. 5) 171. Richtig erscheint auch, wenn Tatian in eine Reihe mit Ignatius von Antiochien gestellt wird (vgl. *IgnRöm* 6,3; *IgnEph* 1,1): so etwa bei A.v. Harnack, *Lehrbuch* (wie Anm. 5) 207 Anm. 4; R.M. Grant, *Doctrine of God* (wie Anm. 28) 31; ders., *Gods and the One God* 128. Zum hierbei wohl angemessenen, nämlich monarchianischen Rahmen vgl. allerdings R.M. Hübner, Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 1 (1997) 44-72, v. a. 61 f. Monarchianismusverdacht äußern auch J. Feuerstein, *Anthropologie* (wie Anm. 58) 11; G. Rauschen, *Grundriss der Patrologie. Die Schriften der Kirchenväter und ihr Lehrgehalt* (Freiburg i. Br. ⁸/⁹1926) 92; J. Barbel, *Geschichte* (wie Anm. 28) 67. Dem entspricht auch, daß die Aussagen Tatians über den Geist nicht präzis erfaßbar sind. Auch wenn ihm J.M. Fuller, Tatianus (wie Anm. 96) 930; L.W. Barnard, Heresy (wie Anm. 5) 10; A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 107-112, insb. 110, ein personales Sein zusprechen, sind hier doch Zweifel anzumelden. Vgl. F. Loofs, *Leitfaden* (wie Anm. 8) 95 Anm. 1.

[119] Dem widerspricht auch das Zeugnis des sog. "Kleinen Labyrinths" bei Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5,28,4 (Bardy, SC 41, 75), nicht, dessen Verfasser lediglich feststellt, daß Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Klemens und andere Christus als Gott bezeichnen: λέγω δὲ Ἰουστίνου καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Ταυιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ ἑτέρων πλειόνων, ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστός. Dazu knapp A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 76; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 116.

3.3 *Die Bezeichung Jesu als Despotes (und Basileus) bei Tatian*

In diesem Zusammenhang muß *Or.* 4,2 betrachtet werden, eine Stelle, die sich bei genauerem Hinsehen einem allzu einfachen Verständnis verschließt. In einer äußerst knappen Überleitung stellt Tatian am Anfang des Kapitels die Frage, warum die Christen verfolgt und wie der schlimmste Bösewicht gehaßt werden, bevor er in wenigen Worten ihr Verhältnis zu Staat und Gott skizziert:

> Προστάττει φόρους τελεῖν ὁ βασιλεύς· ἕτοιμος παρέχειν· δουλεύειν ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν· τὴν δουλείαν γινώσκω. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρωπίνως τιμητέον. φοβητέον δὲ μόνον τὸν θεόν, ὅστις ἀνθρωπίνοις οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρατὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς, οὐ τέχνῃ περιληπτός. Τοῦτον μόνον ἀρνεῖσθαι κελευόμενος οὐ πεισθήσομαι, τεθνήξομαι δὲ μᾶλλον, ἵνα μὴ ψεύστης καὶ ἀχάριστος ἀποδειχθῶ.[120]

Bevor der Vergleich mit Justin erfolgt, soll zunächst versucht werden, diesen Text aus sich heraus zu verstehen. Dabei erweist sich vor allem ein Satz als problematisch: δουλεύειν ὁ δεσπότης καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν· τὴν δουλείαν γινώσκω. Wer ist mit dem Despotes gemeint, und wer ist Objekt für das δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν?[121]

Zunächst ist man versucht anzunehmen, daß mit dem δεσπότης der weltliche Herrscher gemeint ist, der dann zwangsläufig auch Objekt des δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν wäre. Dagegen spricht jedoch, daß es für Tatian nur einen einzigen δεσπότης gibt; denn nach *Or.* 9,3 kennen die Christen anstelle der irrenden Dämonen nur den einen, nicht irrenden Herrn.[122] Auch bei den weiteren vier Vorkommen von δεσπότης wird damit ausschließ-

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[120] Tatian, *Or.* 4,2 (M. 12,3-9; die geringfügige Abänderung der Interpunktion ergibt sich aus der nachfolgenden Deutung): "Der Basileus befiehlt, Steuern zu zahlen, ich bin bereit, sie zu leisten; zu dienen (befiehlt) der Despotes und zu gehorchen, ich erkenne die Dienerschaft an. Einerseits ist nämlich der Mensch auf menschliche Weise zu ehren. Zu fürchten ist andererseits allein Gott, der mit menschlichen Augen nicht gesehen und nicht mit kunstvoller Arbeit umfaßt werden kann. Allein wenn mir befohlen wird, diesen zu verleugnen, werde ich nicht gehorchen, sondern lieber sterben, damit ich nicht als Lügner und Undankbarer erwiesen werde."

[121] Eine Untersuchung der Verwendung von δουλεύειν und ὑπηρετεῖν bei Tatian führt kaum weiter: vgl. noch *Or.* 11,2 (δοῦλος und δουλεία); 11,4 (δοῦλοι); 17,5 (δουλεύειν); 29,3 (δουλεία); 4,4 (ὑπηρέται); 17,5 (ὑπηρετεῖν). Lediglich die erstgenannte Stelle ist insofern hilfreich, als Tatian hier grundsätzlich die (weltliche) Sklavenpflicht als solche anerkennt: "Wenn ich ein Sklave (δοῦλος) bin, ertrage ich die Sklaverei (δουλείαν), und wenn ich frei geboren bin, prahle ich nicht mit der edlen Abkunft" (M. 26,6-8).

[122] Tatian, *Or.* 9,3 (M. 22,15 f.): ἀντὶ πλανητῶν δαιμόνων ἕνα τὸν ἁπλανῆ δεσπότην μεμαθήκαμεν.

lich Gott bezeichnet,[123] womit Tatian soweit auch dem Sprachgebrauch seines Lehrers Justin folgt.[124]

Wenn Tatian also auch an dieser Stelle den δεσπότης mit Gott identifiziert, ist zweitens zu fragen, wer das Objekt des Dienens und Gehorchens darstellt. Wiederum scheint sich eine Antwort nahezulegen, daß nämlich der δεσπότης für sich selbst den Gehorsam einfordert. Tatian würde dann also die folgende Aussage treffen: der Kaiser befiehlt, Steuern zu zahlen, und ich leiste sie. Der Herr *aber* befiehlt, daß ich *ihm*, dem Herrn, diene und gehorche, und ich halte mich daran.[125] Diese Interpretation hat den Vorteil, daß der nachfolgende Satz sich scheinbar einfacher anschließen läßt: die bereits vorgenommene Gegenüberstellung würde nun durch das μέν-δέ weitergeführt, die Begründung dieser differenzierten Handlungsweise (γάρ!) wäre durch den ganzen nachfolgenden Satz gegeben, wonach man zwar den Menschen ehren, Gott allein aber fürchten müsse. Aber diese so naheliegende Lösung ist ausgeschlossen; denn sie würde implizieren, daß Tatian erstens die menschliche Ehre, die dem Kaiser zukommt, *allein* auf das Bezahlen der Steuern reduziert und daß er damit zweitens abstreitet, daß dem Kaiser ein δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν zukommt. Beides aber verträgt sich kaum mit Tatians sonstigen Ausführungen. Ausdrücklich stellt er ja im nachfolgenden Satz heraus, daß er *nur dann* nicht gehorchen wird, wenn man ihm befiehlt, Gott zu verleugnen (τοῦτον μόνον ἀρνεῖσθαι κελευόμενος οὐ πεισθήσομαι). Aber auch sprachliche Gründe sind gegen diese Interpretation anzuführen, insofern sie ja voraussetzt, daß der durch γάρ eingeleitete Satz bis περιληπτός reicht und der auf diese Weise entstehende Gegensatz "Ehre dem Menschen—Furcht gegenüber Gott" bereits zuvor ausgedrückt ist: Tatsächlich aber zeigt Tatian mit *keinem* Wort an, daß er selbst diesen

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[123] Tatian, *Or.* 5,1 (M. 13,1-3), identifiziert den δεσπότης τῶν ὅλων mit dem Gott, der im Anfang war. Nach *Or.* 12,7 (M. 29,34-39) läßt der τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης die Dämonen ihren Übermut treiben, bis die Welt ein Ende nimmt. Im Zusammenhang mit der Auferstehung des Fleisches gibt Tatian seiner Hoffnung Ausdruck, daß er dereinst in der Schatzkammer eines reichen Herrn (πλουσίου δεσπότου) geborgen sein wird (*Or.* 6,4 M. 16,16-18). In *Or.* 18,4 (M. 38,14-18) wird durch einen Parallismus die Identifikation von Gott (τῷ θεῷ) mit dem im Vergleich zu materiellen Dingen mächtigeren Despoten (τῷ δυνατωτέρῳ ... δεσπότῃ) hergestellt.

[124] Vgl. Justin, *1. Apol.* 12,9; 32,10; 36,2; 40,7; 44,2; 46,5; 61,3. 10; *2. Apol.* 6,2; *Dial.* 140,4.

[125] So offenbar A. Casamassa, *Apologisti greci* (wie Anm. 7) 157: "Lo dobbiamo adorare e servire, sebbene egli non abbia bisogno di nulla"; vgl. auch A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 71.

Gegensatz bereits in den Aussagen über das Steuerzahlen, das Dienen und Gehorchen erkannt haben möchte.

Damit gewinnt die dritte Möglichkeit die größte Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, derzufolge der δεσπότης zwar mit Gott zu identifizieren ist, aber das δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν sich dennoch auf den Kaiser bezieht. Demnach würden sowohl das Zahlen der Steuern wie das δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν als zur menschlichen τιμή zugehörig gesehen werden. In diesem Fall müßte man nach τιμητέον eine Zäsur derart annehmen, daß der Gegensatz zwischen der τιμή gegenüber einem Menschen und dem φόβος gegenüber Gott in zwei großen Blöcken dargestellt wird. Nun ist die Aussage wirklich sinnvoll: Der Basileus befiehlt Steuern zu zahlen, der Despotes befiehlt, dem weltlichen Herrscher zu dienen und gehorchen; denn der Mensch ist auf menschliche Weise zu ehren. Zu fürchten aber ist allein Gott, der sich aus dem menschlichen Bereich abhebt; ihn wird Tatian nicht verleugnen.

Wenn man nun die Frage stellt, wann denn Gott diesen Befehl erteilt hat, ergeben sich weitreichende und überraschende Konsequenzen, bei denen sich auch das scheinbar eindeutige βασιλεύς als mehrdeutig erweisen wird. Für das Alte Testament, das von Tatian ohnehin kaum aufgegriffen wird,[126] läßt sich kein entsprechender Befehl Gottes nachweisen.[127] Auch im Neuen Testament findet sich kaum Einschlägiges.[128] Als einzige Stelle bietet sich die sog. *Frage nach der kaiserlichen Steuer* (Mk 12,13-17 par. Mt 22,15-22 par. Lk 20,20-26) an, die sich auch tatsächlich als Hintergrund der Ausführungen Tatians wahrscheinlich machen läßt. Vergleicht man Tatians Worte mit den synoptischen Berichten, so beschränkt sich die Beziehung allein auf die Frage nach der Steuer selbst. Dabei zeigen sich auch Unterschiede in der Wortwahl: Für das Zahlen der Steuer verwenden Mk 12,14 und Mt 22,17 den Ausdruck δοῦναι κῆνσον, Lk 20,22 φόρον

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[126] Vgl. G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian (wie Anm. 5) 175. 181 f.; M. Whittaker, Introduction (wie Anm. 56) xvii f.

[127] Verbindungen von δουλεύειν und θεός erscheinen in der LXX immer nur im Zusammenhang des Vorwurfs, fremde Götter verehrt zu haben (z. B. Ex 23,33; Dtn 28,64; Ri 10,6. 10. 13 B; 1Sam 8,8; 26,19; 1Kön 9,6. 9; 22,54; 2Chr 7,22; 24,18; Jer 5,19; 11,10; 13,10; 16,11. 13; 22,9; 25,6; 42,15; so auch noch Gal 4,8), bzw. in der Aufforderung, den einzigen Gott zu verehren, oder dem Vorwurf, dies nicht getan zu haben (z. B. Ri 10,6; Ri 10,16 B; 1Sam 2,24; 1Chr 28,9; 2Chr 30,8; 33,16; 34,33; Tob 4,14 A; Tob 14,8-9 S; Mal 3,14. 18; Dan 4,34; so dann auch noch 1Thess 1,9). In diesem Zusammenhang sind noch Mt 6,24 (Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν) und Lk 16,13 (οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ) zu sehen.

[128] In 1Tim 6,2 werden Sklaven aufgefordert, ihren gläubigen Herren um so mehr zu dienen (οἱ δὲ πιστοὺς ἔχοντες δεσπότας ... μᾶλλον δουλευέτωσαν); aber das ist natürlich kein Gottesbefehl.

δοῦναι, Tatian hingegen spricht von φόρους τελεῖν. Empfänger der Steuer ist bei den Synoptikern durchgängig der Καῖσαρ (Mk 12,16 f.; Mt 22,21; Lk 20,24 f.), Tatian benennt den βασιλεύς, freilich nicht ausdrücklich als Empfänger der Steuer, sondern vielmehr als den Befehlsgeber, der nach den Synoptikern Jesus selbst ist (Mk 12,17; Mt 22,18). Daß Tatian dennoch an diese Perikope gedacht haben muß, zeigen die Übereinstimmungen mit Justin, der in *1. Apol.* 17,1-3 das Verhältnis der Christen zum Gehorsam gegenüber dem Kaiser und gegenüber Gott mit Hilfe des gleichen Beispiels thematisiert:

> Φόρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμεθα φέρειν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ. (2) Κατ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τοῦ καιροῦ προσελθόντες τινὲς ἠρώτων αὐτόν, »εἰ δεῖ Καίσαρι φόρους τελεῖν«. καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο· »Εἴπατέ μοι, τίνος εἰκόνα τὸ νόμισμα ἔχει;« Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν· »Καίσαρος.« Καὶ πάλιν ἀνταπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς· »Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.« (3) Ὅθεν θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ σώφρονα τὸν λογισμὸν ἔχοντας ὑμᾶς εὑρεθῆναι.[129]

Die Nähe zu den tatianischen Ausführungen ist offenkundig. Hier wie dort wird gegen die synoptische Textüberlieferung das Steuerzahlen mit φόρους τελεῖν wiedergegeben; in beiden Fällen wird die biblische Aufforderung, dem Kaiser zu geben, was des Kaisers ist, ausgeweitet und in eine grundsätzliche Anerkenntnis des Gehorsams im menschlichen Bereich überführt (ὑμῖν ... ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι bei Justin; δουλεύειν ... καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν, τὸν ... ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρωπίνως τιμητέον bei Tatian); es wird aber da eine Schranke gezogen, wo der Gehorsam gegenüber Gott einsetzt (θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν bei Justin; φοβητέον δὲ μόνον τὸν θεόν bei Tatian). Diese Übereinstimmungen sind so deutlich, daß kaum ein Zweifel daran bestehen kann, daß Tatian an diese Perikope dachte, und zwar vermutlich in der Textform, in der sie auch Justin vorlag.[130]

Dann aber sind wichtige Folgerungen zu ziehen; denn in Übereinstim-

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[129] Justin, *1. Apol.* 17,1-3 (M. 58,1-10): "Steuern und Abgaben versuchen wir den von euch Beauftragten überall vor allen anderen zu zahlen, wie wir von ihm belehrt wurden. Zu jener Zeit traten nämlich einige heran und fragten ihn, ob man dem Kaiser Steuern zahlen müsse. Und er antwortete: 'Sagt mir: Wessen Bild trägt die Münze?' Sie aber sagten: 'Des Kaisers.' Und wiederum antwortete er ihnen: 'Gebt also das, was des Kaisers ist, dem Kaiser und das, was Gottes ist, Gott.' Deshalb beten wir zwar Gott allein an, euch aber dienen wir in (allem) anderen mit Freude, indem wir euch als Kaiser und Herrscher der Menschen anerkennen und dafür beten, daß ihr so erfunden werdet, daß ihr zusammen mit der kaiserlichen Macht auch vernünftige Einsicht besitzt."

[130] An eine Abhängigkeit von Justin denkt auch A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 12 f. und 113 Anm. 1; dagegen H. Dembowski, *Quellen* (wie Anm. 10) 16 f. 95; W. Bornstein,

mung mit der internen Analyse des Tatian-Textes folgt auch aus dem wahrscheinlich gemachten Hintergrund, daß mit dem befehlenden δεσπότης niemand anderes als Jesus selbst gemeint sein kann. Das ist auffällig, hat doch Tatian mit diesem Titel, wie oben festgestellt, ansonsten nur den einen Gott bezeichnet. Aber auch der Ausdruck βασιλεύς kann dann auf Jesus zielen.[131] Dies ist einerseits weniger auffällig, da Tatian das Wortfeld βασιλεύειν sehr häufig, und zwar meist im Zusammenhang mit weltlicher Herrschaft,[132] einmal auch im Rahmen der Götzenpolemik verwendet.[133] Andererseits findet man im gesamten Kontext der Darlegung der christlichen Lehre nur einen einzigen weiteren Beleg, und dort führt Tatian Gott als den Herrschenden ein (θεὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεύων).[134]

Die vorgelegte Deutung kann durch ein weiteres Argument gestützt werden, das zugleich die sprachlich durchaus vorhandene Mehrdeutigkeit erklären kann. Aufgrund der Tatsache, daß Tatian hier eine *Rede* hält,[135] und zwar vor Heiden wie vor Christen, kann man nämlich durchaus annehmen,

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Beiträge (wie Anm. 85) 19 Anm. 2. Der bloße Rekurs auf 1Petr 2,17 (vgl. G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian, wie Anm. 5, 182. 186 f.) genügt nicht, um die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Justin und Tatian zu erklären. W.L. Petersen, Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence upon Justin's "ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ", *New Testament studies* 36 (1990) 512-534, hat mit guten Gründen wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß es eine Verbindung zwischen der Textform des Diatessaron und den von Justin verwendeten ἀπομνημονεύματα gibt. Die oben genannte Parallele unterstützt diese These. Zugleich läßt sich die von G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian 182-184, angegebene Liste von biblischen Zitaten und Anspielungen wohl um die erwähnte Stelle erweitern.

[131] Möglicherweise hat Tatian deshalb das eindeutige Καῖσαρ der Vorlage in das mehrdeutige βασιλεύς geändert. Bislang wurde die Erwähnung des ὁ βασιλεύς meist hinsichtlich der Datierung ausgewertet: Demnach folgt für L. Leone, Due date (wie Anm. 7) 35 f., aus dem Vergleich mit Justin, "che si tratta dell'imperatore e non di un funzionario qualsiasi" (ebd. 36). Der von Zahn und Harnack aufgebrachten These, man könne c. 4 und c. 19 wegen der jeweiligen Erwähnung *eines* βασιλεύς für die Datierung heranziehen, wurde u. a. von A. Puech, *Discours* (wie Anm. 7) 9 f., und A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 71 f., widersprochen.

[132] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 10,3; 19,1; 33,7; 36,3; 37,2 (2x); 38,1 (4x); 39,1; 39,3 zu βασιλεύς bzw. βασίλισσα; ferner *Or.* 3,7; 39,5 (3x) zu βασιλεία; *Or.* 11,1; 41,7 zu βασιλεύειν.

[133] Vgl. Tatian, *Or.* 9,6 f.

[134] Tatian, *Or.* 6,4 (M. 16,19 f.).

[135] Zur rhetorischen Ausbildung des Tatian und dem rhetorischen Charakter seiner Oratio vgl. A. Kalkmann, Nachrichten (wie Anm. 107) 516-520; R.M. Grant, Studies (wie Anm. 75) 124-128; M. Whittaker, Tatian's Educational Background. In: *Studia Patristica* 8,2 (TU 116, Berlin 1975) 57-59; R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists* (wie Anm. 5) 118-121; P. Lampe, *Stadtrömische Christen* (wie Anm. 10) 245-250. 362-366, v. a. 247 f.

daß er Formulierungen wählt, die für die verschiedenen Adressaten zwar verständlich, aber *verschieden* verständlich sind. Dementsprechend wird die heidnische Hörerschaft den δεσπότης mit dem zuvor genannten βασιλεύς identifizieren und anerkennen, daß Tatian den Befehlen des Kaisers und Herrn folgen will. Die christlichen Hörer hingegen werden an dieser Stelle vermutlich an die jesuanische Unterscheidung in der Steuerfrage denken.

In jedem Fall bleibt festzuhalten, daß Tatian mit der auffälligen Bezeichnung Jesu als δεσπότης deutlich vom Sprachgebrauch seines Lehrers Justin abrückt.

3.4 *Der Urheber von Heilungen*

Bei Justin gehört es zum Kerygma, daß Jesus Christus jede Krankheit und jede Schwachheit heilt (καὶ θεραπεύοντα πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν).[136] Für diese Aussage bringt er auch einen Schriftbeweis: Jes 35,5 f. zeige, daß "unser Christus" alle Krankheiten heilen und auch Tote erwecken würde.[137] Auch die Dämonen erfuhren nach Justin hiervon, weshalb sie den Asklepios erfanden.[138] Dementsprechend spricht Justin in *Dial.* 69,3 davon, daß die Mitteilung, Äskulap habe Tote erweckt und anderes Elend geheilt, vom Teufel stamme in Nachahmung dessen, was in ähnlicher Weise von Christus prophezeit worden sei (τὰς περὶ Χριστοῦ ὁμοίως προφητείας).[139] Unter dieser Rücksicht ist auch *1. Apol.* 21,2 zu verstehen, wo Justin den Zeussohn Asklepius als Therapeuten bezeichnet.[140] Auch die Heilung, die die von Schlangen gebissenen Israeliten in der Wüste durch die Aufrichtung der ehernen Schlange erhielten, wird auf Christus zurückgeführt, insofern diese als Symbol für die Kreuzigung gedeutet wird.[141] An allen sieben Stellen also, an denen Justin das Wortfeld θεραπεύειν verwendet, wird die Heilung unmittelbar oder wenigstens vermittelt auf Christus selbst zurückgeführt.

Bei Tatian hingegen sind Heilungen ausnahmslos mit Gott verbunden: Durch ein Gotteswort werden die Dämonen erschreckt und weichen sie, wodurch der vormals Kranke geheilt wird (οἳ λόγῳ θεοῦ δυνάμεως πληττόμενοι

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[136] Justin, *1. Apol.* 31,7 (M. 77,25 f.).

[137] Justin, *1. Apol.* 48,1 (M. 99,1 f.): "Οτι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύσειν πάσας νόσους καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνεγερεῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς προεφητεύθη.

[138] Vgl. Justin, *1. Apol.* 54,10.

[139] Justin, *Dial.* 69,3 (M. 190,15 f.).

[140] Vgl. Justin, *1. Apol.* 21,2.

[141] Vgl. Justin, *Dial.* 94,3.

δεδιότες ἀπίασι, καὶ ὁ κάμνων θεραπεύεται).[142] Heilung wird auch dadurch möglich, daß man sich auf die Gotteskraft verläßt (θεραπευθήσεται μᾶλλον αὐτὸς δυνάμει θεοῦ προσανέχων).[143] Man kann in Fragen der Heilung auf Gott vertrauen (πιστεύειν . . . τῷ θεῷ).[144] Dem entspricht, daß die Heilung von Rasenden Gott zuzusprechen ist und nicht etwa der Materie ("Η πῶς καλὸν ὕλῃ προσάπτειν τὴν εἰς τοὺς μεμηνότας βοήθειαν, καὶ μὴ τῷ θεῷ;).[145] Nochmals fordert Tatian auf, bei Heilungen, auch wenn sie durch Arzneimittel erfolgen, doch wenigstens Gott das Zeugnis zu geben (τὴν μαρτυρίαν προσάπτειν σε δεῖ τῷ θεῷ).[146] Daß die Betonung der göttlichen Hilfe aus der Gegenüberstellung zum Wirken der Dämonen resultiert, ist nicht zu leugnen.[147] Da aber Justin im Rahmen der Nachahmungstheorie ebenfalls auf die Dämonen zu sprechen kommt, jedoch auch hier die Heilungen auf Christus zurückführt, bleibt der Unterschied signifikant.

3.5 *Christus als Richter—Gott als Richter*

In *1. Apol.* 8,4 versucht Justin den Gedanken vom Endgericht zu verteidigen. Er verweist auf Platon als einen Gewährsmann, der bei den Griechen eine ähnliche Vorstellung gehabt habe:

> Πλάτων δὲ ὁμοίως ἔφη 'Ραδάμανθυν καὶ Μίνω κολάσειν τοὺς ἀδίκους παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντας· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμά φαμεν γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κἀν τοῖς αὐτοῖς σώμασι μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν γινομένων καὶ αἰωνίαν κόλασιν κολασθησομένων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χιλιονταετῆ περίοδον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, μόνον.[148]

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[142] Tatian, *Or.* 16,8 (M. 34,28-30). Es gibt keinen Anlaß, λόγῳ θεοῦ anders als "Gotteswort" zu verstehen.

[143] Tatian, *Or.* 18,1 (M. 37,3).

[144] Tatian, *Or.* 18,4 (M. 38,14 f.).

[145] Tatian, *Or.* 17,5 (M. 36,27 f.).

[146] Tatian, *Or.* 20,1 (M. 41,1 f.).

[147] Zur vorgetäuschten dämonischen Hilfe durch Magie, Wunderheilung und Mantik vgl. H. Wey, *Die Funktion der bösen Geister bei den griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts nach Christus* (Winterthur 1957) 204-225, zur Dämonologie des Tatian insg. ebd. 61-91. 186-225; M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 100-103; G.F. Hawthorne, Tatian (wie Anm. 5) 174 f.; A.E. Osborne, *Discourse* (wie Anm. 7) 128 f. 172-180; R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists* (wie Anm. 5) 130 f.

[148] Justin, *1. Apol.* 8,4 (M. 42,10-14): "Platon hat aber in ähnlicher Weise gesagt, daß Rhadamanthys und Minos die Ungerechten bestrafen werden, wenn sie bei ihnen eintreffen. Wir aber sagen, daß das Gleiche geschehen wird, allerdings durch Christus, wobei sie sowohl in denselben Leibern mit (ihren) Seelen sein werden als auch mit einer ewigen Strafe bestraft werden werden, nicht jedoch nur mit einer tausendjährigen Wiederkehr, wie jener meinte."

Denselben Kontext und dieselbe Aussageintention zeigt auch Tatian in *Or.* 6,1 f. Wie Justin erwähnt auch er ausdrücklich die Auferstehung im Leibe,[149] stellt er der griechischen Vorstellung zyklischer Perioden die Einmaligkeit und Endgültigkeit des Gerichts gegenüber[150] und konfrontiert er die Aussagen Platons über Minos und Rhadamanthys mit der christlichen Auffassung. In einem Punkt aber weicht er von Justin ab: Nicht Christus ist für ihn der Richter, sondern der Schöpfergott selbst:

> Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι πεπιστεύκαμεν μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων συντέλειαν· οὐχ, ὡς οἱ Στωϊκοὶ δογματίζουσι, κατά τινας κύκλων περιόδους γινομένων ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπογινομένων τῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπί τι χρήσιμον, ἅπαξ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αἰώνων πεπερασμένων, ⟨ἅπαξ⟩ καὶ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς διὰ μόνων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν σύστασιν ⟨τὴν ἀνάστασιν⟩ ἔσεσθαι χάριν κρίσεως. (2) Δικάζουσι δὲ ἡμῖν οὐ Μίνως οὐδὲ 'Ραδάμανθυς (ὧν πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς οὐδεμία τῶν ψυχῶν, ὡς μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐκρίνετο), δοκιμαστὴς δ' αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς θεὸς γίνεται.[151]

Daß diese Verschiebung kein Versehen darstellt, zeigt Tatian wenig später, wenn er nochmals Dogmata der uneinheitlichen Philosophie und der einheitlichen christlichen Lehre gegenüberstellt: Σῶμά τις εἶναι λέγει τὸν τέλειον θεόν, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσώματον· (. . .) κριτὰς εἶναι Μίνω καὶ 'Ραδάμανθυν, ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν.[152]

Diese Differenz kann man nicht damit begründen, daß Tatian in der *Oratio* nicht seine ganze Theologie darstellt.[153] Dazu ist die Aussage zu ein-

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[149] Anders R.M. Grant, Heresy (wie Anm. 5) 65.

[150] Wenn die Auffassung von der ewigen Bestrafung tatsächlich von Justin übernommen worden ist, wie R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists* (wie Anm. 5) 132, angibt, ist die hier angezeigte Differenz um so auffälliger.

[151] Tatian, *Or.* 6,1 f. (M. 15,1-8): "Und deshalb haben wir den Glauben, daß es nach der Vollendung des Alls auch eine Auferstehung der Leiber geben wird, und zwar nicht, wie die Stoiker lehren, indem nach gewissen zyklischen Umläufen immer wieder ohne Nutzen dieselben Dinge entstehen und vergehen, sondern daß ein einziges Mal der jetzige Weltenlauf beendet wird, daß <ein einziges Mal> und vollständig allein zur Zusammenfügung der Menschen <die Auferstehung> erfolgen wird um des Gerichtes willen. Es richten uns aber nicht Minos und nicht Rhadamanthys—vor deren Lebensende keine einzige Seele gerichtet wurde, wie man fabelt—, Richter wird aber der Schöpfergott selbst sein." Dazu J. Mansfeld, Resurrection added. The interpretatio christiana of a Stoic doctrine, *Vigiliae christianae* 37 (1983) 218-233, v. a. 227-229. Zum Text vgl. M. Marcovich, Transmission (wie Anm. 56) 129 (dort auch das in der Edition ausgelassene Komma vor "<ἅπαξ>").

[152] Tatian, *Or.* 25,4 (M. 49,17-21): "Einer sagt, daß der vollkommene Gott ein Körper sei, ich aber sage, er ist körperlos (. . .), daß Minos und Rhadamanthys Richter seien, ich aber, Gott selbst."

[153] So R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists* (wie Anm. 5) 130: "Tatian does not name Christ

deutig, daß es der eine Gott selbst ist (αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς θεὸς; αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν), der richten wird.[154]

4 *Ergebnisse*

Überblickt man die angeführten Vergleichsstellen zwischen Justin und Tatian nochmals im Zusammenhang, so zeigt sich eine erstaunlich einheitliche Tendenz: Während für Justin v.a. die prophetische Christusverkündigung Anlaß für die Bekehrung ist, sieht Tatian das Alter der prophetischen Schriften und ihr monarchisches Element als entscheidend an. Dem entspricht die Logoslehre beider Apologeten: Justin kennt verschiedene Titel für den Logos, mit denen er eine selbständige Existenz dieses ἕτερος θεός verbindet, Tatian gebraucht keinen einzigen von diesen und zeigt bei der Beschreibung des Hervorgangs des Logos äußerste Zurückhaltung im Hinblick auf die Frage, ob hier eine zweite Existenz entsteht (vgl. etwa die Entpersönlichung des πρωτότοκος zum ἔργον πρωτότοκον). So verwendet zwar auch er die beiden von Justin gebrauchten Bilder, wertet sie aber nur im Hinblick auf die unveränderte Existenzweise Gottes aus. Dabei nähert er sich an das von Justin abgelehnte Sonnenbild an, wie er überhaupt eine terminologische Verwandtschaft zu den Vorstellungen der "prämonarchianischen" Gegner seines Lehrers zeigt. Am deutlichsten aber zeigen sich die Unterschiede bei den heilsgeschichtlichen Daten: Ausdrücklicher als Justin führt Tatian die Schöpfung auf den einzigen Gott zurück; das die Schöpfungsmittlerschaft des Logos anzeigende δι' αὐτοῦ wird bei ihm zu einem Gottes Schöpfungstätigkeit aussagenden ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Nach Justin ist es der Logos bzw. Christus, der menschliche Gestalt annimmt, leidet, Heilungen vollbringt und dereinst als Richter wiederkommt. Tatian verbindet kein einziges dieser Daten mit dem Logos, sondern schreibt sie allesamt Gott (oder sogar ausdrücklich dem einzigen Gott) zu. Anscheinend trägt er auch keine Bedenken, Jesus als δεσπότης zu bezeichnen. Alle diese Unterschiede, die vor dem Hintergrund durchaus vorhandener Übereinstimmungen zu sehen und gerade deshalb so auffällig sind, weisen unisono darauf hin, daß Tatian seinen Lehrer in einem wesentlichen Punkt korrigiert hat, nämlich im Gottesglauben, und

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in relation to the last judgment, but he is not presenting his full theology in this treatise."

[154] Die Differenz wird auch bei M. Elze, *Tatian* (wie Anm. 5) 82, festgestellt. Die Benutzung einer gemeinsamen Quelle für Tatian, *Or.* 6,1 f.; 25,4, und Justin, *1. Apol.* 8; 10; 18-20; *2. Apol.* 7, nimmt H. Dembowski, *Quellen* (wie Anm. 10) 24-30 und 95, an.

daß er hierbei trotz der Rezeption des Logosgedankens eine deutliche Nähe zur monarchianischen Lehre aufweist.[155]

Senserstr. 10
D-81371 München

[155] So auch R.M. Hübner, Εἷς θεός (wie Anm. 9) 343. Eine erste Fassung dieses Beitrags konnte am 21.9.97 auf der Tagung der "Arbeitsgemeinschaft 2. Jahrhundert" in Benediktbeuern vorgetragen werden. Von den Teilnehmern vorgebrachte Anmerkungen sowie einige Hinweise von Herrn Joachim Reber sind dankbar berücksichtigt worden.

BEMERKUNGEN ZUM NACHLEBEN DES IRENÄUS IM STREIT DER KONFESSIONEN

VON

E.P. MEIJERING

In dem vorliegenden Aufsatz soll die Nachwirkung des Irenäus in der westlichen Theologie seit der von Erasmus vorbereiteten Ausgabe seines Werkes *Adversus Haereses* im Jahre 1526 erörtert werden. Die Neuorientierung, die die sogenannte dialektische Theologie innerhalb der protestantischen Theologie darstellt, bildet den Schlußpunkt unserer Untersuchungen. Es liegt in unserer Absicht, diesem Aufsatz noch einen weiteren folgen zu lassen, in dem einige der im Laufe der Jahrhunderte kontroversen Aspekte der 'Theologie' des Irenäus und deren Deutung in der modernen Forschung zur Debatte stehen sollen. Eine Übersicht über und Verarbeitung der Resultate der moderneren Irenäusforschung ist in vorzüglicher Weise von N. Brox in seinem Artikel 'Irenaeus von Lyon' in der letzten Lieferung (142) des *RAC* geboten worden (Sp 820ff.).

Eingangs seien einige Bemerkungen zum Nachleben des Irenäus in der griechischen Kirche gemacht. Die griechischen Fragmente, die von seinem Hauptwerk *Adversus Haereses* (mehrheitlich durch Epiphanius) vorliegen, beweisen eigentlich nur, daß er seit dem vierten Jahrhundert als eine der Autoritäten in der griechischen Kirche galt. Die Zahl der Fragmente zu den fünf Büchern von *Adversus Haereses* weisen erhebliche Unterschiede auf. Das erste Buch ist am breitesten auch in griechischer Sprache überliefert worden. Die späteren Bekämpfer der Häresien, namentlich Theodoret und Epiphanius benutzen Irenäus als Quelle für ihre Darstellung der gnostischen Systeme.[1] Die wenigsten Fragmente finden sich zum zweiten Buch, in dem die rationale Beweisführung gegen die Gnostiker und Marcion geliefert

[1] Die Herausgeber A. Rousseau und L. Doutreleau von *Irénée de Lyon, Contre les Hérésies, Livre I* (SC 63), Paris 1979, S 61, haben errechnet, daß das erste Buch zu 74 Prozent in griechischen Fragmenten überliefert worden ist, bei dem dritten sind es 11, bei dem vierten 7 und bei dem fünften 17 Prozent,—bei dem zweiten Buch sind es nur drei Prozent, siehe ihre Ausgabe des zweiten Buches (SC 293), Paris 1982, S 83.

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wird, und insbesondere nachgewiesen wird, daß es nur *einen* allmächtigen und freien Gott geben kann.[2] In den weiteren Büchern sind die Unterschiede in der Zahl weniger auffallend. Irenäus wird dann von späteren Autoren herangezogen, wenn gegen den Doketismus in der Christologie und der Eschatologie polemisiert wird und gegen die Gnostiker für den freien Willen und damit zusammenhängend für einen Fortschritt in der Offenbarung plädiert wird. In diesem Zusammenhang bietet namentlich Johannes von Damaskus zahlreiche Fragmente.

Zitate besagen an sich noch nicht viel über den Einfluß eines Theologen in späteren Zeiten. Wenn z.B. Johannes von Damaskus die Warnung des Irenäus gegen die theoretische Neugierde zitiert, dann bedeutet das nur eine formale und noch keine inhaltliche Übereinstimmung, da damit noch nichts über die Frage ausgesagt worden ist, wo die Grenzlinie zwischen Neugierde und nützlicher Erkenntnis gezogen werden sollte.[3] Es ist offensichtlich, dass die Theologie des Damasceners viel spekulativer ist als die des Irenäus. Deshalb ist es für die Erforschung des Nachlebens des Irenäus in der alten Kirche viel wichtiger, nicht nur die Zitate zu sammeln, sondern auch den bewußten oder auch unbewußten Anspielungen an sein Werk auf die Spur zu kommen, wobei die Frage beharrlich im Auge gehalten werden sollte, ob man auch wirklich dasselbe meint wie die implizit angeführte Autorität.

Im Altertum sind Anspielungen an andere Autoren bekanntlich viel üblicher als explizite Zitate. Die schwierige Aufgabe der Erfassung der Anspielungen liegt außerhalb der Zielsetzung dieses Aufsatzes. Anderweitig haben wir zu zeigen versucht, daß in der Bekämpfung des Marcion durch Tertullian und in dem apologetischem Werk des Athanasius ein substanzieller Einfluss gerade der im zweiten Buch von *Adversus Haereses* gebotenen rationalen Argumentation für sehr wahrscheinlich gehalten werden muss.[4] Die

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[2] Siehe den Eröffnungssatz *Adv. Haer.* 2, 1, 1: Bene igitur habet a primo et maximo capitulo inchoare nos, a Demiurgo Deo, qui fecit coelum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt . . . et ostendere, quod neque super eum neque post eum est aliquid: neque ab aliquo motus, sed sua sententia et libere fecit omnia, cum sit solus Deus . . .—Wir bieten bei Zitaten aus Irenäus den in den 'Sources Chrétiennes' festgestellten Text. Die Stellenangaben bei Irenäus folgen auch den 'Sources Chrétiennes', wobei die jeweilige Stelle bei Harvey, wenn sie abweicht, in Klammern hinzugefügt worden ist.

[3] Siehe *Adv. Haer.* 2, 26, 1 (2, 39, 1): Ἄμεινον (οὖν) καὶ συμφορώτερον, ἰδιώτας καὶ ὀλιγομαθεῖς ὑπάρχειν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης πλησίον γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ πολυμαθεῖς καὶ ἐμπείρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι, βλασφήμους εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὑρίσκεσθαι δεσπότην.

[4] Siehe die rubrizierten Anspielungen in E.P. Meijering, *Tertullian contra Marcion: Gotteslehre in der Polemik. Adversus Marcionem I-II*, Leiden 1977, S 172, ders., *Athanasius contra*

Nachwirkung des Irenäus in der alten Kirche wird vor allem über diese Autoren stattgefunden haben.

Im Jahre 1526 erscheint die von Erasmus vorbereitete Ausgabe von *Adversus Haereses*. Was Erasmus in seinem Vorwort zu Irenäus sagt hat auch Einfluß gehabt auf den Gebrauch, den man in späteren Jahrhunderten von Irenäus machen wird.[5] Er lobt die Friedfertigkeit des Irenäus.[6] Dem unspekulativen aber doch auch rationalen Charakter der Theologie des Irenäus wird Erasmus insofern gerecht, als er darauf hinweist, daß Irenäus als Philosoph die von der Philosophie beeinflußten Ketzer bekämpft. Gegen solch eine bescheidene Verwendung der Philosophie ist nach Erasmus nichts einzuwenden.[7] Bei Irenäus findet sich die alte Kraft des Evangeliums und eine Bereitschaft zum Martyrium.[8] Allerdings kritisiert Erasmus bei allem Lob anderweitig doch auch Aspekte seiner Eschatologie, namentlich seinen Chiliasmus.[9]

Auch den Reformatoren geht es um die Rückkehr zu dem einfachen Evangelium. Sie haben von dem letzteren aber eine andere Auffassung als Erasmus. Während es Erasmus primär um die Glaubenspraxis, das Leben in dem Gehorsam gegenüber den Geboten des Herrn geht, wollen die Reformatoren aus dem Glauben an Gottes Heilswerk in Christus leben; die guten Werke sind ihnen keine Vorbedingung, sondern eine Folge des

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Gentes. Introduction, Translation and Commentary, Leiden 1984, S 161, ders. (in enger Zusammenarbeit mit J.C.M. van Winden), *Athanasius: De Incarnatione Verbi, Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Amsterdam 1989, S 413.

[5] Vgl. zum folgenden J. den Boeft, Erasmus and the Church Fathers, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists, Volume 2, edited by* Irena Backus, Leiden 1997, pp. 558ff.

[6] Siehe den Eröffnungssatz des Vorwortes, S a 2: En . . . in lucem producimus magnum illum ecclesiae propugnatorem, ac pro sui nominis augurio pacis ecclesiasticae vindicem Irenaeum, sowie einen der Schlußsätze: Sed nulla laus Episcopo dignior quam quod ubique studes paci concordiae Christiani populi.

[7] Praefatio, S a 5: Nec ideo damnanda est philosophiae sobria cognitio, quod a philosophis fere natae sunt omnes haereses, quum per philosophos item oppressae sunt. Valentinus philosophus oppugnaverat ecclesiam, sed Iustinus philosophus, & Irenaeus philosophus defendit.

[8] Praefatio, S a 2: Spirant enim illius scripta priscum illum Evangelii vigorem ac phrasis arguit pectus martyrio paratum.

[9] *Enarratio in Psalmum XXXVIII* (*Opera, ed.* Celericus V), S 432: Irenaeus omnibus disciplinis affatim instructus, et in sacris litteris versatus, ut dicas illum nihil aliud scisse, qui sic tractavit rem fidei Catholicae, ut sentias illum amasse quod docuit, tamen prolapsus est in dogma Chiliastarum, nec de resurrectione per omnia docuit quod nunc docet Ecclesia Catholica.

Glaubens. In diesem Geiste lobt Luther die Glaubensauffassung des Irenäus.[10] Der junge Melanchthon spricht zu Irenäus das Urteil aus, daß er zu seiner Zeit in der westlichen Kirche noch der einzige war, der wahrlich vom apostolischen Geiste erfüllt war.[11]

Irenäus spielt seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert eine Rolle in den Diskussionen zwischen den Reformatoren und ihren Nachfolgern einerseits und den Antitrinitariern andererseits über die Trinitätslehre und die Christologie sowie in den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den reformatorischen Theologen und Katholiken über die Autorität der Bibel und die der kirchlichen Tradition. Es war den Reformatoren alles daran gelegen, zu zeigen, daß sie keine Neutöner sind, die sich den Grundwahrheiten des christlichen Glaubens widersetzen.—Der Vorwurf der Neutönerei wird den Gnostikern und Marcion bekanntlich schon von Irenäus gemacht.[12]—Deshalb widersprachen sie der These der Antitrinitarier, daß die wesentliche Gottheit Christi von den kirchlichen Autoren vor dem Konzil zu Nicäa nicht gelehrt worden ist. Melanchthon hat Irenäus und Tertullian nach seinen eigenen Angaben zu diesem Thema genau studiert.[13] Hierbei hat er offensichtlich einige Zitate aus Irenäus in seine Kartei patristischer Zitate eingetragen. Jedenfalls bringt er sie im Laufe seines weiteren Lebens immer wieder vor, wenn er beweisen will, daß Irenäus die ewige Präexistenz des göttlichen Wortes lehrte und die zwei Naturen Christi.[14] Calvin beweist dasselbe gegen

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[10] *Tischreden*, 5, S 649.

[11] *Didymi Faventini adversus Thomam Placentinum pro Martino Luthero theologo oratio* (aus dem Jahre 1521) (St. A. I, S 11), vgl. P. Fraenkel, *Testimonia Patrum. The Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melanchthon*, Geneva 1961, S 84, Anm. 168, S 179, Anm. 54, E.P. Meijering, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought. The Doctrines of Christ and Grace, the Trinity and the Creation*, Leiden 1983, S 67.

[12] Siehe z.B. *Adv. Haer.* 3, 1, 1, vgl. 2, 14, 2 (2, 18, 2).

[13] Siehe seinen Brief an Brenz aus dem Jahre 1533 (CR 2, Sp 660).

[14] Ersteres beweist er aus *Adv. Haer.* 3, 18, 1 (3, 19, 1): Ostenso manifeste, quod in principio Verbum existens apud Deum, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui et semper aderat generi humano, hunc in novissimis temporibus secundum praefinitum tempus a Patre, unitum suo plasmati, passibilem hominem factum, letzteres aus *Adv. Haer.* 3, 19, 3 (3, 20, 3): Sicut enim homo erat ut temptaretur: sic et Verbum ut glorificaretur; requiescente quidem Verbo, ut posset temptari, et inhonorari, et crucifigi, et mori, absorpto autem homine in eo quod vincit, et sustinet . . . et resurgit, et assumitur (zu den Stellen, an denen diese Irenäuszitate von Melanchthon vorgebracht werden, siehe E.P. Meijering, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought*, SS 67f., Anm. 251, 252). Zu diesem Passus liegt ein griechisches Fragment vor, was Melanchthon aber nicht bekannt sein konnte, da in der Ausgabe des Erasmus keine griechischen Fragmente geboten werden. Erasmus war der

die Antitrinitarier.[15] Ferner versucht er, gegen Phigius zu beweisen, daß Irenäus seine eigene Lehre vom freien Willen unterstützt und nur eine Willensfreiheit des Menschen vor dem Sündenfall anerkennt.[16] Für die Reformatoren ist freilich wichtig, daß Irenäus in all diesen Lehren der Schrift folgt. Schließlich spielt Irenäus bereits in der Reformationszeit eine Rolle in den Auseinandersetzungen um das Abendmahl.[17]—In der Edition, die der Calvinist Grynaeus im Jahre 1571 herausgab, ist in dem Vorwort von Kritik an Irenäus noch nicht die Rede. Nach Grynaeus hat Irenäus die Lehre der Propheten und Apostel zum dreieinigen Gott, zur Erschaffung,

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Meinung, daß der lateinische Text von Irenäus selbt stammt, daß aus den in diesem Text vorliegenden Gräcismen allerdings hervorgeht, daß Irenäus besser griechisch als lateinisch sprach,—siehe *Praefatio* a 3: . . . mihi nondum satis liquet Graecene scripserit an Latine, etiamsi magis arbitror Latine scripsisse. Graeci tamen sermonis peritiorem. Itaque figuris Graecis tanquam suo iure abutitur Latine loquens. . . .

[15] *Institutio* I 13, 27, unter paraphrasierenden Hinweisen auf *Adv. Haer.* 3, 6 (Neque igitur Dominus, neque Spiritus sanctus, neque Apostoli eum qui non esset Deus, definitive et absolute Deum nominassent aliquando, nisi esset vere Deus; neque Dominum appellassent aliquem ex sua persona, nisi qui dominatur omnium Deum Patrem, et Filium eius qui dominium accepit a Patre suo conditionis), 2, 27, 2 (2, 40, 2) (Cum itaque omnes Scripturae . . . in aperto, et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri possint etsi non omnes credunt, unum et solum Deum, ad excludendos alios, praedicent omnia fecisse per Verbum suum . . .), 3, 9, 1: . . . prophetis quidem et Apostolis Patrem et Filium confitentibus . . .), 3, 12, 13 (3, 12, 16) (Iudaeis quidem (praedicabant Apostoli) Iesum eum, qui ab ipsis crucifixus est, esse Filium Dei, iudicem vivorum et mortuorum, a Patre accepisse aeternum regnum in Israel), 3, 15, 3 (dort beziehen sich folgende Worte auf Christus als das ewige Wort: . . . factorem coeli et terrae, et qui locutus sit cum Moyse, et legis dispositionem ei dederit . . .), 3, 20, 4 (3, 22) (wo unter Berufung auf *Hab.* 3:3 gesagt wird: . . . veniet Filius Dei, qui Deus est . . .), 4, 5, 2 (4, 9, 2): (Qui igitur a prophetis adorabatur Deus vivus, hic est vivorum Deus, et Verbum eins, qui et locutus est Moysi), 4, 7, 1 (4, 12) (Et Abraham ergo a Verbo cognoscens Patrem, qui fecit coelum et terram, hunc Deum confitebatur: et doctus repraesentatione, quod inter homines homo futurus esset Filius Dei . . . concupivit eam diem videre, uti et ipse complecteretur Christum); diese Hinweise sollen die These des Valentinus Gentilis widerlegen, daß Irenäus nur den Vater Gott nennt (siehe *Expositio impietatis Valentini Gentilis* (CR 9, Sp 394ff.)); vgl. hierzu auch *Refutatio errorum Michaelis Serveti* (CR 8, Sp 581ff.). Siehe hierzu ferner J. van Oort, John Calvin and the Church Fathers, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, SS 685f. und R.J. Mooi, *Het kerk- en dogmahistorische element in de werken van Johannes Calvijn*, Wageningen 1965, SS 197.

[16] Siehe *Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alberti Phigii Campensis* (CR 6, Sp 275ff.), siehe R.J. Mooi, *op. cit.*, S 197.

[17] Siehe z.B. R.J. Mooi, *op. cit.*, S 198, W. Janse, *Albert Hardenberg als Theologe. Profil eines Bucer-Schülers*, Brill Leiden/New York/Köln 1994, S 196, J. van Oort, John Calvin and the Church Fathers, SS 685ff.

zum Fall und zum Verderbnis des Menschen, sowie zu dessen Wiederherstellung klar wiedergegeben.[18] Auch an seiner Eschatologie ist nichts auszusetzen.[19]

In der ersten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts wird Irenäus in die systematischen Darlegungen der Protestanten zur Autorität der Schrift und der Väter einbezogen.[20] Man sah sich vor allem genötigt, der Berufung Bellarmins auf die Kirchenväter, auch auf Irenäus, in den zwischen Katholiken und Protestanten kontroversen Glaubensfragen zu widersprechen.[21] Wir weisen in diesem Zusammenhang auf das patristische Lehrbuch des Scultetus hin.[22] In der Tradition des Flacius Illyricus[23] stehend führt er die Väter als Zeugen der Wahrheit an, die aber eben unter der göttlichen Autorität der Schrift stehen, und an denen deshalb aufgrund der Schrift Kritik geübt werden kann. In systematischer Weise führt er an, wo die Väter die Lehre der Schrift bieten, allerdings auch, wo sie von dieser abweichen. Bei Irenäus wird u.a. lobend aufgezählt: die Lehre von der Schrift, von Gott (insbesondere die Trinität), von der Rechtfertigung, von den guten Werken und der Liebe, von den Sakramenten und von der Ehe;[24] hingegen wird Kritik geübt u.a. an manchen widersprüchlichen Äußerungen zum freien Willen, zur Subordination des Sohnes unter den Vater was die Kenntnis anbelangt, an seinem Vergleich zwischen Eva und Maria, sowie an der Lehre,

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[18] *Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis, opus eruditissimum in quinque libros digestum . . . studio* Ioan. Iacobi Grynaei *illustratum & recognitum*, Basel 1571, Praefatio (es fehlt in der Praefatio eine Seitenzählung): Eorum (Prophetarum et Apostolorum) vestigiis Irenaeus quoque noster insistens in his quinque libris multa praeclare de Deo uno & Trino, de Hominis ortu, lapsu, corruptione, restitutione, litteris memoriaeque mandavit. (Es war uns nicht möglich, die im Jahre 1569 erschienene Ausgabe des Calvinisten Desgallards und die Edition aus dem Jahre 1575 des Katholiken Feuardent zu konsultieren. Feuardents Einleitung zu Irenäus ist offenbar in einer gehässigen Polemik verfaßt worden,—siehe *unten*, 91, Anm. 71 zu Stieren.)

[19] Praefatio: De animarum autem immortalitate & corporum resurrectione, totiusque hominis salute, vel interitu aeterno, Irenaeus Apostolicam doctrinam incorruptam profitetur, & Platonica ac Pythagorica deliramenta de animarum in alia atque alia corpora discessu, confutat.

[20] Vgl. zum folgenden I. Backus, The Fathers in Calvinist Orthodoxy: Patristic Scholarship, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, SS 839ff.

[21] Siehe Bellarmins in drei Bänden erschienenen *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos*, die zwischen 1586 und 1593 herausgegeben wurden.

[22] *Medullae Theologiae Patrum Syntagma*, Frankfurt 1634.

[23] *Catalogus testium veritatis*,—vgl. zu Flacius F. Norelli, *Centuries of Magdeburg* and Baronius, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, SS 746ff.

[24] *Medulla*, SS 95ff.

daß der Mensch nicht in Vollkommenheit erschaffen worden ist. Die Jesuiten haben solche irrtümlichen Sätze des Irenäus z.T. für ihre eigenen Zwecke mißbraucht.[25]—Die Subordination des Sohnes könnte die Berufung der Antitrinitarier auf Irenäus unterstützen.—Die katholische Berufung, namentlich die des Bellarmin, auf Irenäus hat ihn also an gewissen Punkten überzeugt. Er bekämpft Bellarmin zwar ausführlich, namentlich im Zusammenhang mit der Lehre von der Schrift und von dem Abendmahl, aber im Zusammenhang mit der Lehre vom freien Willen macht er doch das Zugeständnis, daß Irenäus einige Sätze geschrieben hat, die der evangelischen Lehre widersprechen, die aber auch von anderen diesbezüglichen Äußerungen des Irenäus abweichen.[26] Bellarmin hatte die von Calvin gegen Phigius gebotene Interpretation der Gedanken des Irenäus zum freien Willen des Menschen kritisiert.[27]

Faktisch unterscheidet sich die Berufung auf Irenäus in der folgenden Zeit bis zur Aufklärung kaum von der im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, wie sie von Scultetus zusammengefaßt und näher adstruiert wird. Mit meistens denselben Zitaten führen die Protestanten ihn an bei ihrer Lehre von der Schrift,[28] die Katholiken bei ihrer Lehre von der Autorität der Tradition,[29]

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[25] *Medulla*, SS 101ff.

[26] *Medulla*, S 101: De libero arbitrio, non postremo Fidei nostrae capite, sententias e diametro secum pugnantes recitat. Nam τὸ αὐτεξούσιον libro quarto ... multis conatur rationibus defendere, quae omnes infirmae sunt ... Quanquam idem disertis alibi verbis exponens, Paulus, inquit infirmitatem hominis annuncians ait: Scio, quoniam non habitat in carne nostra bonum: significans BONUM SALUTIS ESSE A DEO.

[27] *De controversiis ... De gratia et libero arbitrio* V 25, vgl. IV 8, VI 11.

[28] Siehe z.B. Polan, *Syntagma theologiae christianae*, Genf 1617, I 35 (S 73), gegen die von Bellarmin gebotene Interpretation von *Adv. Haer.* 3, 4, 2 (3, 4, 1), wo von dem Glauben der Analphabeten, die die Schrift nicht lesen können, die Rede ist; Turrettin, *Institutio theologiae elencticae* II 16, 20 zur Schrift als der vollkommenen Glaubensregel (Zitat aus *Adv. Haer.* 3, 1: non per alios dispositionem salutis nostrae cognovimus quam per eos per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos, quod quidem praeconiaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, columnam & fundamentum fidei nostrae futurum), II 17, 12 zur Klarheit der Schrift (Hinweis auf *Adv. Haer.* 2, 27, 2 (2, 40, 2): Cum itaque universae Scripturae, et prophetiae, et evangelia in aperto, et sine ambiguitate); diese und andere im Zusammenhang mit der Lehre von der Schrift von Turrettin gebotenen Irenäuszitate sind bereits unter Protestanten geläufig,—siehe E.P. Meijering, *Reformierte Scholastik und patristische Theologie*, Nieuwkoop 1991, S 49.

[29] Siehe z.B. Bellarmin, *De controversiis ... De Verbo Dei* IV 11, wo *Adv. haer.* 4, 26, 5 (4, 42, 1): Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem, apud quos et ea quae est ab Apostolis Ecclesiae successio, wie folgt zusamengefäßt wird: Apostolos cum episcopatu tradidisse successoribus charisma scientiae.

die orthodoxen Protestanten bei ihrer Verteidigung der Lehre von der Gottheit des Sohnes gegen die Antitrinitarier,[30]—an diesem Punkte vertraten orthodoxe Protestanten und Katholiken in ihrer Polemik gegen die Antitrinitarier dieselbe Meinung, allerdings beschuldigten namentlich die Katholiken die orthodoxen Protestanten, sie hegten heimlich antitrinitarische Ansichten—und bei der Verteidigung ihrer Lehre vom Abendmahl gegen die Katholiken.[31]

Es geht in der Gotteslehre immer wieder um die Frage, ob Irenäus bereits die volle Gottheit des Sohnes im Sinne des *homoousios* lehrt, oder ob er eine in dem Sinne 'pränicänische' Lehre bietet, als auch er den Sohn nur für göttlich hält. Der Remonstrant Episcopius weist daraufhin, daß Irenäus seiner Wiedergabe des Glaubensbekenntnisses hinzufügt, die rechte Theologie könne diesem Bekenntnis nichts hinzufügen und nichts entnehmen. Das ist in späteren Bekenntnissen, namentlich im Nicänum aber wohl geschehen, und das hat nur Streitigkeiten erzeugt.[32] Dieser These des Episcopius widersetzen sich die orthodoxen Calvinisten mit den inzwischen geläufigen Zitaten.[33] Die substanzielle Gottheit des Sohnes—ausgedrückt mit dem Wort *homoousios*—gehört nach Episcopius also nicht zu den heilsnotwendigen Glaubensartikeln, die in dem Glaubensbekenntnis des Irenäus festgelegt worden sind.—In der zweiten Hälfte der siebzehnten Jahrhunderts wird der Neurianer Sandius die These aufstellen, alle Theologen vor dem Konzil zu Nicäa seien Platoniker gewesen und hätten deshalb einen hierarchische Gotteslehre vorgetragen, in der der Sohn also klar dem Vater subordiniert ist, die Arianer seien dieser kirchlichen Tradition treu geblieben und also die eigentlichen 'Orthodoxen', während die Nicäner in der Kirche

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[30] Siehe z.B. Turrettin, *Inst. theol. el.* III 25, 21, wo er auf dieselben Stellen hinweist wie Calvin in *Inst.* I 13, 27 (siehe *oben*, Anm. 15).

[31] Siehe z.B. Turrettin, *Inst. theol. el.* XIX 24, 9 im Zusammenhang mit dem Brechen des Brotes.

[32] *Institutiones theologicae* IV 34-35 (insbesondere 35, S 340: Et tamen de symbolo suo Irenaeus ipse ait, id tamen esse absolutum, *ut ei peritia Theologica nihil possit addere, imperitia nihil posse detrahere*). . . . Quis enim nescit quam acres in synodo Nicaena disceptationes . . .),—siehe Irenäus *Adv. Haer.* 1, 10, 3 (1, 3): καὶ οὔτε πάνυ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων, ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ . . . οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν. Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ (τὸ) πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἠλαττόνησεν.

[33] Siehe z.B. Turrettin, *Inst. theol. el.* III 24, 12 mit den von Calvin gebotenen Zitaten aus *Adv. Haer.* 3, 6, 1 und 4, 5, 2 (4, 9, 2), sowie 2, 30, 9 (2, 47, 2): Semper autem coëxistens Filius Patri, olim et ab initio semper revelat Patrem . . . omnibus, quibus vult revelari Deus.

Neutöner sind, die den Ketzern der ersten Jahrhunderte ähneln.[34] Bei Irenäus hebt er insbesondere hervor, daß er gegen die Ketzer die Einzigkeit Gottes lehrt, und daß nach Irenäus nur der Vater Jesu Christi der wahre Gott ist, daß Christus nicht um den jüngsten Tag weiß, daß der Vater dem Sohne befohlen hat, und daß der Sohn und der Geist dem Vater dienen. In dem von Irenäus überlieferten Bekenntnis steht nichts über die Gottheit des Sohnes und des Geistes, im Gegenteil, diese werden von der Gottheit ausgeschlossen.[35] Der anglikanische Theologe S. Gardiner widersprach dieser These entschieden.[36] In seiner Beantwortung dieser Kritik sieht Sandius sich genötigt, zu bezweifeln, ob die Irenäusstellen, die gegen seine Deutung angeführt worden sind, wohl eine getreue Übersetzung des griechischen Originals sind.[37]

Die Polemik zur 'Trinitätslehre' und Christologie des Irenäus bleibt im Laufe der Zeit also wesentlich die gleiche. Wohl widerspiegelt sich der Übergang von der Theologie der Reformatoren zu der der reformatorischen Scholastiker auch in der Benutzung des Irenäus. Den Reformatoren, namentlich Calvin—bei Melanchthon setzt die spekulative Trinitätslehre bereits ein—genügt die ewige Gottheit des Sohnes, für das ewige Verhältnis zwischen den drei göttlichen Personen zeigen sie wenig Interesse. Damit bieten sie nach ihrer eigenen Ansicht eine 'einfache' Trinitätslehre, wie sie sich auch bei Irenäus findet, und haben sie nicht das Bedürfnis, noch über Irenäus hinauszugehen. Die protestantischen Scholastiker arbeiten in ihrer Trinitätslehre viel lieber mit späteren, nachnicänischen Kirchenvätern, obwohl sie theoretisch auf dem Standpunkt stehen, die Väter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte hätten für die Kirche eine größere Autorität als die späteren,

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[34] C.C. Sandius, *Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae, exhibitus in historia Arianorum, III ll conprehensa: quibus praefixus est tractatus de veteribus scriptoribus ecclesiasticus*, Col. 1676.

[35] *Nucleus*, S 91: contra eos (haereticos) confitetur (Irenaeus), solum Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse verum Deum. . . . Christum non scire diem iudicii, sed solum Patrem . . . Deum praecepisse Verbo. Filium Verbum autem & Spiritum sanctum ministrare Patri . . . Unde in eius Symbolo vel Confessione fidei . . . nihil extat de trium personarum una essentia, Filiique aut Spiritus S. Deitate, quin potius hos a Deitate excludit. (Dieselben Argumenten finden sich schon bei Valentinus Gentilis und Episcopius, siehe *oben*, Anm. 15 und 32.)

[36] Gardiner veröffenlichte laut Sandius (*Appendix*, S 95) eine Gegenschrift unter dem Titel *Hypotyposis, sive Catholicae circa SS Trinitatem Fidei delineatio ex scriptis Patrum Ante-Nicaenorum desumpta.* Es war uns unmöglich, diese Schrift zu konsultieren.

[37] *Appendix Addendorum, Confirmandorum & Emendandorum ad Nucleum Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, S 97: Utinam superstes nobis esset Irenaeus graecus; quantum enim interpretibus fidendum sit, abunde nos experientia docuit.

da sie der Schrift noch näher stehen.[38]—Die Abneigung gegen Spekulationen zeigt sich bei Calvin auch in der Lehre von der Schöpfung, in der er auf Erörterungen über den Unterschied zwischen Zeit und Ewigkeit verzichtet und sich weigert, die Frage ernstzunehmen, was Gott vor der Schöpfung der Welt getan hat. Es fehlt dort jedoch jegliche Berufung auf Irenäus, während sie völlig berechtigt gewesen wäre.[39] Sie fehlt auch in *Institutio* II 10-11 in den Darlegungen zur Heilsgeschichte, die Änlichkeit mit der Gedankenwelt des frühen Kirchenvaters zeigen.

Im siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhundert werden die sog. irenischen Theologen, die mit einer beschränkten Zahl der Fundamentalartikel arbeiten wollen, gerade wieder bewußt eine Trinitätslehre bieten, die sich auf die Betonung der ewigen Gottheit des Sohnes beschränkt, und damit auf spätere patristische und mittelalterliche Spekulationen verzichtet und also wieder im Geiste der Reformatoren und des Irenäus sein will.[40]

Im Jahre 1710 erscheint die Ausgabe R. Massuets, die in Migne PG 7 erneut abgedruckt worden ist. Die ausführliche Einleitung zur Theologie des Irenäus widerspiegelt die interkonfessionelle Polemik über die Interpretation des Kirchenvaters seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Gegen insbesondere Grabe stellt Massuet fest, daß Irenäus auch die Dunkelheit der Schrift lehrt,[41] gegen die Protestanten im allgemeinen, daß Irenäus neben der Schrift auch die Autorität der mündlichen kirchlichen Tradition und des römischen Bischofs, des Papstes anerkennt;[42] gegen die Socinianer, daß er eine orthodoxe Lehre von der Trinität[43] und der Inkarnation bietet;[44]

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[38] Vgl. E.P. Meijering, *Reformierte Scholastik und patristische Theologie*, SS 131ff.

[39] Calvin kontert die Frage 'Was tat Gott, bevor er die Welt erschuf?' mit der von Augustin abgelehnten Antwort: 'Da schuf er die Hölle für die Neugierigen!',—siehe *Inst.* I 14, 1 sowie *In Librum Geneseos Commentarius*, Argumentum (ed. E. Hengstenberg, Berlin 1838), S 3. Er hätte sich für diese Behandlung der Frage auf Irenäus berufen können,—siehe *Adv. Haer.* 2, 28, 3 (2, 41, 4): Ut puta, si quis interroget: Antequam mundum faceret Deus, quid agebat? dicemus quoniam ista responsio subjacet Deo. Quoniam autem mundus hic factus est ἀποτελεστικῶς a Deo, temporale initium accipiens, Scripturae nos docent; quid autem ante hoc Deus sit operatus, nulla Scriptura manifestat. Subjacet ergo haec responsio Deo.

[40] Als ein Vertreter solch einer nicht spekulativen, aber doch orthodoxen Trinitätslehre kann J.L. von Mosheim gelten,—siehe E.P. Meijering, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Theologie im Urteil J.L. von Mosheims*, Gieben Amsterdam 1995, SS 169ff.

[41] PG 7, Sp 255ff.

[42] PG 7, Sp 259ff., 271ff.

[43] PG 7, Sp 293ff.

[44] PG 7, Sp 313ff.

gegen die Protestanten beweist er, daß Irenäus die orthodox katholische Lehre von der Jungfrau Maria vorträgt;[45] gegen die Protestanten nimmt er Irenäus in Anspruch für die katholische Auffassung der Eucharistie;[46] gegen die Magdeburger Centurien und Scultetus verteidigt er die Ansichten des Irenäus zum freien Willen, zum Bilde Gottes im Menschen, zur Erbsünde und zur Gnade.[47] Zur Engellehre des Irenäus, zu seinen Ansichten zur Seele und zum Zustande nach dem Tode ist auch Massuet kritisch.[48]—Diese Art der Polemik über die rechte Interpretation des Irenäus, in der eigentlich immer wieder mit denselben Zitaten dieselben Argumente vorgebracht wurden, ist mit dem Erscheinen der Edition des Massuet zwar nicht abgeschlossen, wird aber bald von anderen Fragestellungen überholt werden. Bis zu dieser Zeit gilt Irenäus allen Parteien freilich als eine Autorität. Für die Protestanten steht er unter der Autorität der Schrift, die das Wort Gottes ist. Aber auch die anti-trinitarischen Protestanten wollen ihn für ihre eigene Lehrposition in Anspruch nehmen.

Eine neue Entwicklung setzt ein, wenn man auch an der Autorität des Irenäus als Bekämpfer der Gnosis und Marcions zweifelt. Innerhalb der Polemik gegen die katholische Auffassung der Autorität der Kirchenväter hatten die Protestanten schon auf die Irrtumsfähigkeit der frühchristlichen Autoren hingewiesen. Dieses geschah mit der Absicht, nur die Schrift als Norm für den Glauben und die Theologie verwenden zu können.[49] Die hochkirchliche Richtung unter den Anglikanern vertritt hier einen innerhalb des Protestantismus abweichenden Standpunkt. Die Schrift des Dallaeus, in der nicht nur die Irrtumsfähigkeit der Väter nachgewiesen wurde, sondern auch gezeigt wurde, daß die Väter einander widersprechen und im Laufe ihres Lebens widersprüchliche Thesen aufgestellt haben, stieß bei dem Anglikaner Scrivener auf entschiedenen Widerspruch.[50] Ganz in diesem

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[45] PG 7, Sp 316ff.

[46] PG 7, Sp 321ff.

[47] PG 7, Sp 367ff.

[48] PG 7, Sp 357ff., 377ff.

[49] Siehe insbesondere die (im Jahre 1632 zum ersten Male in französischer Sprache erschienene) Schrift des Johannes Dallaeus, *De usu Patrum ad ea definienda religionis capita quae hodie sunt controversa*, Genf 1686,—siehe hierzu ferner J.-L. Quantin, The Fathers in the 17th Century Anglican Theology, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, SS 992f.

[50] Siehe seine Schrift *Apologia pro S. Ecclesiae Patribus, adversus Joannem Dallaeum De Usu Patrum &c*, London 1672 (diese Schrift konnte von uns nicht konsultiert werden). Eine Übersetzung der Schrift des Dallaeus erschien in englischer Sprache im Jahre 1651,—

hochanglikanischen Geiste hatte der lutherische Theologe J.E. Grabe, der sich in Oxford niedergelassen hatte, in der im Jahre 1702 in London erschienenen Edition des Irenäus die Lutheraner und Calvinisten noch dazu aufgerufen, sie sollten zur Lehre der Kirche der ersten drei Jahrhunderte zurückkehren an den Punkten, wo Luther und/oder Calvin sich von dieser entfernt haben. Irenäus ist nach Grabe als Hörer der Schüler der Apostel besonders geeignet, uns über die ersten Jahrhunderte zu unterrichten und den Schiedsspruch über heutige Streitigkeiten zu sprechen, sodaß die ganze Kirche wieder in Frieden leben kann.[51]

Gegen Ende des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts erhebt sich aber der viel wichtigere Zweifel, ob Irenäus seine Widersacher korrekt wiedergegeben hat, und ob sie wirklich solche verwerfliche Lehren vorgetragen haben, wie Irenäus es darstellt. Der bekannteste Anwalt der von der Kirche und den kirchlichen Theologen verurteilten Ketzer ist bekanntlich G. Arnold.[52] Sein Verfahren läuft darauf hinaus, daß er in den Kontroversen eigentlich immer den Ketzern den Vorzug gegenüber den Orthodoxen gibt. In seiner Kritik an Irenäus ist er noch recht zurückhaltend, wohl u.a. weil er dessen unphilosophische Art des Theologisierens gutheisst.[53] Der größte Kirchenhistoriker des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, J.L. von Mosheim sieht aber gerade darin eine wichtige Schwäche des Irenäus in seiner Bekämpfung der Ketzer. Weil er keine gründliche Kenntnis der griechischen Philosophie hatte und gar keine Kenntnis der 'Philosophie des Ostens', führte er die Gnosis irrtümlicherweise auf die griechische Philosophie, namentlich auf den Platonismus

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siehe hierzu ferner J.L. Quantin, The Fathers in 17th Century Anglican Theology, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, SS 992ff.

[51] *S. Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis contra omnes haereses libri quinque*, London 1702, Dedicatio (ohne Seitenzählung): . . . necesse est, se a primitivae Catholicae Ecclesiae, eius maxime, quae S. Apostolis proxime succedens, Constantini M. imperium praecessit, doctrina, Sacramentorum celebratione, Hierarchia, necessaria denique disciplina nullatenus discrepare, sed potius a Lutheri & Calvini placitis discedere velle, ubi hic, vel ille, vel uterque, a primorum, eorumque optimorum Christianorum vestigiis prius declinavit, & eos, quos Patres posuere, terminos movit . . . Caeterum qualis inter primaevos Christi fideles doctrina, sacrorum mysteriorum celebratio, Respubl. Ecclesiastica, disciplina denique viguerit, scripta antiquissimorum Patrum, utpote qui eorum Rectores, aut Doctores fuere, abunde nos edocent . . . & vel unicus *Irenaeus*, ipsorum Apostolicorum discipulorum auditor . . . ut si . . . partes dissidentes eum tanquam arbitrio sincere admittere atque audire vellent, omnis controversia finem, & omnis Ecclesia pacem cito foret habitura; siehe zu Grabe auch J.-L. Quantin, The Fathers in the 17th Century Anglican Theology, S 998.

[52] *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie I-II*, Frankfurt 1729² (Ersterscheinung in den Jahren 1699 und 1700).

[53] *I*, S 88.

zurück, während sie in Wirklichkeit ihren Ursprung in der Philosophie des Ostens, d.h. der der alten Völker des Ostens hat.[54] Auch bemängelt Mosheim bei Irenäus das Niveau der rationalen Beweisführung gegen die Gnostiker.[55]

Bis zur Aufklärung ging die protestantische Theologie davon aus, daß die Bibel eine klare, eindeutige und dem Glauben genügende Lehre bietet. Widersprüchlich und unklar lehren nach den Protestanten die Kirchenväter.— Die diesbezüglichen historischen Darlegungen des Dallaeus wurden von den Dogmatikern gerne übernommen.—Dasselbe sagen die Katholiken von der Autorität der Bibel. Die Aufklärer geben sowohl den Katholiken als auch den Protestanten recht. Mit dem Aufkommen der kritischen Bibelwissenschaft entfällt jedenfalls auch für die kritische protestantische Theologie die Autorität der Bibel. Eng mit der Bibelkritik hängt die Kritik am Wunder zusammen. Das bedeutet in der Beurteilung des Irenäus, daß nicht mehr die Frage entscheidend ist, ob er die biblische Lehre in der rechten Weise reproduziert hat, sondern eine andere Frage, nämlich welche Stellung er in der Entwicklung der christlichen Theologie einnimmt. Die Wunderkritik bedeutet, daß den kritischen Protestanten der wohl wichtigste Aspekt des Glaubens des Irenäus fragwürdig geworden ist, nämlich die leibhaftige Auferstehung Jesu Christi. Die Antitrinitarier hatten daran noch keine Zweifel geäußert.—Die Diskussion über die Ansichten des Irenäus zur göttlichen Person und zum Werk des Sohnes wird von den nicht auf dem Standpunkt der kritischen Bibelwissenschaft stehenden Protestanten in der Zeit nach der Aufklärung grundsätzlich in derselben Art und Weise geführt wie im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert. Für die Katholiken kann sich auch nichts ändern, da Kritik an dem trinitarischen Dogma und an

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[54] *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae antiquae et recentioris*, Helmstedt 1764 (unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe aus dem Jahre 1755), S 36: Veteres quidem Christianorum doctores Graeci et Latini, qui has sectas oppugnaverunt, ex Platonicis sententiis eas procreatas esse arbitrantur: Sed hos bonos viros, verum nullius nisi Graecae philosophiae peritos et rerum Orientalium ignaros, cognatio quaedam nonnullarum opinionum Platonicarum et Orientalium fefellit, vgl. *De rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii*, Helmstedt 1753, S 183, S 288, vgl. E.P. Meijering, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Theologie im Urteil J.L. von Mosheims*, S 68.

[55] *Institutiones*, S 78: Est in his propugnatoribus (gemeint sind Irenäus, Justin, Tertullian und Clemens von Alexandrien) paullo plus ingenuitatis et fidei quam in illis, qui in sequentibus saeculis veritati laboranti succurrere voluerint. Nondum enim boni sophistarum doli artesque inhonestae disputandi ad Christianos transierant. Neque tamen magnopere ab homine, in quo recta ratio veri amori iuncta est, commendari possunt. Carent plerique perspicientia, doctrina, ordine, industria, virtute denique. Argumentis saepe pugnant levissimis et ad mentes potius praestringendas quam convincendas comparatis.

Irenäus vom Traditionsbegriff her urmöglich ist. Eine innerkatholische Diskussion über Irenäus, wie sie innerhalb des Protestantismus geführt wird, kann es also eigentlich nicht geben. Wir werden hierauf gegen Ende unseres Aufsatzes kurz zu sprechen kommen.

Der erste große Historiker, der den Versuch einer Darstellung der *Entwicklung* des christlichen Denkens unternimmt, ist der Hegelianer F.C. Baur.[56] Er teilt die Dogmengeschichte bekanntlich in drei Hautperioden ein, die jeweils in zwei Abschnitte verteilt werden. Die erste Hauptperiode ist die von der apostolischen Zeit bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts, von der der erste Abschnitt bis zum Konzil zu Nicäa und der zweite bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts reicht.—In dieser Einteilung wirkt also die alte protestantische Einteilung, derzufolge die Zeit bis Nicäa als die besonders autoritative gilt und die ersten sechs Jahrhunderte als die Zeit, in der von Kirchenvätern die Rede ist, nach. Freilich haben diese Jahrhunderte bei Baur keine besondere Autorität.—Die erste Hauptperiode ist die der Substanzialität des Dogmas. In dieser Periode entwickelt sich das Dogma und bestimmt es sich. Die Elemente, aus denen es hervorgeht, sind das Judentum und Heidentum, namentlich die griechische Philosophie. Im Kampfe mit diesen Elementen übernimmt die christliche Theologie wesentliches, wobei sie Extreme in beiden abwehrt.[57] Die zweite Periode reicht vom Anfang des siebten Jahrhunderts bis zur Reformation. Hierin liegt das Dogma als gegeben vor und hat die Theologie die Aufgabe, es geistig zu verarbeiten, wobei das Dogma nicht nur eine Sache des Glaubens, sondern auch des Wissens wurde.[58] In der dritten Hauptperiode von der Reformation bis in Baurs eigene Zeit, in der das Dogma (im Protestantismus) mit dem freien Selbstbewusstsein konfrontiert wird, und das freie Selbstbewusstsein vom Dogma Abstand nimmt.[59] Allerdings zeigt sich in der spekulativen Hegelschen Theologie eine Verinnerlichung des Dogmas, wobei es seiner Äußerlichkeit enthoben, im Wesen des Geistes selbst nachgewiesen und als mit ihm identisch erkannt wird.[60]

Diese auf den ersten Blick sehr abstrakten Darlegungen führen doch zu einer interessanten Betrachtung und Einschätzung der Bedeutung der

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[56] Vgl. zum folgenden E.P. Meijering, *F.C. Baur als Patristiker. Die Bedeutung seiner Geschichtsphilosophie und Quellenforschung*, Gieben Amsterdam 1987.

[57] *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, Darmstadt 1979 (Nachdruck der dritten Auflage 1867), SS 61f.

[58] *Lehrbuch*, SS 198ff.

[59] *Lehrbuch*, SS 272ff.

[60] *Lehrbuch*, S 355.

Theologie des Irenäus. Baur betrachtet Irenäus als weniger unspekulativ und anti-philosophisch als er in den Augen früherer Forscher—aufgrund seiner Ablehnung der spekulativen Neugierde—war.[61] Es geht Baur gerade darum, ausfindig zu machen, was Irenäus sagt, wenn er über seinen einfachen Schrift- und Bekenntnisglauben hinausgeht. Deshalb zeigt er besonderes Interesse an der im zweiten Buch von *Adversus Haereses* gebotenen rationalen Argumentation.[62] Der Einfluß der Gnosis (und Marcions) auf Irenäus zeigt sich nach Baur in der Erlösungslehre.[63] Der Begriff der Gerechtigkeit, den Marcion im Gott des Alten Testamentes rügt, ist von Irenäus übernommen worden. Nach Marcion ist der gerechte Demiurg nach seinen eigenen Gesetzen von Jesus geschlagen worden: Wie er Jesus, den Gerechten, getötet hatte, so ist er selbst von Jesus getötet worden. So ist durch den Tod Jesu dem Gesetz der Gerechtigkeit des Demiurgen Genüge geschehen. Diese Theorie hat auf Irenäus eingewirkt. Nur setzt er an die Stelle des Demiurgen den Teufel. Was der Mensch sich aus freiem Willen vom Teufel abnehmen ließ, das hat der vollkommene Mensch Jesus in der Überwindung des Teufels unter Betätigung des freien Willens wieder erworben.[64]

Zweifellos interessant, aber für die Erfassung der Gedankenwelt des Irenäus weniger zuverlässig sind die 'Keime der Hegelschen Philosophie', die Baur bei Irenäus nachweisen zu können glaubt. Diese Theorie gehört zu den charakteristischen Merkmalen der Baurschen Darstellung der

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[61] Siehe z.B. J.C.L. Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte I*, Bonn 1827², S 164, A. Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche I, 3*, Hamburg 1827, SS 868ff., L.F.D. Baumgarten-Crusius, *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, Jena 1832, S 188, K. Hase, *Kirchengeschichte. Lehrbuch zunächst für academische Vorlesungen*, Leipzig 1836², S 105.

[62] Siehe *Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religionsphilosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Tübingen 1835, SS 460ff.

[63] Siehe *Die christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die neueste*, Tübingen 1838, SS 29ff.

[64] Siehe vor allem *Adversus Haereses* 3, 18, 7 (3, 19, 6): Si enim homo non vicisset inimicum hominis, non juste victus esset inimicus . . . Ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ πρώτως ἐκ γῆς ἀνεργάστου πεπλασμένου, ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ ἀπέβαλον τὴν ζωήν· οὕτως ἔδει καὶ δι' ὑπακοῆς ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ πρώτως ἐκ παρθένου γεγεννημένου, δικαιωθῆναι πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν, 3, 23, 1 (3, 32, 2): Primum enim possessionis eius vas Adam factus est, quem et tenebat sub sua potestate, hoc est, praevaricationem inique inferens ei, et per occasionem immortalitatis mortificationem faciens in eum. Etenim promittens, futuros eos tanquam deos, quod ei non est omnino possibile, mortem fecit in eis: unde et juste a Deo recaptivatus, qui hominem captivum duxerat; solutus est autem condemnationis vinculis, qui captivus ductus fuerat homo.

Dogmengeschichte. Baur benötigt sie, um den Anfang und das Ende der dogmengeschichtlichen Entwicklung in einem Zusammenhang sehen zu können. Die spekulative Hegelsche Philosophie bildet zu Baurs eigener Zeit das Ende der Entwicklung. Wenn er nun in den Schriften der Kirchenväter Keime dieser Philosophie ausfindig machen kann, dann bedeutet dieses, daß dem Gang der Idee durch die Geschichte tatsächlich eine Logik zugrundeliegt, und daß die christlichen Denker auch Instrumente der Idee sind. In diesen Keimen liegt—für die frühchristlichen Theologen selbst unbewußt—die spekulative Hegelsche Theologie im Ansatz bereits vor.[65] Bei Irenäus weist Baur auf folgende Keime hin: Irenäus hat erkannt, daß die Menschwerdung des Sohnes oder Wortes wesentlich zu diesem gehört. Wie die Menschheit im Sohn Gottes ihre Wahrheit hat, so hat der Sohn Gottes in der Menschheit die Wirklichkeit seiner Idee, und die Einheit des Göttlichen und Menschlichen stellt sich auf diese Weise als eine innere und wesentliche dar.[66] Dieser Gedanke findet sich im fünften Buch von *Adversus Haereses*, wo Irenäus ausführt, daß in vergangenen Zeiten wohl *gesagt* wurde, daß der Mensch nach dem Bilde Gottes erschaffen worden ist, daß es aber nicht *gezeigt* wurde. Das Wort war ja noch unsichtbar, deshalb konnte der Mensch, der nach dem Bilde des Wortes erschaffen worden ist, das Gleichnis Gottes leicht verlieren. Bei der Menschwerdung hat das Wort beides bekräftigt. Er zeigte das wahre Bild, indem er selbst wurde was sein Bild war, und er stellte das Gleichnis fest wieder her, indem er den Menschen durch das sichtbare Wort dem unsichtbaren Vater gleich machte.[67] Somit ist Christus die Einheit der Idee und der Wirklichkeit. Das bedeutet also, daß der typisch Hegelsche Gedanke der Selbstverwirklichung Gottes im Laufe der Geschichte schon von Irenäus angedeutet sein soll. Ja, die ganze Rekapitulationslehre des Irenäus wird als ein solcher Keim in Anspruch genommen. Christus stellt den Anfang, d.h. das ursprüngliche Bild Gottes im

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[65] Siehe dazu E.P. Meijering, *F.C. Baur als Patristiker*, SS 5ff., 51ff.

[66] Siehe die nach seinem Tode herausgegebenen *Vorlesungen über die christliche Dogmengeschichte I*, Leipzig 1865, SS 625f.

[67] Hinweis auf *Adv. Haer.* 5, 16, 2 (5, 16, 1) in *Die Lehre von der Versöhnung*, SS 39f.: In praeteritis enim temporibus dicebatur quidem secundum imaginem Dei factum esse hominem, non autem ostendebatur. Adhuc enim invisibile erat Verbum, cuius secundum imaginem homo factus fuerat, propter hoc autem et similitudinem facile amisit. Quando autem caro Verbum Dei factum est, utraque confirmavit: et imaginem enim ostendit veram, ipse hoc fiens quod erat imago eius, et similitudinem firmans restituit, consimilem faciens hominem invisibili Patri per visibile Verbum (hierzu liegt ein griechisches Fragment vor).

Menschen wieder her. Aber der Mensch hatte nach Irenäus das eigentliche und volle Bild Gottes anfangs noch nicht. Das bedeutet nach Baur, daß bei Irenäus im Ansatz schon der Gedanke vorliegt, daß Christus alles in sich rekapituliert, sofern er nicht nur die Verwirklichung der Idee ist, sondern auch in dieser Verwirklichung auf das Ansichsein der Idee, als den ersten Anfang, von dem alles ausgehen muß, zurückweist. Somit ist er die Einheit der Idee und der Wirklichkeit. Den Beweis hierfür bietet ein langes Zitat aus dem dritten Buch von *Adversus Haereses*.[68] Weitere Keime, in der diese Sicht bereits gegeben ist, sind die Ausführungen des Irenäus zu dem Sohn und dem Geist als den Händen Gottes, und zwar den sich ausstreckenden und wieder zurückziehenden Händen.[69] Auch dieses Bild soll die Bewegung Gottes in der Geschichte, in der Gott zu sich selbst kommt, ausdrücken.—Von diesen Keimen muß freilich gesagt werden, daß hier eine dogmatische Verwendung des Irenäus vorliegt, die mit der alten Methode, in der die eigene dogmatische Position mit isolierten Zitaten aus Irenäus erhärtet wird, vergleichbar ist. Baur behauptet nicht, daß Irenäus dasselbe sagt wie er, sondern, daß er es *im Ansatz* tut. Letzteres muß er sagen aufgrund seiner Auffassung der Entwicklung und nicht der fortwährend Identität der christlichen Lehre; ja, diese Keime beweisen diese Entwicklung mit ihrer inneren Logik. Es kann hieran freilich die gravierende Kritik geübt werden, daß der Gedanke einer Selbstverwirklichung Gottes im Laufe der Geschichte der auch dem Irenäus ohne weiteres feststehenden Lehre von der Unveränderlichkeit Gottes widerspricht.[70] Mehr im allgemeinen kann zu Baurs Irenäusinterpretation gesagt werden, daß er die Frage nach den Einflüssen auf Irenäus ausführlich erörtert und damit eine viel breitere Fragestellung bietet als in der alten Geschichtsschreibung vorliegt, in der es darum ging, ob und inwiefern Irenäus die 'biblische

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[68] *Die christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung I*, Tübingen 1841, SS 181f. (Anm. 23),—siehe *Adv. Haer.* 3, 16, 6 (3, 17, 6): Verbum Unigenitus, qui semper humani generi adest, unitus et consparsus suo plasmati . . . et caro factus, ipse est Jesus Christus Dominus noster . . . veniens per universam dispositionem, et omnia in semetipsum recapitulans . . . hominem ergo in semetipsum recapitulatus est, invisibilis visibilis factus, et incomprehensibilis factus comprehensibilis, et impassibilis passibilis, et Verbum homo, universa in semetipsum recapitulans, uti . . . universa attrahat ad semetipsum apto in tempore.

[69] Siehe *Die Lehre von der Versöhnung*, S 41, Hinweise auf *Adv. Haer.* Praef. ad IV; 5, 1, 3; 5, 16, 1.

[70] Zu diesem Gedanken bei Irenäus siehe u.a. *Adv. Haer.* 2, 25, 3 (2, 37, 3): Deus . . . qui semper idem est, 2, 34, 2 (2, 56, 1): vere et semper idem et eodem modo se habens, vgl. 4, 9, 3 (4, 21, 2) und 4, 38, 1 (4, 62).

Lehre' reproduziert hat. Dieses ist vielleicht der wichtigste Fortschritt, der sich bei Baur findet.

Auf die Irenäusforschung hat Baur nicht sofort eingewirkt. Als in den Jahren 1853 und 1857 Stieren und Harvey ihre—noch immer wertvollen—Ausgaben von *Adversus Haereses* veröffentlichten, waren die großen dogmengeschichtlichen Studien Baurs bereits erschienen. Dennoch bieten sie beide Irenäusbilder im alten Stil. Stieren gibt ihn mit der erklärten Absicht heraus, diesen Verteidiger des Christentums gegen die Gnostiker für seine eigene Zeit bekannt zu machen, in der die Philosophen die christliche Offenbarung mit denselben Argumenten vernichten wollen, wie einst die Gnostiker, die freilich von Irenäus widerlegt wurden.[71]—Wahrscheinlich rechnete er auch den Hegelianer und der Gnosis sehr sympathisch gegenüberstehenden Baur zu diesen Gegnern des Christentums.—Stieren drückt die konfessionelle Diskussion und Polemik über Irenäus seit Erasmus ab, wobei er nur die in seinen Augen gehässige Polemik des Feuardent übergeht.[72]—Harvey stellt zu Irenäus kurz und bündig fest:[73] 'Upon the doctrine of Irenaeus it is not necessary to say many words. With few exceptions, and those not at all dependent upon doctrinal discrepancies, the Articles of the Church of England might be illustrated singly from the statements of Irenaeus.'

Wenden wir uns nunmehr dem zweiten großen Dogmenhistoriker des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zu: Adolf von Harnack. Der theologische Unterschied zwischen Baur und Harnack liegt u.a. darin, daß für Harnack nicht das Ende der Dogmengeschichte, d.h. die eigene Zeit, als der Prüfstein der ganzen Entwicklung gelten soll, sondern der Anfang, d.h. das Evangelium, insbesondere das Evangelium, wie es von Jesus selbst verkündet wurde. Aufgrund dieser Anschauung sind bei Harnack auch wieder Spuren der alten Verfallstheorie der ursprünglichen Wahrheit im Laufe der Geschichte zu finden.[74] Er will nicht von normativen Jahrhunderten reden, deshalb

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[71] Siehe A. Stieren, *Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis detectionis et eversionis falso cognomine agnitionis seu Contra omnes haereses libri quinque, tomi I-II*, Leipzig 1853, die Widmung des ersten Bandes, SS VIIf.: Nostro quoque aevo fuere, qui ecclesiam Christianam funditus evertere, eius divinam auctoritatem minuere et veritatis per Dominum Jesum Christum patefactae splendori humanae philosophiae offundere studerent. In tali damnoso conamine iisdem pravis artibus atque Gnostici saeculi secundi usi sunt, quos Irenaeus, pius fidei christianae propugnator, opere adversus haereses composito fortiter aggressus est.

[72] Siehe *tomus II*, SS 1-523, zu Feuardent siehe S V.

[73] Siehe *Sancti Irenaei, Episcopi Lugdunensis, Libros quinque adversus Haereses (tom. I-II) edidit* W.W. Harvey, Cambridge 1957, S CLXXIII.

[74] Siehe zu dieser Verfallstheorie im Protestantismus H. Scheible, *Die Entstehung der*

setzt der Verfall eigentlich schon im Zeitalter der Apostel, ja, in den Schriften des Neuen Testaments ein. Wichtig ist, daß bei Irenäus in der Abwehr der Gnosis und Marcions die drei Säulen des Christentums als die äußeren Autoritäten aufgestellt werden, nämlich der Kanon, das Glaubensbekenntnis und die apostolische Sukzession.[75] Diese Autoritäten haben nach Harnack selbst nichts mit dem evangelischen Glauben zu tun.[76] Das gilt also auch von der Schrift als dem Worte Gottes. Irenäus entfernt sich nach Harnack gerade von dem ursprünglichen Evangelium, indem er die Schrift als das Wort Gottes betrachtet. Hier liegt der Kern des Unterschiedes zwischen der reformatorischen und der Harnackschen Beurteilung des Irenäus. Harnack fragt nicht, inwiefern Irenäus der Lehre der Schrift treu geblieben ist—die es nach Harnack gar nicht gibt[77]—, sondern, inwiefern er zur Umbildung der urchristlichen Gemeinde zur altkatholischen Kirche beigetragen hat, die sich u.a. auf einen göttlich inspirierten Kanon und auf ein unveränderliches Glaubensbekenntnis stützt. Das Christentum des Irenäus ist materiell ein entscheidender Faktor in der Dogmengeschichte geworden, weil er der Kirche den Grundgedanken klar vorgezeichnet hat in der inneren Verknüpfung der antiken Heilsidee mit NTlichen (paulinischen) Gedanken. Dieser Grundgedanke ist die Überzeugung der Einheit des Weltschöpfers und des höchsten Gottes. Er ist verbunden mit dem Zweckgedanken der Anschauung des Christentums als Religion der realen Erlösung, die einzig durch Christus zu Stande gekommen ist.[78] So ist Irenäus faktisch der Vater der sogenannten physischen Erlösungslehre der griechischen Kirche, die als wichtigsten Aspekt die Umwandlung der sterblichen menschlichen Natur in eine unsterbliche beinhaltet. Diese sogenannte physische Erlösung wird von Harnack theologisch abgelehnt, und zwar aufgrund der Kantschen/Ritschlschen Dichotomie von Geist und Materie, wobei als Grundsatz gilt, daß Gott nur auf den Geist einwirkt. Harnack lehnt diese physische Erlösungslehre freilich in einer sehr differenzierten Art und Weise ab. Auch den Moralismus verwirft er, und zwar aufgrund einer modernen Fassung der lutherischen Gnadenlehre. Nach Harnack ist

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Magdeburger Zenturien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der historiographischen Methode, Gütersloh 1966, SS 74f., Anm. 145.

[75] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte I*, Berlin 1909⁴, SS 362, 378, 410.

[76] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte III*, Berlin 1910, S 880.

[77] Siehe z.B. seine Rezension der Studie von G. Ecke, *Die theologische Schule Albrecht Ritschls und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart*, Berlin 1897, erneut abgedruckt in *Reden und Aufsätze II*, Giessen 1906², SS 347f., S 359, SS 367f.

[78] *Lehrbuch I*, S 556f.

für den christlichen Glauben der Gegensatz zwischen der Physis und der Moral nur ein relativer. Die Gnostiker vertreten einen physischen Erlösungsbegriff, die Apologeten einen moralischen.[79] Wie Baur, sieht auch Harnack in den theologischen Ansichten des Irenäus eine Synthese zwischen den Gnostikern und den Apologeten.[80] Damit verdient seine Anschauung den Vorzug vor der der Gnostiker und der der Apologeten. Nach Harnack hat Irenäus die Vorstellung einer mechanisch physischen Erlösung nur gestreift, und zwar in seinen Darlegungen (gegen Tatian), daß auch Adam von Christus gerettet worden ist.[81] Trotz der Tatsache, daß Irenäus den Gegensatz zwischen Gnostikern und Apologeten, zwischen physischer und moralischer Erlösungslehre übersteigt, und daß bei ihm Ansätze des (augustinischen) Begriffes der *necessitas peccandi* vorliegt,[82] findet sich bei ihm doch nicht die für den evangelischen Glauben wichtige Grunderkenntnis, daß der Gegensatz zwischen Physis und Moral nur ein relativer ist, und daß der Gegensatz zwischen dem heiligen, gnädigen Gott und dem sündigen Menschen der alles entscheidende ist.[83] Außerdem übt er die schwerwiegende Kritik an Irenäus, daß es ihm nicht primär darum geht, zu beweisen, daß der Erlösergott der Schöpfer ist, sondern daß der Weltschöpfer der einzige Gott ist. Hierin offenbart sich der wesentliche Unterschied zwischen Irenäus und den Gnostikern: Er plädiert für den Demiurgen, den er zur Welterklärung benötigt, die Gnostiker hingegen verkündigen den Erlöser, der der Gott der Religion ist. Hiermit zeigt Irenäus, dass er das Grundproblem, das die Gnostiker bedrückt hat, nicht erkannt hat, nämlich den qualitativen Unterschied der Sphäre der Schöpfung und der Sphäre der Erlösung.[84]

Die Beurteilung der Rolle der Individuen in der Geschichte ist einer der Unterschiede zwischen Baur und Harnack, wobei Harnack den Individuen eine grössere Bedeutung beimißt als Baur.[85] In der Analyse der Stellung des Irenäus in der dogmengeschichtlichen Entwicklung ergibt sich dieser

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[79] *Lehrbuch I*, S 588.

[80] Nach Harnack (*Lehrbuch I*, S 564) ist bei Irenäus der Rationalismus der Apologeten ebenso 'aufgehoben' wie der gnostische Dualismus. Wenn das Wort *aufgehoben* hier zwischen Anführungsstriche gesetzt ist, so ist damit wohl gemeint, daß es in Hegelschem Sinne gebraucht wird.

[81] *Lehrbuch I*, S 562 (Anm.), siehe Irenäus, *Adv. Haer.* 3, 23, 2 (3, 33).

[82] *Lehrbuch I*, S 612.

[83] *Lehrbuch III*, S 623 (bei der Beurteilung der Theologie des Thomas von Aquin).

[84] *Lehrbuch I*, S 569.

[85] Siehe hierzu A. Lasson, Harnacks Dogmengeschichte, *Preussische Jahrbücher* (62) 1888, SS 605ff. (nach Harnack ist die Kritik Lassons an seinem Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte die geistvollste, die vorgebracht worden ist,—*Lehrbuch I*, S 43, Anm. 1).

Unterschied allerdings kaum (mit Ausnahme der Baurschen Theorie der Keime der Hegelschen Philosophie auch bei Irenäus). Man könnte ihn höchstens darin sehen, daß Harnack den disparaten Charakter der Theologie des Irenäus hervorhebt, während Baur die Lehrposition des Irenäus als eine in sich geschlossene Größe darstellt, die als solche ein klares Glied in der logischen Entwicklung der Idee innerhalb der Geschichte des christlichen Denkens darstellt. Nach Harnack bietet Irenäus gerade keine Theologie, sondern eine Zusammenstellung disparater Elemente.[86] Das zeigt sich namentlich in seiner Eschatologie. Die archaische Eschatologie, wie er sie im fünften Buche von *Adversus Haereses* bietet, ist der spekulativen Betrachtung der Erlösung, nämlich der Vergöttlichung des Menschen durch die Menschwerdung des Sohnes Gottes geradezu entgegengesetzt.[87] So erscheint Irenäus gerade bei Harnack als ein Glied innerhalb einer Entwicklung, die in kirchlichen Bahnen verlaufen wird, die nur die sehr bedingte Zustimmung Harnacks findet. In dieser Sicht der Dinge kann Irenäus nicht nur nicht länger als ein Zeuge der Wahrheit gelten, sondern ist auch eine Verwendung des Irenäus als ein Zeuge der logischen Entwicklung, wie Baur sie bietet, ausgeschlossen. Das Interesse Harnacks an Irenäus ist primär historischer und nicht theologischer Art. Harnack tut dem Irenäus kein Unrecht, er ist auch behutsam in seiner theologischen Kritik an ihm. Dennoch muß nüchtern gesagt werden, daß in dieser Darstellung von der Autorität des Irenäus kaum noch etwas übrig ist. Er vertritt einen überholten Glauben an einen in die materielle Welt sichtbar eingreifenden Weltenlenker, sein Glaube hat moralistische Züge, und seine Theologie richtet in der Bibel und der kirchlichen Tradition Autoritäten auf, die der moderne Protestantismus nicht länger gelten lassen kann. Zwar stellt Harnack einige Male fest, daß die christliche Kirche (verschiedener Konfessionen) immer noch bei Irenäus steht,[88] aber das wird theologisch von ihm bedauert. Ein moderner evangelischer Christ kann seinen eigenen Glauben in dem Glauben und der Theologie des Irenäus nicht oder nur kaum wiedererkennen.

Die Entdeckung im Jahre 1907 einer armenischen Übersetzung der bis dann unbekannten Kurzschrift Ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος hat Harnack nicht zu wesentlichen Veränderungen seiner Ausführungen zu Irenäus veranlaßt, als zwei Jahre später die vierte Auflage des ersten Bandes seines Lehrbuchs der Dogmengeschichte erschien. Das liegt auf der Hand,

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[86] *Lehrbuch I*, S 588, vgl. S 559.

[87] *Lehrbuch I*, SS 614ff.

[88] *Lehrbuch I*, S 596, 622, 630.

da in dieser Kurzschrift die Gedanken der Großschrift gegen die Ketzer zusammengefäßt sind.

Harnacks Darstellung und Interpretation der Gedankenwelt des Irenäus stieß sowohl auf Zustimmung als auch auf Ablehnung. Zustimmend ist z.B. die Studie von J. Werner, in der Irenäus trotz der vielen Pauluszitate, die er bietet, weitgehend gerade im Gegensatz zu Paulus gesehen wird.[89] Implizit ablehnend ist Th. von Zahn. Es findet sich in seinem Aufsatz aus dem Jahre 1901 zwar kein Hinweis auf Harnacks Irenäus-deutung in seinem Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, aber er bietet eine ganz andere Einschätzung der Bedeutung des Irenäus, wenn er zu diesem feststellt:[90] 'Aller aprioristischen Spekulationen abhold, in den Tatsachen der Offenbarung wurzelnd, sucht er die gesamte dem Menschen und Christen kundgewordene, aus der Ewigkeit fließende und in dieselbe wieder einmündende Entwicklung von der Schöpfung bis zum Millennium als ein lernbegieriger Schüler der Offenbarung teleologisch zu begreifen.'

Der schärfste Angriff auf Harnack aber wurde erst eine Generation später geführt. Der theologische Umschwung, wie er nach dem ersten Weltkrieg im Protestantismus mit dem Aufkommen der sogenannten dialektischen Theologie stattgefunden hat widerspiegelt sich auch in der Beurteilung und der Benutzung des Irenäus. In seinem im Jahre 1927 erschienenen Buch *Der Mittler. Zur Besinnung über den Christusglauben* macht Emil Brunner sich—auf dem Boden der kritischen Bibelwissenschaft[91]—in gewissem Sinne zum Anwalt des altkirchlichen Dogmas. Er tut dieses teilweise in expliziter Polemik gegen die Deutung des Dogmas, wie sie bei dem Ritschlianer Harnack vorliegt. In dieser Auseinandersetung spielt Irenäus eine wichtige Rolle. Brunner gibt seinem Buch als Motto neben einem Wort Luthers den berühmten Satz des Irenäus aus dem Vorwort zum fünften Buch von *Adversus Haereses*: 'Jesus Christus ist wegen seiner unendlichen Liebe geworden, was wir sind, damit er uns vollkommen zu dem mache, was er ist.'[92] In der Verteidigung des Begriffes der göttlichen Natur beruft Brunner sich auf Irenäus.[93] In seinem Großangriff auf die Darstellung Harnacks der physi-

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[89] *Der Paulinismus des Irenaeus. Eine kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung über das Verhältnis des Irenaeus zu der paulinischen Briefsammlung und Theologie*, Leipzig 1889.

[90] Th. von Zahn, Art. 'Irenäus von Lyon', *RPTK (9)*, S 410.

[91] Siehe seine kritischen Ausführungen zur Problematik des 'historischen Jesus', SS 128ff.

[92] Praef. ad V: Qui (dominus noster Jesus Christus) propter immensam suam dilectionem factus est quod sumus nos, uti nos perficeret esse quod est ipse.

[93] *Der Mittler*, SS 210f.

schen Erlösungslehre macht er Irenäus zum Prüfstein seiner Argumentation. Einerseits muß zur Polemik Brunners in diesem Zusammenhang nüchtern festgestellt werden, daß sie auf einem Mißverständnis beruht, da Brunner Harnack den Vorwurf macht, er habe von seinem Ritschlschen theologischen Ausgangspunkt her nicht erkannt, daß für den evangelischen Glauben der Gegensatz zwischen der Physis und der Moral nur ein relativer ist, während der Gegensatz zwischen Gott und der Kreatur der wahrhaft ernste ist.[94] Auf genau diesem Standpunkt steht Harnack, wie wir gesehen haben, aber selbst. Auch in der Analyse des Irenäus beschreitet Brunner den etwas zweifelhaften Weg, daß er zeigt, daß Harnacks Darstellung des Irenäus widersprüchlich ist, da Harnack ja selbst das subjektive Element, d.h. die Wichtigkeit des Glaubens für die Erlösung bei Irenäus hervorhebt.[95] Was Brunner bei Irenäus in positivem Sinne hervorhebt, das ist dessen These, daß in Christus Gott selbst zu den Menschen kam und nicht ein Mensch, der göttlich gesinnt war. Das *vere homo, vere Deus* bezieht sich bei Irenäus auf das personale Sein Gottes und nicht auf einen Wert oder eine Gesinnung.[96] Mit Nachdruck wendet sich Brunner auch gegen den von Harnack behaupteten unsystematischen, ja disparaten Charakter der 'Theologie' des Irenäus. Irenäus ist nach ihm zwar kein Systematiker in formalem Sinne, er ist aber doch—gerade wie Luther—ein Systematiker allerersten Ranges, wenn Systematiker sein heißt: die Zusammenhänge schauen, das Zusammengehörige als zusammengehörig erkennen.[97] In der nach dem zweiten Weltkriege erschienenen Dogmatik Brunners hat Irenäus eigentlich wieder die Funktion, die er in der irenischen protestantischen Orthodoxie hat: Er vertritt einen nicht spekulativen Glauben, der mehr zu einer heilsgeschichtlichen als zu einer ontologischen Theologie führt, in dem die Hauptsachen des christlichen Glaubens gewahrt bleiben.[98] Bei Brunner hat Irenäus also wieder die Funktion eines Zeugen der Wahrheit, der mit zahlreichen Hinweisen, allerdings nur wenigen Zitaten, die eigene Lehrposition Brunners unterstützen soll.

In seiner Antrittsrede als Kirchenhistoriker an der Leidener Universität übte J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink einige Jahre später differenzierte Kritik

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[94] *Der Mittler*, SS 222f.

[95] *Der Mittler*, SS 224ff.

[96] *Der Mittler*, SS 230f.

[97] *Der Mittler*, S 231.

[98] Siehe L.B. *Dogmatik I*, Zürich 1960³ (erste Auflage aus dem Jahre 1946), S 228, wo Irenäus im Zusammenhang mit der Trinitätslehre als Zeuge dessen angeführt wird, daß es in der alten Kirche nicht nur Vertreter einer metaphysischen, sondern auch einer heilsgeschichtlichen Theologie gegeben hat.

an Harnack, in der er nachzuweisen versucht, daß die Theologie des Irenäus keinen disparaten Charakter hat, sondern ein großes, umfassendes Ganzes ist, in der die Lehren von der Inkarnation, des Eschatons, des freien Willens und die Mystik ineinandergreifen.[99]

Karl Barth hat sich den Thesen Brunners zu diesem Thema weitgehend angeschlossen, nur tut er dieses nicht in polemischer Abgrenzung gegen seinen verehrten Meister Harnack, sondern gegen dessen theologischen Lehrer Albrecht Ritschl.[100] Er sieht in der Theologie Ritschls einen Horror vor der Physis, der Äußerlichkeit, der Leibhaftigkeit. Dieser Horror bedeutet nach Barth eine Verarmung, weil er faktisch ein Horror vor dem Sein Gottes ist. Hiermit verkannte man nach ihm den Realismus der biblischen Offenbarungsbotschaft.[101] Von der Bejahung dieses Realismus wird Irenäus auch von Barth wieder ernst genommen.[102]—Seit der dialektischen Theologie ist Irenäus auch für viele evangelische Theologen wieder ein Gesprächspartner und eine Autorität, auf die man sich gerne beruft. Mit welchem historischem Recht diese Berufung stattfindet, das steht freilich auf einem anderen Blatt.

Wir haben uns in diesem Aufsatz auf die interkonfessionellen und die innerprotestantischen Auseindersetzungen beschränkt. Von dem Traditionsbegriff her konnte es innerhalb der katholischen Kirche keine Auseinandersetzungen über Irenäus (und die Väter im allgemeinen) geben, wie sie sich im Protestantismus finden. Der sog. 'Modernismus', der sich am Ende des neunzehnten und im Anfang des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts in der katholischen Kirche findet, ist offiziell verurteilt worden und hat auch keine konfessionelle Gestalt gefunden. Wir haben auf eine Untersuchung verzichtet, ob in diesem Modernismus ähnliche Thesen zur 'Einfachheit' der Theologie des Irenäus aufgestellt werden, wie sie sich in der antitrinitarischen protestantischen Theologie finden. Nach A. Loisy findet die Entwicklung zum kirchlichen Christentum bei Irenäus ihren vorläufigen Abschluß. (Diese Feststellung stammt aus einer Zeit, in der er sich bereits voll der Kirche

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[99] J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Incarnatie en Verlossing bij Irenaeus*, 's Gravenhage 1934; er distanziert sich von Aspekten der Polemik Brunners,—siehe SS 42ff. Eine ähnlich abgewogene Kritik an Harnack bietet G.N. Bonwetsch, *Die Theologie des Irenäus*, Gütersloh 1925.

[100] *Die kirchliche Dogmatik I*, 2, SS 140ff.

[101] *K D I*, 2, S 143.

[102] Vgl. E.P. Meijering, *Von den Kirchenvätern zu Karl Barth. Das altkirchliche Dogma in der 'kirchlichen Dogmatik'*, Amsterdam 1993, insbesondere SS 80ff.

abgewandt hatte.)[103] Immerhin wird in der päpstlichen Verurteilung des Modernismus im Zusammenhang mit der Unveränderlichkeit des Glaubens klar an Irenäus angespielt.[104]

Stellt man rückblickend die Frage nach der Berechtigung der Berufung auf Irenäus in späteren Zeiten, so muß ein Unterschied zwischen der Berufung in der vorkritischen und der in der kritischen Theologie gemacht werden. Die vorkritische bis zur Aufklärung behandelt Irenäus in der Weise, in der er selbst sicherlich behandelt werden möchte: als ein Verkündiger der unveränderlichen Wahrheit. Da man unterschiedliche Ansichten zum Inhalt dieser Wahrheit hatte, wurde Irenäus für gegensätzliche Standpunkte in Anspruch genommen. Er selbst würde—das darf vielleicht vorläufig schon gesagt werden—den Katholiken wohl recht gegeben haben in ihrer Berufung auf seine Lehre von der Schrift und der Tradition sowie der des freien Willens des Menschen, und den orthodoxen Protestanten hätte er wohl recht gegeben im Zusammenhang mit der Lehre von der Gottheit des Sohnes. Bei den anderen Problemen ist es wohl weniger einfach, festzustellen, welche Lehransicht er als die seinige anerkannt hätte. Die Berufung ist der auf die Bibel ähnlich: Irenäus soll einen Standpunkt bestätigen, auf dem man bereits steht. Dem Gegner kann mithilfe einer auch von diesem anerkannten Autorität klargemacht werden, wie irrtümlich seine Ansichten sind. Es muß höchst unwahrscheinlich genannt werden, daß den Theologen mittels der Lektüre Gesichtspunkte geöffnet wurden, die ihnen noch nicht klar waren.

Die kritische Berufung geht von der Veränderlichkeit der christlichen Lehre aus. Diese Voraussetzung hätte Irenäus gewiß entrüstet verworfen. Aber von dieser Voraussetzung her ist es möglich, ihn als eine geschichtliche Gestalt zu sehen und ihn rückblickend besser zu verstehen als er sich selbst verstehen konnte. Namentlich die Thesen Baurs und Harnacks, daß Irenäus von seinen Gegnern beeinflußt worden ist, und daß diese Tatsache den Unterschied zwischen ihm und den Apologeten wenigstens teilweise erklärt, sollten ernst genommen werden und auf ihre Haltbarkeit untersucht werden. Die theologische Berufung auf Irenäus wird in der kritischen Theologie immer weniger. Man will auch nicht mehr beweisen, daß er die eigene, von der offiziellen kirchlichen Theologie abweichenden Standpunkte

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[103] *La naissance du christianisme*, Paris 1933, SS 425ff.

[104] Siehe H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum*, Freiburg/Br. 1921, 2147 unter klarer Anspielung an *Adv. Haer.* 4, 26, 5 (4, 42, 1),—siehe dazu *oben*, Anm. 29.

vertrat. Er ist wegen der überholten Autoritäten, auf die er sich stützt, und wegen des ihm selbstverständlichen Wunderglaubens für viele weitgehend der Repräsentant eines uns abhanden gekommenen traditionellen Christentums geworden. Wohl darf auch zu den kritischen Theologen die Frage gestellt werden, ob Irenäus bei ihnen nicht einen Standpunkt bestätigt, auf dem sie bereits stehen; ob er ihnen gezeigt hat, wie die urchristliche Gemeinde zur altkatholischen Kirche wurde, oder ob sie ihre Ansichten zu dieser Entwicklung gerne mit Irenäus illustriert haben.

Eine Rückkehr zur vorkritischen Theologie ist ausgeschlossen. Es ist aber durchaus möglich, Irenäus immer noch als einen Zeugen der christlichen Wahrheit zu betrachten und zu benutzen. Die christliche Wahrheit ist eine geschichtliche Größe, denn sie ist für die Geschichte gemeint. Man kann zweifellos als Historiker selbst außerhalb des Christentums seinen Standpunkt beziehen und gleichzeitig doch ein relevantes Bild der Gedankenwelt des Irenäus zeichnen. Man kann als Historiker aber auch Christ und Theologe sein und sich in die Tradition einreihen und in anderer Weise selbst sagen was man auch von Irenäus gelernt hat, bei dem zwar nicht die in christlichem Sinne gläubige, wohl aber die theologische, dogmatische Tradition ihren Anfang nimmt. Ob man von einem heutigen Standpunkt aus die Kontinuität oder gerade die Diskontinuität innerhalb dieser Tradition betonen will, das hängt wohl primär davon ab, ob man der Meinung ist, daß es ein Handeln Gottes an der Materie, an der ganzen menschlichen Natur gibt oder nicht. Nur wer an ein solches Handeln Gottes glaubt kann sich in einer gewissen inhaltlichen Übereinstimmung mit dem Glauben des Irenäus befinden, dem die leibhaftige Auferstehung Jesu und der Gläubigen zweifellos das wichtigste war.

NL 2343 TX *Oegstgeest*, Ridderspoorlaan 103

REVIEWS

F. Cocchini (éd.), *Il dono e la sua ombra. Ricerche sul ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΧΗΣ di Origene.* Atti del I Convegno del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su "Origene e la Tradizione Alessandrina" (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 57). Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, Roma, 1997. ISBN 88-7961-040-6

Ce livre rassemble les exposés présentés au colloque mentionné en sous-titre, qui a eu lieu en 1996 à Chieti. Il comprend trois contributions sur le Περὶ εὐχῆς d'Origène proprement dit. L. Perrone présente le traité comme un discours protreptique. F. Cocchini étudie l'usage que le traité fait de la Bible, ainsi que l'herméneutique d'Origène. A. Monaci Castagno considère l'ouvrage comme une *Seelenführung* vers l'idéal de la vie parfaite. Elle arrive à cette conclusion en comparant le Περὶ εὐχῆς aux œuvres de Maxime de Tyr, de Marc Aurèle et de Porphyre, ainsi qu'à l'*Exhortation au martyre* d'Origène.

D'autres contributions s'intéressent davantage à divers auteurs de l'Antiquité tardive qui ont écrit sur la prière ou qui ont réagi aux propos d'Origène. G.M. Vian présente quelques prières et textes sur la prière des livres deutérocanoniques de la Septante comme des témoins de la tradition alexandrine. Puis il examine des textes de Philon et de Clément d'Alexandrie. Il conclut que cette tradition alexandrine comportait une tendance à l'universalisme et à la spiritualisation de la prière. M. Simonetti compare le Περὶ εὐχῆς aux traités sur la prière de Tertullien et de Cyprien, ainsi qu'aux parties des *Stromates* de Clément d'Alexandrie sur ce thème. A juste titre, il remarque que le livre d'Origène est plus large et plus profond que les traités des autres pères. La contribution de G. Bendinelli s'intéresse aux rapports et aux différences entre le Περὶ εὐχῆς et la tradition néoplatonicienne, ce qui le mène vers Plotin, Porphyre, Jamblique et Proclus. Plotin et Jamblique sont aussi abordés par A.P. Bernardini, dont l'exposé est centré sur les cinq sermons sur l'oraison dominicale de Grégoire de Nysse. E. Prinzivalli montre que la réception du Περὶ εὐχῆς aux IV^{e} et V^{e} siècles consistait essentiellement en un rejet de l'avis d'Origène, selon lequel il ne faut pas adresser les prières au Fils mais uniquement au Père. Il apparaît cependant que les contradicteurs d'Origène n'ont pas tenu compte du contexte dans lequel il écrit. A. Camplani présente un livre de Shenouté contre les hérésies. Cet auteur, qui est anti-origéniste, conteste l'avis cité plus haut en s'appuyant sur la tradition de la "prière de Jésus".

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Un dialogue plus large entre ces différentes contributions aurait peut-être été souhaitable: que penser, par exemple, de la présentation successive du traité comme discours protreptique et comme *Seelenführung*? Autre exemple: F. Cocchini présume que les destinataires du traité, Ambroise et Tatiana, forment un couple. A. Monaci Castagno en est moins sûre. Ces différentes études constituent cependant une source d'information précieuse, qui nous renseigne sur bien des aspects du traité d'Origène et de son contexte.

Dans la préface, F. Cocchini remarque qu'une comparaison entre le Περὶ εὐχῆς et le thème de la prière dans les autres ouvrages d'Origène reste encore à faire. Notons que depuis la parution de ce recueil, P.S.A. Lefeber a soutenu à Leyde une thèse qui traite précisément de ce sujet: *Keuze en verlangen. Een onderzoek naar zin en functie van het gebed in Origenes' preken en zijn tractaat Over het gebed* (Gorinchem 1997).

R. Roukema

Henning Paulsen, *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des frühen Christentums. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, herausgegeben von Ute E. Eisen (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 99). Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1997, X + 504 S., ISBN 3-16-146513-X, DM 248,— (Leinen mit Schutzumschlag).

Sammelband mit wichtigen Studien des jung verstorbenen Neutestamentlers Henning Paulsen, der sich als Patristiker auszeichnete u.a. durch seine *Studien zur Theologie des Ignatius von Antiochien* (1978) und seine Überarbeitung des Kommentars von Walter Bauer, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief* (HNT 18, 1985). In sehr sorgfältiger Weise hat seine Schülerin Ute Eisen (Kiel) Altes (achtzehn Aufsätze) und Neues ('Werdet Vorübergehende'; Die Wunderüberlieferung in der Vita Apollonii des Philostratos; Prolegomena zur Geschichte der frühchristlichen Theologie; Rudolf Bultmann 1933) in diesem Band versammelt. Lehrmeister Ferdinand Hahn schrieb das Geleitwort: 'Henning Paulsen gehörte zu den wenigen jüngeren Neutestamentlern, die eine Forschungstradition neu aufgenommen haben, die um die letzte Jahrhundertwende und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts reiche Früchte getragen hatte: Die Verbindung der Exegese des Neuen Testaments mit der Erforschung der ältesten patristischen Literatur' (vii).

Eine dem reichen Inhalt des Bandes gerecht werdende Würdigung ist hier gebotener Kürze halber nicht möglich. Mir scheint, daß die Aufsätze zur Genese der frühchristlichen Theologie alle noch immer von größter Bedeutung sind. Andererseits könnte man sich fragen, ob Paulsen in seiner

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Deutung von Lukas 18,1-8 speziell Gustav Stählins Ausführungen (Das Bild der Witwe. Ein Beitrag zur Bildersprache der Bibel und zum Phänomen der Personifikation in der Antike, *JbAC* 17,1974,6-20) gebührend berücksichtigte. Die Diskussion um die methodischen Fragen zur Wissenschaft vom frühen Christentum steht (wenn sie überhaupt stattfindet) immer noch in den Anfängen; auch hier könnte Hennings Nachlaß noch reiche Resonanz aufrufen.

Folgendes Inhaltsverzeichnis möchte einen richtigen Eindruck der vielen behandelten Themen vermitteln:

> 'Werdet Vorübergehende' (1-17). *Paulus- und Synoptikerexegese*: Einheit und Freiheit der Söhne Gottes—Gal 3,26-29 (21-42); Schisma und Häresie. Untersuchungen zu 1 Kor 11, 18.19 (43-74); Mk 16,1-8 (75-112); Die Witwe und der Richter (Lk 18,1-8) (113-138). *Studien zur Literatur des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts*: Ignatius von Antiochien (141-153); Kanon und Geschichte. Bemerkungen zum Zweiten Petrusbrief (154-161); Papyrus Oxyrhynchus I.5 und die διαδοχὴ τῶν προφητῶν (162-172); Das Kerygma Petri und die urchristliche Apologetik (173-209); Erwägungen zu Acta Apollonii 14-22 (210-219); Die Wunderüberlieferung in der Vita Apollonii des Philostratos (220-234). *Die Genese der frühchristlichen Theologie*: Prolegomena zur Geschichte der frühchristlichen Theologie (237-283); Von der Unbestimmtheit des Anfangs. Zur Entstehung von Theologie im Urchristentum (284-300); Synkretismus im Urchristentum und im Neuen Testament (301-309); Die Bedeutung des Montanismus für die Herausbildung des Kanons (310-343); Sola Scriptura und das Kanonproblem (344-361). *Zur Geschichte und Methode der Wissenschaft vom frühen Christentum*: Zur Wissenschaft vom Urchristentum und der alten Kirche—ein methodischer Versuch (365-395); Aufgaben und Probleme einer Geschichte der frühchristlichen Literatur (396-411); Auslegungsgeschichte und Geschichte des Urchristentums—die Überprüfung eines Paradigmas (412-425); Traditionsgeschichtliche Methode und religionsgeschichtliche Schule (426-461); Sozialgeschichtliche Auslegung des Neuen Testaments (462-467); Rudolf Bultmann 1933 (468-477).—Bibliographische Nachweise (479-480); Bibliographie der veröffentlichten und nachgelassenen Schriften von Henning Paulsen (481-484); Stellenregister (in Auswahl); Autorenregister (*idem*); Sachregister (*idem*).

J. VAN OORT

Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study*. Foreword by G.A. Kennedy, translated by M.T. Bliss, A. Jansen, D.E. Orton, edited by D.E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson. Leiden, Brill, 1998. xxix and 921 pp.

The first edition of Lausberg's *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* appeared in 1960 and met with a mixed reception. A number of reviewers com-

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plained about the uniform, almost monolithic character implicitly ascribed to classical rhetoric. L.'s "auf das Mittelalter und die Neuzeit hin geöffnete Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik" had no room for the historical development of rhetorical theory and the differences between its various representatives. Moreover, L.'s idiosyncratic ordering of the evidence came in for considerable criticism. Some critics even felt that one could not see the wood for the trees. No doubt the *Handbuch* has its drawbacks, yet the proof of the pudding is in the eating: over the years many students and scholars have benefited from it, when they were looking for the meaning of technical terms and the primary texts in which they occur.

In 1960 the great revival of serious interest in (classical) rhetoric was only in its initial stage. Since then this revival has resulted in new practical surveys, historical studies and handbooks. It is slightly surprising that L.'s *Handbuch*, which according to G.A. Kennedy's "Foreword" "never attained in the English-speaking world the status of a basic reference tool that it deserves", is now presented in an English translation, based on the second edition of 1973. This edition was a reprint of the original edition with the addition of 25 pages of "Nachträge". The contents of these have been incorporated in their proper place in the English version. Apart from that there is no updating, not even of the bibliography.

One could comment ironically on the apparent lack of knowledge of other modern languages in Anglo-Saxon quarters and so on, but this would entail an entirely undeserved verdict of the translators' praiseworthy efforts. They have seen to it that the German original was adequately dressed in English garb. In the various sections of the "Additional Bibliography" (591-595) one does not understand why some titles are incomplete: why e.g. "R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog. . . .*" instead of "R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog, ein literarhistorischer Versuch*"? In the penultimate line of p. 591 the printing machinery has eaten part of the text. Such minor flaws do not detract from the value of this book of reference. Although early Christian texts play a minor part on its many pages, patristic scholars are advised to make good use of the rich material which is made available.

Amsterdam, *Vrije Universiteit* J. DEN BOEFT

Martin Wallraff, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates. Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person.* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997, 379 price 138 DM.

A modern and systematic treatment of the *Church History* of Socrates, which is the first independent continuation of Eusebius' work that survives to us, has long been a *desideratum*, as has a new edition of the Greek text of Socrates. In 1995 the GCS edition of Günther Christian Hansen appeared, and now Martin Wallraff has presented us with a definitive monograph on the church historian. Furthermore, the *Church History* of Sozomen, a contemporary who knew and used Socrates' work, is also being made available again in Sources Chrétiennes, where Joseph Bidez' text is translated and annotated, and in Hansen's revised edition of 1995 in the GCS. If we add to this the 1997 monograph of Theresa Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople, Historian of Church and State* (Ann Arbor, 1997), and the forthcoming German translation and commentary of Socrates by Martin George and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, it is patent that the study of early Greek ecclesiastical historiography and of fifth-century Constantinople will never be the same again. How pressing the need for M.W.'s monograph was can be seen from the fact that the first and only commentary on Socrates had been that of Henri Valois, which appeared in 1668.

M.W. divides his work into five parts. The introduction contains a useful overview of all previous research on Socrates, including not only articles and books but also editions and translations. In the second part selected themes in the *Church History* are dealt with: developments in church politics and dogma and the understanding of these developments by church members; the beginnings of the Arian debate and the Council of Nicaea; the affair of John Chrysostom; Socrates' view of the contemporary church as expressed chiefly in Book 7; pagan culture, religion and education; emperor and politics; and groups in the society of the time. Historical method, including genre, structure, use of sources, and style are discussed in the third part, and the church historian himself and his "Weltanschauung" in the fourth part, where Socrates' relationship to Novatianism is subjected to scrutiny. In his conclusion M.W. considers Socrates as a church historian in his own time. A thorough-going review of the scholarly literature covering some fifty pages and two indexes complete the book.

Because he situates Socrates firmly in his time as well as in the genre of ecclessiastical historiography M.W. is able to confirm and round out the picture of his church historian. There emerges a sometimes cold and distanced

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writer, who has no interest in the canonical decisions of the Council of Nicaea nor in the phenomenon of paganism, except insofar as the latter affects Christianity. Similarly Socrates displays interest in emperors only with regard to their influence on the fate of the churches, and only incidentally do we find military events reported in his work. Again, despite the fact that the church hierarchy was becoming increasingly complex, Socrates gives no insights into the workings of the patriarchate, for example, or into ecclesiastical ranks and roles. Nor is there a preoccupation with abstract or dogmatic issues, but rather with certain themes and words, and particularly with important ecclesiastical personalities. One of these personalities is John Chrysostom, but here paradoxically Socrates' extensive account is of extraordinary importance because it is independent of the other surviving accounts, and M.W.'s analysis of it is an important contribution to scholarship. Unlike most of the other church historians Socrates is a chronological pedant, to the extent that M.W. suspects him of using some lost chronographical source and posits that the structure of the whole work is influenced by chronological concerns. With regard to Socrates' use of his sources M.W. is able for the most part to corroborate the findings of previous research: falsification and exaggeration are untypical of Socrates, but there are the inevitable mix-ups and mistakes, especially when it is a case of giving a consistent picture from a variety of sources. M.W. does, however, challenge the standard assumption that Socrates knew the *Vita Constantini* only when he was at the stage of reworking his history into the form in which it survives.

For a discussion of the question which perhaps most of all engages those who are familiar with Socrates the reader must wait almost until the end of the book. Was Socrates a Novatian? M.W. argues plausibly that this is an incomplete question, for we should be asking who Socrates' Novatian witnesses or sources were, how a relationship with the Novatians fitted in with the church historian's social position, and especially what it meant to be a Novatian at that time. Concomitant questions are whether he was an actual or previous member of the sect at the time of writing his history, what position he occupied with them and to what wing he belonged. After cautiously weighing up the evidence, M.W. concludes that the church historian seems to have been part of the established and socially prominent wing of the Novatian community, but that this connection should not be exaggerated when the tenor of the *Church History* is considered. We are not dealing with a Philostorgius or even a Theodoret, who each wrote their historical works in order to vindicate a particular ecclesiastical position.

Rather Socrates was writing for a broad audience, and was concerned to be, or was perhaps by nature, eirenic.

For its systematic and careful treatment of Socrates this must be regarded as an important book, and one which, taken together with the recent publications on Socrates and Sozomen, will in its turn stimulate further research into the fifth century.

Australian Catholic University
P.O. Box 247 *Everton Park*, 4053 PAULINE ALLEN

Der Platonismus in der Antike. Grundlagen—System—Entwicklung. Begründet von Heinrich Dörrie, fortgeführt von Matthias Baltes. Band V: Heinrich Dörrie †—Matthias Baltes, *Die philosophische Lehre des Platonismus. Platonische Physik (im antiken Verständnis)* II Bausteine 125-150: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt, Frommann-Holzboog, 1998. 616 S. ISBN 3-7728-1157-4 DM 695.—.

Ein grosses Unternehmen nimmt guten Fortgang. Die Bände 1-3 enthielten die äussere Geschichte des Platonismus im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert. Im 4. Band wurden zunächst einige grundlegende Axiome erörtert, wonach man sich der Naturphilosophie und ihren Prinzipien zuwendete. Als erstes wurde das Prinzip der Materie behandelt.

Dieser 5. Band enthält zunächst die Besprechung des zweiten Prinzips, der Ideenlehre. Das dritte Prinzip, Gott, wird am Ende der "Physik im antiken Verständnis" behandelt werden. Dazwischen erörtert man in diesem Band das Problem der Weltentstehung und die Lehre der Elemente. Im 6. Band wird dann die Seelenlehre folgen.

Die Ideenlehre ist, wie es im ersten Zitat (aus Attikos bei Eusebios) heisst, τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ τὸ κῦρος τῆς Πλάτωνος αἱρέσεως, "die wichtigste und entscheidende Lehre der Schule Platons". Der Verf. bietet eine repräsentative Auswahl von Texten bezüglich dieser Lehre. In seinem Vorwort sagt er, dass er selbst bei dieser Auswahl oft geschwankt habe. So hat er vielleicht auch daran gedacht Augustins Quaestio 46: De ideis (P.L. 40, 29-31) aufzunehmen. Wie dem auch sei, die hier gebotene Sammlung ist von hoher Qualität.

Über die Frage ob Platon im Timaios eine Erschaffung der Welt in der Zeit gelehrt hat, ist heftig gestritten worden. Der Verf. liefert hier eine reiche Sammlung von Texten, die diesen Streit veranschaulichen.

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Die Sammlung von Texten bezüglich der Elementen zeigt, dass man Platon bald vier, bald fünf Elemente zuschrieb. Es gibt jedoch auch Texte, in denen die Platoniker die Elementenlehre des Aristoteles (die quinta essentia) kritisierten.

Auch von den Texten in diesem Band gilt, dass die Übersetzung von bewundernswerter Genauigkeit und Klarheit ist und dass der Kommentar von Beherrschung der Materie und von grösster didaktischer Fähigkeit zeugt.

Ich möchte nur zwei Bemerkungen machen. Sie beziehen sich zufälligerweise auf das erste Zitat (aus Attikos), das ist Baustein 125. Attikos sagt dort (Z. 21 ff.), dass es ohne die Ideen unmöglich sei, eine Ursache von etwas in rechter Weise anzugeben, oder die Erkenntnis einer Wahrheit wiederzugeben, und fährt dann fort: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λόγου μετέσεσθαί τισιν. Der Verf. übersetzt: "ja, nicht einmal reden könne man über so manche Dinge" (wenn man die Ideen nicht anerkennt). Woher kommt hier "über so manche Dinge"? Ist es die Übersetzung von τισιν? Der Text bedeutet, dass man (ohne die Ideen) "nicht mit einander reden könne" (buchstäblich: "Menschen (τινες) werden nicht an einem Wort teilhaben"). In seinem Kommentar sagt der Verf. ganz richtig: ohne die Ideen fehlt "die Möglichkeit des Dialogs" (S. 221). Die Hinzufügung "über so manche Dinge" ist irreführend. Es handelt sich um das miteinander-Sprechen überhaupt.

Attikos legt weiterhin dar, dass das Platonische völlig verloren geht, wenn man die Ideen ausscheidet. Sie sind ja das, wodurch Platons Philosophie über die anderen hinausragt. Er erklärt dies folgendermassen (ich gebe hier den Text, wie er vom Verf. emendiert wird):

33 νοήσας γὰρ θεὸν πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν ἁπάντων πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν καὶ δεσπότην
καὶ κηδεμόνα
καὶ γνωρίζων [ἐκ τῶν ἔργων]
36 ⟨τῷ⟩ τὸν τεχνίτην πρότερον νοῆσαι τοῦτο,
ὃ μέλλει δημιουργήσειν,
. . . . . .
39 ταὐτὸν δὴ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νοήματα πρεσβύτερα τῶν πραγμάτων
⟨ὄντα⟩ . . .

Die Übersetzung lautet: "Er (Platon) hatte nämlich erkannt, dass Gott im Hinblick auf sie Vater, Schöpfer, Herr und fürsorglicher Beschützer von allem ist. Zudem gelangte er aufgrund der Tatsache, dass der Künstler das, was er schaffen will, zuerst im Denken entwirft, ... zu der Einsicht, dass ebenso die Gedanken Gottes den Dingen voraufgehen . . .". Der Verf.

greift an drei Stellen in diesen Text ein: er tilgt ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, und fügt τῷ und ὄντα hinzu. M.E. tut er dies, weil er die Konstruktion dieses Textes nicht richtig verstanden hat. Dieses Missverständnis zeigt sich in der Übersetzung des Partizips γνωρίζων. Dieses participium praesentis wird übersetzt mit "*gelangte er* . . . zu der Einsicht", als wäre es ein Aorist und stände auf gleicher Höhe mit νοήσας. Tatsächlich ist γνωρίζων dem Partizip νοήσας untergeordnet. Der Akkusativ mit Partizip-Konstruktion (θεὸν . . . κηδεμόνα) wird in ταὐτὸν δὴ . . . τῶν πεαγμάτων fortgesetzt, während γνωρίζων . . . δημιουργήσειν dieser Partizip-Konstruktion untergeordnet ist. Man könnte es so übersetzen: "Er hatte nämlich erkannt, dass Gott . . . Beschützer von allem ist, und, *einsehend*, dass der Künstler das, was er schaffen will, zuerst im Denken entwirft, (hatte er erkannt) dass ebenso die Gedanken Gottes den Dingen voraufgehen.". Und das Einsehen kommt zustande ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, d.h. aufgrund der Werke (des Künstlers). Die Schönheit in den Werken zeigt, dass der Künstler ein schönes Vorbild vor Augen gehabt hat (vgl. Timaios 29a2-3). Attikos' Text kann also bleiben, wie er überliefert worden ist. Es ist gleichfalls unnötig, in Z. 39 ὄντα hinzuzufügen, da ein solches auch in Z. 34 fehlt.

Dies sind kleine Bemerkungen zu einem grossartigen Werk. Hoffentlich wird es bald mit dem Band über die Seelenlehre fortgesetzt.

2312 GD *Leiden*, Haarlemmerstraat 106 J.C.M. VAN WINDEN

Leif Grane, Alfred Schindler, Markus Wriedt (Hrsg.), *Auctoritas Patrum II: Neue Beiträge zur Rezeption der Kirchenväter im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert / New Contributions on the Reception of the Church Fathers in the 15th and 16th Centuries* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Beiheft 44], Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 1998, xii + 324 S., ISBN 3-8053-1976-2, DM 68,— (broschiert).

Fine collection of studies resulting from the second Copenhagen conference on the use of patristic writers by Reformation-era theologians (In the meantime, a third conference took place at Bad Homburg near Frankfurt and a fourth one is scheduled for March 1999). Contributions *inter alia* on Jerome's concept of the office of the bishop and its influence on Luther, Melanchthon and Zwingli (R. Henning); Musculus' use of patristic sources (R. Kolb: 'Musculus' patristic works demonstrate that the heirs of Luther and Melanchthon could not imagine handing down the tradition of bibli-

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cal teaching apart from the ancient Fathers of the church', 123); the Fathers in Calvin's debate with Pighius (A.N.S. Lane); the assessment of Lactantius by the 15th c. Renaisance humanist Antonio da Rho (D. Rutherford); Zwingli's opponents and the Church Fathers (A. Schindler); Orosius (R. Staats, with some compelling arguments for the concurrence of O.' views with Augustine's); the reception of patristic Church Histories [and historiography] in the 16th c. (M. Wallraff); the Donatists in the Sixteenth Century (D.F. Wright); Cyprian in Eck's *De primatu Petri* (A. Zillenbiller). Several typographical errors, excellent indices.

J. VAN OORT

Hengel, Martin, *Studies in Early Christology*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1998, xix + 402 pp., ISBN 0-567-29291-6, £ 16.95 (pb).

New edition of a series of first-rate studies on early christology (and early Christian worship), including previously unpublished work. Essays on 'Jesus the Messiah of Israel'; 'Jesus as Messianic Teacher of Wisdom and the Beginnings of Christology'; '«Sit at My Right Hand!»'; 'The Song about Christ in Earliest Worship'; 'The Dionysiac Messiah' [about John 2:1-11]; 'The Kingdom of Christ in John'; 'Christological Titles in Early Christianity'. Translation and editing are exceptionally well done: apples of gold in a setting of silver.

J. VAN OORT

Janine Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture dans l'Occident romain (1er-IVe s.)* (Bibliotheca Archaeologica 20), Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider 1997, 439 p. + 14 planches (en couleur) + 126 planches (en noir et blanc), ISBN 88-7062-952-X (relié & avec jaquette).

Catalogue of c. 124 mosaics depicting Muses, poets, philosophers, and various scenes from Classical mythology and literature. The mosaics have been found in the Western Roman Empire (Africa, Gaul, Spain, Sicily, Germany [Germania superior / inferior], Dalmatia, Britain; Italy is not included) and they are datable between the first and fourth centuries C.E. In the synthesis following the catalogue (293-402), the well-known specialist

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places her iconographic analysis in relation to the literary sources and the geographical context, thus e.g. evaluating the rôle of these cultural images in the process of Romanization of the various provinces. An impressive book and, according to the experts in this particular field of research, a remarkable achievement in the footsteps of (and even surpassing in many respects) famous pioneers like H.-I. Marrou (*Μουσικὸς ἀνήρ. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Grenoble 1938 / Rome 1964) and P. Boyancé (*Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs*, Paris 1937 / 1972).

J. VAN OORT

Christoph Horn (Hrsg.), *Augustinus, De civitate dei* (Klassiker Auslegen 11), Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1997, vii + 308 S., ISBN 3-05-002871-8, DM 29,80 (pb).

Inhaltsverzeichnis:

Chr. Horn, Einleitung, 1-24; K. Pollmann, Augustins Transformation der traditionellen römischen Staats- und Geschichtsauffassung (Buch I-V), 25-40; E.L. Fortin, Justice as the Foundation of Political Community: Augustine and his Pagan Models (Book IV 4), 41-62; S. Peetz, Augustin über menschliche Freiheit (Buch V), 63-86; T. Fuhrer, Die Platoniker und die *civitas dei* (Buch VII-X), 87-108; Chr. Horn, Welche Bedeutung hat das Augustinische Cogito? (Buch XI 26), 109-129; M. Bettetini, Die Wahl der Engel. Übel, Materie und Willensfreiheit (Buch XI-XII), 131-155; J. van Oort, *Civitas dei—terrena civitas*: The Concept of the Two Antithetical Cities and Its Sources (Books XI-XIV), 157-169; Chr. Horn, Geschichtsdarstellung, Geschichtsphilosophie und Geschichtsbewußtsein (Buch XII 10-XVIII), 171-193; D.X. Burt, Cain's City: Augustine's Reflections on the Origins of Civil Society (Book XV 1-8), 195-210; W. Geerlings, *De civitate dei* XIX als Buch der Augustinischen Friedenslehre, 211-233; G. Krieger / R. Wingendorf, Christsein und Gesetz: Augustinus als Theoretiker des Naturrechts (Buch XIX), 235-258; O. Höffe, Positivismus plus Moralismus: Zu Augustinus' eschatologischer Staatstheorie, 259-287; Auswahlbibliographie, 289-296; Personenregister, 297-300; Sachregister, 301-303; Hinweise der Autoren, 305-308.

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Dietmar Wyrwa, Barbara Aland, Christoph Schäublin (Hrsg.), *Die Weltlichkeit des Glaubens in der Alten Kirche. Festschrift für Ulrich Wickert zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 85), Berlin-New York: W. de Gruyter 1997, X + 480 S., ISBN 3-11-015441, DM 248,— (Leinen).

Inhaltsverzeichnis:

Widmung (v-vi); Grußwort Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (ix-x); B. Aland, Die frühe Gnosis zwischen platonischem und christlichem Glauben. Kosmosfrömmigkeit versus Erlösungstheologie (1-24); K. Alt, Glaube, Wahrheit, Liebe, Hoffnung bei Porphyrios (25-43); H.C. Brennecke, 'An fidelis ad militiam converti possit'? [Tertullian, de idolatria (*lege* idololatria) 19, 1]. Frühchristliches Bekenntnis und Militärdienst im Widerspruch? (45-100); W. Geerlings, Das Verständnis von Gesetz im Galaterbriefkommentar des Ambrosiaster (101-113); M. George, Vergöttlichung des Menschen. Von der platonischen Philosophie zur Soteriologie der griechischen Kirchenväter (115-155); Chr. Markschies, Wann endet das 'Konstantinische Zeitalter'? Eine Jenaer Antrittsvorlesung (157-188); G. May, Marcions Genesisauslegung und die 'Antithesen' (190-198); R. Noormann, Himmelsbürger auf Erden. Anmerkungen zum Weltverhältnis und zum 'Paulinismus' des Auctor ad Diognetum (199-229); E. Osborn, Tertullian as Philosopher and Roman (231-247); E. Plümacher, Der ΘΕΟΣ ΑΦΘΟΝΟΣ von Acta Iohannis 55 und sein historischer Kontext (249-301); A.M. Ritter, Ulrich Wickert, Wolfhart Pannenberg und das Problem der 'Hellenisierung des Christentums' (303-318); W. Schmithals, Der Hebräerbrief als Paulusbrief. Beobachtungen zur Kanonbildung (319-337); Chr. Stead, Augustine, the *Meno* and the subconscious mind (339-345); H.G. Thümmel, Logos und Hypostasis (347-398); J. Wirsching, Menschwerdung. Von der wahren Gestalt des Göttlichen (399-441); D. Wyrwa, Kosmos und Heilsgeschichte bei Irenäus von Lyon (443-480).

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PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE GREEK *HAIRESIS*-MODEL

BY

DAVID T. RUNIA

It appears to be becoming fashionable to portray Philo's thought in terms of a philosophical school with Moses as its founder. Nearly a decade ago a group of Italian scholars gave their introduction, translation and commentary on *De opificio mundi* and *Legum Allegoriae* the title *La filosofia Mosaica.*[1] More recently the memorial volume in honour of Horst Moehring was published as *The School of Moses: Studies in Philo and Hellenistic Religion.*[2] We should note that both titles, attractive and fitting though they may seem, are modern constructs. Philo never speaks *expressis verbis* of the 'Mosaic philosophy' or of the 'School of Moses'.[3] I myself may have contributed, I confess, to this trend. In a discussion panel on Philo and Middle Platonism held in San Francisco in 1992 I broached the question of Philo's loyalties and made the following claim:[4]

> There are a number of indications that Philo regards 'Mosaic philosophy' or groups of its practitioners as a kind of αἵρεσις, even if he does not use the term as freely as Josephus does. A telling text here is his description of the Therapeutae as having τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγέται ('leaders of the school') who have shown them the way in allegorical exegesis (*Contempl.* 29). I believe that Philo quite deliberately presents his philosophy of Moses in such a way that it is parallel to Greek 'schools' or αἱρέσεις. If this is the case, there can be no question of allegiance to more than one school of thought at a time. As Glucker emphasizes, one is by definition a devotee, but can change one's affiliation.

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[1] Kraus Reggiani-Radice-Reale (1987). For the abbreviations used for Philonic treatises I follow the conventions of *The Studia Philonica Annual.* Bibliographical references are located at the end of the paper.

[2] Kenney (1995).

[3] Translations may deceive on this score. Colson's 'but in the school of Moses' at *Deus* 148 (Philo, Loeb Classical Library 3.85) renders παρὰ Μωυσῆι.

[4] Runia (1993a) 127. For the reference to Glucker, see text below at n. 11.

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In a note I added that I hoped to return to the subject at another time. This I wish to do in the present paper. I will examine the way that Philo presents the teachings of Moses and the way he regards his own role as follower and disciple of Moses in relation to the standard presentation of the Greek philosophical schools that were current in his day. The chief source of evidence will be Philo's own writings, which will be compared with other literary sources, both Greek and Jewish. The theme of the paper may be summarized as follows: Did Philo of Alexandria use the Greek notion of *hairesis* in his presentation of the philosophy of Moses, and if so, what does this tell us about his understanding of Judaism, both in relation to Greek philosophy and the development of Christianity after his death?

2. *The term* hairesis

In what I propose to discuss a central place is occupied by the Greek term αἵρεσις. Originally formed as a noun through the addition of the suffix -σις to the verb αἱρεῖν, to take, grasp or seize, the word in the course of more than a thousand years of ancient speech and writing developed a broad range of meanings based on the root meaning of 'taking'. One can set out the following general semantic matrix, proceeding from what is closest to the root meaning to more abstract and derivative connotations:[5]

(a) most concretely, the taking of seizure of something, e.g. a town;
(b) the selection or choice of something or somebody, e.g. the election of a magistrate;
(c) the choice of a course or action, a decision;[6]
(d) a disposition or inclination based on the repeated taking of certain choices or decisions;
(e) a direction of thought or action, a school of thought in fairly abstract terms;
(f) a group of people, a party or sect marked by common ideas and aims;
(g) a party or sect that stands outside established or recognized tradition, a heretical group that propounds false doctrine in the form of a heresy.

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[5] Cf. the analysis and collections of references in LSJ and Lampe s.v., and also *Theological Dictionary of New Testament* 1.180f.

[6] Cf. the title of a work of Epicurus, Περὶ αἱρέσεων καὶ φυγῶν, *On choices and aversions*, which might be paraphrased 'on what to do and what not to do'.

It is the final development of the term, i.e. (g), in Patristic thought that has drawn the most attention. The present paper, however, will concentrate more on the two prior areas of meaning, i.e. (e) and (f).

During the past twenty years there have been a number of important studies devoted to the term *hairesis* and various aspects of its usage.[7] John Glucker demonstrated that when, from the 2nd century BCE onwards, the term began to be used for philosophical schools, it indicated not schools in the institutional sense, based on a continuous succession in Athens, but rather 'schools of thought'.[8] Heinrich von Staden reminded us of the fact that medical *haireseis* were no less prominent than philosophical ones, and that they corresponded to various degrees of organization and continuity.[9] In a magisterial study Alain Le Boulluec has argued that Justin Martyr played a crucial role in adapting and transforming the model of Greek heresiography to the situation of the emerging Church.[10] This is of particular interest because, as we read at the outset of the *Dialogus*, Justin was perfectly familiar with the organization and self-presentation of the Greek philosophical schools.

3. *The Greek* hairesis-*model*

The aim of my paper is rather different from what we find in the studies just cited. I am not so much interested in the term *hairesis* or in the methods of heresiography, whether pagan Greco-Roman or Jewish or Christian. My working hypothesis is that a distinct, though relatively unarticulated, model of the *hairesis* was prevalent in the Greek intellectual scene from the 2nd cent. BCE to the time of Plotinus and Iamblichus in the 3rd-4th cent. CE. The period of Philo's activity, of course, falls right in the middle of this time-span. The theme in its totality has been little researched. I have learnt the most from papers of John Glucker and David Sedley,

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[7] Apart from the following studies, see also the valuable review of research by Desjardins (1991). The article 'Häresie' of N. Brox in *RAC* (1986) rather one-sidedly approaches the subject from the viewpoint of later Christian heresiography.

[8] Glucker (1978) 174-192.

[9] Von Staden (1982); cf. 81, where he argues that the Empiricists appear to have remained a small cohesive group, whereas under the title Rationalists 'one finds assembled a motley group of individuals and of fiercely independent *haireseis*, some of whom held sharply conflicting views on key issues . . .'

[10] Le Boulluec (1985). He concentrates on the contributions of Justin, Clement and Origen.

but even they only dwell on the *hairesis*-model as a background to important discussions of Cicero and Philodemus respectively (just as I am doing for Philo), without giving an all-round account of the features that went into making a *hairesis*.[11] I would argue that the following seven features of the model are relevant for our study.

(1) First and foremost we must recognize that a *hairesis* is *not* a philosophical school in the sense of an institution located in a single place or several successive places with a continuous institutional history. With a little charity such a description might be taken to apply for a time to the great Hellenistic schools of the Academy, the Lyceum, the Garden and the Stoa.[12] But, as Glucker has decisively proved,[13] by Philo's time this situation belonged to the past. It is of vital importance to recognize that *haireseis* were primarily 'schools' or 'directions' of *thought*. The four great Hellenistic schools each became a *hairesis*, but there were many others, not to speak of various sub-*haireseis* (formed by break-away movements) within a single larger *hairesis* tradition (e.g. in the Academic tradition,[14] and also in the medical rationalist school descended from Herophilus).[15] One might summarize the situation as follows: one could identify a group of people sharing common views and say of them, 'they *belong to* a particular *hairesis*', but one would not say, 'they *are* that particular *hairesis*'. One might compare 'movements' or 'directions of thought' in modern philosophy or theology, such as phenomenologists, positivists, Neo-Kantians, Barthians etc.

(2) The identity (and not seldom the name) of a *hairesis* is in the first place furnished by a *founder figure*, who is singled out as the first to formulate its distinctive line of thought. As Justin states at the beginning of the *Dialogus*, before he recounts his intellectual journey through the schools, each direction of philosophy is named after its πατὴρ τοῦ λόγου.[16] We think

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[11] Glucker (1988), with a brief sequel in (1992), Sedley (1989). The excellent dissertation of Hahn (1989) concentrates on the social and political aspects of philosophers and their schools, and not on the theoretical features of the *hairesis*.

[12] Though, note well, the 'schools' were never publicly incorporated; see further text at n. 41.

[13] Glucker (1978); cf. also Lynch (1972) for the Lyceum.

[14] On which see Mansfeld (1995), who on p. 242 speaks of 'sub-sects', whose leaders were perhaps called αἱρετίσται. On further divisions among existing *haireseis*, see Le Boulluec (1985) 51.

[15] See above n. 9.

[16] *Dial.* 2.2; the statement has a negative import, because in Justin's view philosophy was originally single and unified. See further Le Boulluec (1985) 48, who links the text to 35.4, where the same is applied to heretical Christian teachers.

in the first instance of distinguished philosophers such as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurus, but in a list of *haireseis* Diogenes Laertius also lists less well-known figures such as Aristippus of Cyrene and Phaedo of Elis (1.19). In the medical tradition we read about Erasistrateans and Herophileans, whose founding fathers were the great Alexandrian doctors. But in general for the various medical *haireseis* the awesome figure of Hippocrates was regarded as the founder of each.[17] Diogenes also intriguingly mentions a Potamon of Alexandria who introduced an ἐκλεκτικὴ αἵρεσις, which shows that the founder of a *hairesis* did not necessarily have to be a figure from the distant past.[18] As time went on, however, the various directions became increasingly fixed. Galen accuses those who wish to found a newer *hairesis* of their own as 'sectarians' tainted with the vice of ambition.[19]

(3) Each *hairesis* had a *body of distinctive doctrines*, the ἀρέσκοντα or δόγματα, generally attributed directly to the founder rather than to the *hairesis* as a whole. From the 2nd cent. BCE onwards these were collected together in the genre called the Περὶ αἱρέσεων literature, no example of which has, unfortunately, survived.[20] The structure of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the philosophers* is largely determined by this literature. He only gives an exposé of doctrine for those philosophers who founded a direction of thought. Thus, for example, in the case of the Stoa he states (7.38): 'I have decided to give a general account of all the Stoic doctrines in the Life of Zeno because he was founder of the *hairesis*.' In the case of Chrysippus, whose contribution to Stoic doctrine was enormous, he gives an extensive bibliography, but no account of doctrine. At least two *haireseis* were vulnerable to criticism or even exclusion in this area of doctrine. In the case of the Cynics, Diogenes tells us, some regarded this philosophy not as a *hairesis* but (merely) as an ἔνστασις βίου, a way of life.[21] Both Diogenes and Sextus Empiricus have discussions on whether the sceptics can be called a *hairesis* despite their consistent anti-dogmatism.[22] In the case of the medical *haireseis* it is not so much a body of knowledge as their method that distinguished

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[17] *Ibid.* 80.

[18] 1.21. Von Staden (1982) 81 notes that Diodorus Siculus complains (2.29.6) that the Greeks are always trying to found new *haireseis*.

[19] *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 2.102.12 De Lacy, cited with other Galenic texts by Mansfeld (1988) 96.

[20] See Mejer (1978) 75-81, Mansfeld (forthcoming).

[21] 6.103. Note the formulation, misread by Hicks in the Loeb translation: αἵρεσιν καὶ ταύτην εἶναι ἐγκρίνοντες τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οὐ, καθά φασί τινες, ἔνστασιν βίου.

[22] Diog. Laert. 1.20, Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* 1.17.

them: the Rationalists argued that theoretical knowledge was essential for medical practice, the Empiricists took the opposite view that only experience should be followed, while the Methodists embraced a midway position.[23]

(4) The way of doing philosophy in each of the *haireseis* concentrated more and more, as time went on, on creative *exegesis* of the founder's writings.[24] This occurred in various different ways, depending on what the founder had left behind and stipulated in his writings. Pythagoreans had little original material available, and so had to fall back on Plato and other venerable traditions.[25] For the Stoics Zeno's role was primarily inspirational, allowing his successors to fill in the gaps and construct a coherent body of doctrine.[26] In the Platonic tradition there was a great deal of room for divergence of interpretation, which in the first cent. BCE led to a temporary split in the *hairesis*.[27] Throughout the centuries an enormous body of commentary literature on Plato's writings was built up.[28] In the Epicurean school the authority of the founder was more constraining than elsewhere, but here too philosophical developments were possible via exegesis of and debate on the writings of the founder and his first collaborators.[29] In the case of the medical *haireseis* extensive commentary activities occur on the works of Hippocrates.[30]

(5) Each of the *haireseis* had its own tradition of disciples and followers of the founder, stretching back in succession to the beginning of the movement. *Hairesis* thus implies and involves a διαδοχή, a passing on of the tradition from the one generation to the next. In the ancient world oral

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[23] See esp. Galen's treatise Περὶ αἱρέσεων τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις, translated by Walzer-Frede (1985), with Frede's valuable introduction.

[24] This point is strongly emphasized in Sedley (1989), concentrating on the *praxis* of the 1st cent. BCE Epicurean Philodemus. On the role of exegesis in later ancient philosophy see esp. Hadot (1987), (1995); in the latter article he emphasizes the creative aspect of the process.

[25] As we find in Numenius, who regards himself as a Pythagorean, but in his work *On the Good* presents mainly Platonic doctrine.

[26] As suggested by Sedley (1989) 98.

[27] The New Academy broke up into the schools of Philo of Larisa and Antiochus of Ascalon, which in turn gave rise to the Neopyrrhonians under Aenesidemus, who as it were changed 'founding fathers' and turned back to Pyrrhon; cf. Mansfeld (1995) 246ff.

[28] Impressively collected and analysed in Dörrie-Baltes (1993).

[29] Known collectively as οἱ ἄνδρες, translated by Sedley (1989) 106 as 'the great men'. Cf. Erler (1994) 210, who speaks of 'Orthodoxie', but emphasizes that this did not prevent a certain amount of doctrinal evolution.

[30] See Mansfeld (1994) 117ff.

tradition is always more important than written transmission, though naturally in the course of time it is the writings that have to be studied. In a special genre called the Περὶ διαδοχῶν literature the tradition of the various *haireseis* was set out.[31] In the best preserved examples of the genre, Philodemus' works on the Academy and the Stoa,[32] we receive detailed accounts involving numerous names of individual philosophers. Here too we see that *hairesis* must not be taken as 'school' or 'sect' in the institutional sense, because many of those mentioned did not profess their teachings in the same place. In the 3rd and 2nd cent. BCE Athens was the headquarters of philosophical activity, and a number of schools (σχολαί) with their scholarchs could be said to have institutional continuity of a kind (though they were not 'corporations'). But in the 1st cent. BCE there was a diaspora, and even after the establishment of Imperial chairs for the four chief *haireseis* in Athens in the 2nd cent. CE the geographical spread of the *haireseis* and their *diadochai* was considerable.[33]

(6) Membership of a *hairesis* was not just a matter of professing (or teaching) its doctrines. It also involved the aspect of *loyalty*. John Glucker has selected the term 'affiliation' because it signifies 'a free adoption into a society of a member who is thereafter free to end his membership or 'change his affiliation'.[34] This, Glucker argues, occurred in the case of Cicero.[35] David Sedley prefers to speak of 'allegiance' and 'commitment', possibly because he places more emphasis on a quasi-religious aspect of the *hairesis'* organization.[36] What is important is that membership of a *hairesis* involved a public and publicly recognized commitment to a particular school of thought. One might compare a modern psychiatrist who uses the methods of psychoanalysis. It is publicly recognized that professionally he is committed to the method and doctrines (however loosely formulated) of Sigmund Freud (the founder of the movement), to whom, perhaps, he is also connected via a *diadoché* (through his teachers), but not usually in a direct institutional sense.

(7) A final aspect remains, which might have been discussed earlier under (2) and (6), but is perhaps better treated separately. As the timespan between

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[31] On this tradition see Von Kienle (1961); texts collected in Andria (1989).

[32] Edited by Dorandi (1993), (1994).

[33] Too little is said about this in the valuable book of Hahn (1989), which in its index for *haireseis* simply crossrefers to 'Philosophenschulen'.

[34] Glucker (1988) 34.

[35] Glucker (1988), (1992); also Steinmetz (1989).

[36] Sedley (1989), in his title and on p. 97.

the life and death of the founder and the present situation of the *hairesis* increased, so did the veneration that he was accorded by his later disciples. By the 1st BCE, in some of the philosophical schools at least, the allegiance to the founder had clear religious overtones.[37] In their respective *haireseis* Plato and Epicurus were regarded as 'divine'.[38] In the school of Plotinus Plato's birthday was celebrated[39] and on this day sacrifices were made. Porphyry does not say to whom, but the speculation is warranted that it was to the genius of the philosopher-founder himself. Here too such traditions should not be regarded as institutional in anything like the modern sense. One thinks at this point of Wilamowitz' famous theory that the ancient philosophical schools formed a θίασος, a cultic corporate body, which legally owned the school property.[40] This view has been thoroughly refuted.[41] If philosophers of a particular *hairesis* formed together a θίασος, they only did so metaphorically.

4. *Philo's usage of the term* hairesis

Given Philo's extensive acquaintance with the philosophical 'scene' of his day, he must have known about the Greek *haireseis* and have read some of the literature devoted to them. In his writings, however, the term occurs surprisingly infrequently. In most cases it is used in the more concrete sense of 'election' or in the sense of 'choice' (often coupled with φυγή, avoidance).[42] There are in fact only four texts in which the word *hairesis* or a derivative refers more or less directly to a 'school of thought'.[43]

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[37] Sedley (1989) 97, 119 emphasizes this aspect without working it out in detail. In n. 51 he mentions as a topic requiring further research: 'Why do the Platonists and Epicureans, but not the Aristotelians and Stoics, develop religious cults of their founders?' This conclusion is to my mind not contradicted by the striking results of Du Toit's research on the theme of θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, in which he concludes, (1997) 401ff., that the terminology primarily denotes 'die betreffenden Personen als Archegeten und/oder Garanten einer Erkenntnistradition'. Even if the terminology was not meant 'ontologically' (as in 'son of God' christology), there is still room for 'secularized religosity', as observed by Zeller (1998) 63 in his review. Du Toit deals with a great many texts involving the founders of ancient philosophical schools.

[38] For Epicurus see esp. Lucretius 5.8, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.48.

[39] Porphyry *VP* 2.40, cf. 15.1; Socrates' birthday was also celebrated. Epicurus had stipulated in his will that his birthday be celebrated in his school; see Diog. Laert. 10.18.

[40] Wilamowitz (1881).

[41] See esp. Lynch (1972).

[42] Cf. *Spec.* 4.157, *Praem.* 54 (election); *Cher.* 30, *Post.* 78, *Gig.* 18, *Ebr.* 171 etc. (choice).

[43] The first three discussed in a single paragraph by Le Boulluec (1985) 37-8.

(i) At *Plant.* 151 Philo, explaining that the word κύων (dog) is homonymous, illustrates this with 'the philosopher who has taken his cue from the Cynic *hairesis*, Aristippus and Diogenes and a vast number of other persons who decided to pursue the same way of life'. This text proves Philo's familiarity with the Greek concept of the philosophical *hairesis*. It is quite remarkable that it is the only example in his *œuvre*.

(ii) In his description of the Therapeutae Philo tells us that they possessed writings containing allegorical interpretation left to them by ancient men (παλαιοὶ ἄνδρες) who were τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγέται, first leaders (or founders) of the *hairesis*. Most English translators render αἵρεσις with 'sect',[44] which is understandable enough, since the Therapeutae formed a closed group and might be thought to resemble a sectarian community. Colson, however, translates 'the founders of their way of thinking.[45] Similarly Karl Bormann gives the following interesting rendering: 'Männern, welche vor langer Zeit gelebt und diese Weise des Philosophierens begründet haben'.[46] He evidently sees a connection with the reference in the previous section to the practice of allegory, by means of which 'they profess their ancestral philosophy' (§28 φιλοσοφοῦσι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν ἀλληγοροῦντες). We shall have to return to this text.

(iii) In the well-known description of Moses' education in *Mos.* 1.21-9, Philo states that 'he uncontentiously transcended quarrelings and sought the truth, since his mind was unable to accept any falsehood, as is the custom of the αἱρεσιόμαχοι, who defend the doctrines that have been put forward, whatever they happen to be, without testing them to see if they ring true' (§24). Colson's translation 'sectarians' is attractive, for it is clear that the term has a negative connotation. The various schools of thought strive against each other in a spirit of contention. We note that Philo accuses them of blind loyalty to their respective bodies of doctrine.

(iv) The fourth text is similar to the previous one, but more elaborate. It is an unidentified fragment from the *Quaestiones in Exodum* preserved in the *Florilegia* (no. 4 in Petit's collection). Because it is so little known I quote it in full:[47]

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[44] Yonge (1854-55), Conybeare (1895), Winston (1981), Corrington (1990), joined by Daumas-Miquel (1963) in the Lyon translation series. Graffigna (1992) 51 translates 'i capostipiti della loro dottrina', but this is not specific enough. Yonge's rendering 'who having been the founders of one sect or another have left behind them many memorials . . .' is rather puzzling.

[45] Colson (1941) = Philo Loeb Classical Library 9.129.

[46] In the German translation edited by L. Cohn *et al.*, vol. 7 (1962).

[47] The text has been available since Mangey and was already translated by Yonge,

> All the philosophies that have flourished in Greece and in other lands sought to discover the principles of nature, but were unable to gain a clear perception of even the slightest one. Here is clear proof, namely the disagreements and discords and doctrinal differences of the practitioners of each *hairesis* who refute each other and are refuted in turn. And for all of them the starting-points of their wars have been the philosophies[48] of the *haeresiomachoi* to which they belong. With their argumentative conflicts they blind the human mind, which is capable of seeing, but is powerless to determine which doctrines it should accept and which it should reject.

There is no reason to suppose this fragment is not authentic, but we know nothing of its context (it *could* be the same as the previous text). The theme is very obviously the *dissensio philosophorum*, and finds a rather precise parallel in the well-known passage *Her.* 246-8,[49] where Philo calls the disputants 'sophists'.[50] Just as there Abraham the maieutic man of good judgment sits in the middle of them and sorts out what is true from what is false, so—we may surmise—the illumination afforded by the philosophy of Moses must have been the solution to the human blindness deplored in the fragment. In his review of the pre-Christian evidence Alain Le Boulluec had concluded that in Philo, although the word *hairesiomachoi* was obviously pejorative, the term *hairesis* itself did not imply a condemnation (as later the word 'heresy' would).[51] In light of this new evidence such a position is, in our view, difficult to maintain.

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but has to my knowledge been wholly ignored in studies on the question of *hairesis*. For a critical edition see Petit (1978) 284, who reads: αἱ φιλοσοφίαι πᾶσαι, κατά τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον ἀκμάσασαι, ζητοῦσαι τὰ φύσεως, οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον ἠδυνήθησαν τηλαυγῶς ἰδεῖν. σαφὴς δὲ πίστις, αἱ διαφωνίαι καὶ αἱ διαμάχαι καὶ ἑτεροδοξίαι τῶν ἑκάστης αἱρέσεως ἀνασκευαζόντων καὶ ἀνασκευαζομένων ἐν μέρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ὁρμητήρια πολέμων γεγόνασι αἱ τῶν αἱρεσιομάχων οἰκεῖαι, τυφλοῦσαι τὸν δυνάμενον βλέπειν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ταῖς ἀντιλογικαῖς ἐρίσιν, ἀμηχανοῦντα τίνα δεῖ προ⟨σ⟩έσθαι καὶ τίνα διώσασθαι. Marcus PLCL Supp. 2.258 gives the Greek text as part of a much longer text which Petit rightly subdivides (one of the mss. divides our section off from what precedes with the words τοῦ αὐτοῦ).

[48] I retain the mss. reading and construe it with φιλοσοφίαι (or perhaps δόξαι, cf. ἑτεροδοξίαι) understood. Petit in her translation (but not her text) adopts Harris' conjecture σκίαι (shadows), adducing *Post.* 119 and *Conf.* 190.

[49] On this text see esp. Mansfeld (1988) 90ff. The same motif is found at Diodorus Siculus *Bibl.* 2.29.6, who argues that barbarian philosophy maintains unity, whereas the Greeks are forever disputing among themselves and founding new *haireseis*.

[50] Note that, similarly to what we find in the fragment, their aim is θεωρία τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων.

[51] Le Boulluec (1985) 1.39-40.

Philo's way of writing

But we have not yet advanced very far in addressing our main question. Philo's infrequent use of the term *hairesis* certainly does not have to mean that he is not influenced by the Greek *hairesis*-model in his presentation of the philosophy of Moses. What I wish to do now is return to the seven characteristics of this model which I outlined earlier and determine to what extent we can recognize these features in the way that Philo speaks about the 'school of Moses' and his own place therein.

This attempt, however, will not be without its difficulties. Naturally we have the vast Philonic corpus at our disposal, but are at the same time severely handicapped by Philo's way of writing. As all readers of Philo will recognize, he is wont to write at a level of generality that consistently obscures the nature of intellectual *milieu* and the social realities in which his activities took place. This applies also when he appears to be writing for relative outsiders, for example in the *De vita Moysis*. Partly, I believe, this is a matter of personal mind-bent which tends to the abstract and the general, combined with (or exacerbated by) stylistic preferences mediated through Greek rhetoric. Partly it is also due to the fact that Philo stands in the middle of the Alexandrian Jewish community and takes a tremendous amount for granted which we would now desperately like to know. The combination of these two factors means—this should be admitted at the outset—that the correspondences and resemblances that we shall outline will not be as exact as we might like.

Philo and the hairesis-*model*

(1) The first feature, that *hairesis* means 'school of thought' and does not imply institutional continuity, involves us in a good deal of speculation, since we are so utterly ignorant about scholastic and exegetical traditions in Jewish Alexandria. When Bousset stated that 'hinter der Literatur Philos liegt die Arbeit und die Überlieferung einer Schule von einer oder zwei Generationen' and 'wie es eine alexandrinische christliche Katechetenschule gab, so gab es eine oder mehrere jüdische Exegetenschulen in Alexandria', he left the concept of a 'school' wholly undefined and ran the risk of importing modern assumptions of institutional continuity into his subject.[52]

[52] Bousset (1915) 2. Cf. the conclusion of Van den Broek (1995) 44 on the situation in 2nd cent. CE Christian Alexandria: 'But there was no school, in the sense of a Christian academy, with a regular teaching programme'. This seems to me correct, but does not exclude the notion of a *diadoche*, as he seems to think (see p. 41).

Alan Culpepper admits that 'Philo never explicitly refers to a school', but nevertheless devotes an entire chapter of his monograph to 'Philo's school', which he identifies with 'the synagogue-school in which he worked'.[53] In fact, what we can be certain about, as both scholars are well aware of, is that Philo worked within a tradition. Hence his numerous references to other exegetes.[54] Philo may have worked primarily alone; he may have worked in a school-like environment with his own disciples.[55] It is entirely improbable, however, that he should have thought the 'school of Moses' was confined to his own circle. He will have assumed that Mosaic philosophy was a 'school of thought' with a wider distribution. The relation to Judaism as a whole is a subject to which we shall have to return.

(2) All readers of Philo will know that in his writings he quite often uses phrases such as the γνώριμοι (intimi, pupils) or φοιτηταί ('frequenters', disciples) of Moses in order to indicate those who are followers of Moses and are committed to his teachings.[56] For example in the following text Philo identifies himself with such discipleship (*Det.* 86):

> Let us then as the pupils (γνώριμοι) of Moses not be at a loss as to how man came to have a conception of the invisible God. For he himself learnt this through an oracle and taught it to us. He spoke as follows: the maker did not make a soul for the body capable of seeing the creator of its own accord, but calculating that it would greatly benefit the created thing if it should gain a conception of its creator—for this is the limit of felicity and blessedness—he breathed into it from above of his own divinity (Gen. 2:7) . . .

Philo speaks here of Moses in terms that are for the most part quite appropriate to the founder of a philosophical school who gives his disciples instruction in a philosophical doctrine.[57] Another text emphasizes the process of teaching (*Spec.* 1.59):

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[53] Culpepper (1975) 197-214, quotes on 205, 213.

[54] We return to this subject below on p. 138.

[55] The evidence of the Dialogues (*Prov.*, *Anim.*) suggests he himself felt the need to educate.

[56] See for γνώριμοι Μωύσεως *Det.* 86, *Post.* 12, *Her.* 81, *Spec.* 1.319, 345, *Contempl.* 63, *QG* 3.8; for φοιτηταὶ Μωύσεως *Congr.* 177, *Spec.* 2.88, 256; a single reference to ὁμιληταὶ Μωύσεως at *Spec.* 2.88. There are many other texts in which similar phrases are used, but refer to disciples of God (*Sacr.* 64, 79), of the practiser (*Somn.* 1.255), of wisdom (*Spec.* 1.50) etc. At *Aet.* 16 Aristotle is called the γνώριμος of Plato. For the members of Plotinus' school as his γνώριμοι see Goulet-Cazé (1982-92) 1.236.

[57] For learning through an oracle, cf. the double source of knowledge outlined in *Opif.* 8. This would not be said of the founder of a Greek *hairesis* until the 2nd century CE. See also below under (7).

> The most holy Moses clearly preserves the same intention (προαίρεσις) in the case of all other matters, for he is a lover and teacher of the truth, which he desires to engrave and stamp on all his pupils (γνώριμοι), removing false opinions far away from their minds.

He thus banishes soothsayers and like persons from his commonwealth (πολιτεία), for their methods encourage impiety. We note here that the scope is wider than a 'school', embracing a whole nation (cf. the ἐκκλησία κυρίου of Deut. 23:2-4).

Moses is not the founder of the Jewish nation—that honour is reserved for Abraham—, but as legislator of its laws he is the founder and director of its way of life. In his introductory *Life of Moses* Philo presents him as king, lawgiver, priest and prophet, but *not* as philosopher. It is perfectly clear from *Mos.* 2.2, however, that he can only carry out these offices *because* he is a φιλόσοφος, indeed the perfect Sage. As Philo stresses in his account of Moses' education, he exemplified the doctrines of philosophy in his actions, so that there was a perfect harmony of *logos* and *bios*.[58] The activity of Moses is thus wider than that of the founder of a philosophical *hairesis*, but that does not stop Philo from describing him in terms that strongly suggest such a role. Moses is the source of philosophical knowledge and the supreme example for those who wish to follow his way.

(3) The document that Moses left to posterity, the Law, does not in the least resemble a body of philosophical doctrine, such as we might find in the Περὶ αἱρέσεων literature. Moses gives his disciples what they need. For this reason the Law begins with a creation account, which lays a philosophical foundation for the remainder of the legislation. Famously Philo summarizes at the end of the *De opificio mundi* (170-2) the five essential doctrines that the follower of Moses needs to stamp on his mind if he is to lead a blessed life. Alan Mendelson has seen in these principles a foundation of Jewish orthodoxy, and I have argued that they may be seen as anticipating the patristic notion of correct doctrinal belief.[59]

Another illuminating example of Philo's tendency to express Mosaic thought in terms of philosophical doctrine is found at *Spec.* 1.319-45, where five groups of people that are banished from the congregation of Israel are allegorically interpreted in terms of ways of thinking: the deniers of

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[58] *Mos.* 1.29. In this fascinating text we find a perfect amalgam of Greek philosophical ideas (cf. esp. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.47, Diog. Laert. 7.10-11) and the biblical theme of Deut. 30:11-14 (as pointed out by Cohen (1995) 100).

[59] Mendelson (1988) 29; Runia (1995) 12-3.

the ideas, the deniers of God's existence, the polytheists, the champions of the human mind and of the senses. Philo presents these groups as 'directions of thought', comparable to the Chaldeans, who elsewhere are introduced as espousing a philosophy antithetical to Mosaic thinking.[60] They are similar to philosophical *haireseis*, but presented in more general terms, i.e. as a 'direction of thought (*doxa*)' rather than a 'school of thought (*hairesis*)',[61] without a founder or a body of writings etc. But when Philo goes on to contrast the Mosaic way, his formulation is such that we cannot but think of a philosophical school of thought:[62]

> But we the disciples and pupils of the prophet Moses shall not cease in our quest for the One-who-is, regarding as the goal of our well-being knowledge of Him and also age-long life, in accordance with the Law which states that those who hold fast to God shall all live (cf. Deut. 4:4), laying down a necessary and philosophical doctrine. For truly the godless are dead in their souls, whereas those who have joined the ranks of the God-who-is live a life without death.

One might wish to argue that the tone of this passage is more 'religious' than we would find in a philosophical work. But this is to some degree deceptive. For the Platonists, for example, the goal of life is 'likeness unto God', a formulation which Philo uses elsewhere and underlies what he says here.[63] We have to take into account the *genre* of writing. Philo here, as so often in his writings, combines exegesis with an exhortatory, almost homiletic, emphasis. For similar passages among the Greek philosophers we should turn to works such as the *Letters* of Seneca, the *Discourses* of Epictetus, the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus, not to the summaries of doctrines of the *haireseis* such as we find in Arius Didymus and Alcinous' *Didaskalikos*.[64]

(4) Since the appearance of Valentin Nikiprowetzky's monograph it has

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[60] See *Abr.* 69-82, *Migr.* 178-9, *Virt.* 212, *Gig.* 62 etc.

[61] At *Abr.* 70 he speaks of Abraham being brought up in 'this δόξα'; cf. also *Migr.* 184.

[62] *Spec.* 1.345: ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε οἱ φοιτηταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ζήτησιν οὐ μεθησόμεθα, τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτοῦ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας εἶναι νομίζοντες καὶ ζωὴν μακραίωνα, καθὰ καὶ ὁ νόμος φησὶ τοὺς προσκειμένους τῷ θεῷ ζῆν ἅπαντας, δόγμα τιθεὶς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ φιλόσοφον· ὄντως γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄθεοι τὰς ψυχὰς τεθνᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν παρὰ τῷ ὄντι θεῷ τεταγμένοι τάξιν ἀθάνατον βίον ζῶσιν. Note also the very similar passage at *Post.* 12, citing Deut. 30:20.

[63] This doctrine is particularly prominent in the Exposition of the Law; cf. Runia (1986) 341-3, to which can be added *Decal.* 73, *Spec.* 4.188, *Virt.* 168.

[64] Though, of course, in the case of Philo it is also necessary to take into account the specific nature of Jewish piety.

become generally accepted that Philo sees himself first and foremost as a commentator of Mosaic scripture.[65] For this reason the vast majority of his works are commentaries on the writings of Moses, i.e. the Law. οἴκοθεν οὐδέν might be taken as his motto (*Opif.* 5), 'nothing from our own store'.[66] This is exactly parallel to the activity of members of Greek *hairesis*, whether philosophical or medical. They lay no claim to originality, but endeavour to develop the thought of their founder. The nature of Moses' writings determines to a large degree the kind of commentaries that can be written on them. In the case of the philosophical *haireseis* too there was considerable variation in the commentaries they wrote.

An intriguing text in this context is found at *Her.* 81:

> The statement 'He led him out outside' (Gen. 15:5) also contributes to the formation of moral character, a statement which some through vulgarity of character are wont to ridicule, saying 'will anyone be led out inside, or conversely go in outside?'. Yes, my answer would be, you ridiculous and excessively naive people. You have not learned to track down the ways of the soul, but confine your attention to bodies, examining in their case only movements from place to place. For this reason it seems paradoxical to you if someone should go out inside or go in outside. For the pupils (γνώριμοι) of Moses, however, there is nothing discordant about such phrases . . .

Philo not only refers to pupils of Moses who are in the habit of giving allegorical exegesis of the Mosaic text, but also mentions other persons who ridicule the text of scripture. We cannot be certain whether they come from inside or outside Judaism, but the former is more probable.[67] The implication of the text is that allegorical exegesis is a *sine qua non* if a deeper understanding of Moses' thought is to be attained.

(5) But is there anything in the organization of Moses' philosophical school that remotely resembles the succession of teachers and pupils that are *de rigueur* in the philosophical and medical *haireseis*? Joshua is presented as Moses' disciple and successor (*Virt.* 55, 66), but this is hardly applicable. It is striking, however, that on at least six occasions in the Allegorical

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[65] Nikiprowetzky (1977). For a more recent discussion see Hay (1991).

[66] At *Anim.* 7 he refuses to teach, but claims to be an interpreter (ἑρμηνεύς), reproducing through memory what he hears from others. In the context of the philosophical dialogue he goes on mainly to reproduce Greek philosophical doctrines and not the views of Moses, so it is not certain that his hermeneutic activity here refers to the role of exegete and commentator.

[67] Shroyer (1936) 279 argues that they know too much about Judaism to be real outsiders.

Commentary, when Philo presents extra-Pentateuchal biblical texts, he introduces the writer as a disciple of Moses or an initiate into his mysteries:[68]

> —*Cher.* 49: 'I myself was initiated into the greater mysteries by Moses the God-beloved, yet when I saw the prophet Jeremiah and perceived that he was not only a initiate but also a hierophant, I did not hesitate to become his disciple', introducing the quotation of Jer. 3:4.
> —*Agr.* 55: 'An intense and unceasing love of this wealth (which sees the One-who-is) possesses all who are pupils (of this school)', referring back to the Psalmist who states that 'the Lord is my shepherd and I shall not lack' (Ps. 22:1, cited in §50).
> —*Plant.* 39: 'One member of the fellowship (θιασώτης) of Moses partook of this unmixed draught of joy . . . and exclaimed in hymnic form', introducing the quotation of Ps. 36:4.
> —*Conf.* 39: 'Many are unable to destroy by force the plausible inventions of the sophists because their continual involvement in action has not allowed them sufficient practice in argument, and so have taken refuge in the assistance of the only wise Being and besought Him to become their helper, as in the case of one of the disciples of Moses, who in the Psalms prayed and said', introducing Ps. 30:19.
> —*Conf.* 44: 'My words are witnessed . . . by a member of the fellowship (θιασώτης) of the prophetic company, who was possessed by divine inspiration and pronounced', introducing Jer. 15:10.
> —*Congr.* 177: Esau's slavery, as a man of war, to Jacob is a good thing. 'For this reason I think one of the disciples of Moses by name of 'Peace', who in our ancestral language is called Solomon, said', introducing Prov. 3:11-2.

On such texts David Hay has written: 'Apparently Philo considers the Pentateuch the basic expression of God's revelation and the rest of scripture (prophets, psalms, and proverbs, especially) as a kind of commentary on it or secondary scripture.'[69] One might go a step further and argue that Philo regards the writers of these books as representing in some sense the *succession* of the disciples of Moses going back into the past before the foundation of the Alexandrian Jewish community. Of course we would like to have more explicit statements about exegetes closer to Philo in time. Tantalizingly he speaks about 'physical philosophers who practise allegory' (*Abr.* 99) and 'inspired men' whose exegetical writings he had studied (*Spec.* 1.8, 3.178), but, even though we know that he had predecessors (e.g. Aristobulus), we get very little sense of a continual tradition out of Philo's

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[68] On the language of the mysteries in relation to Mosaic philosophy see category (7) below.

[69] Hay (1991) 45.

descriptions of them.[70] In later members of the Alexandrian tradition such as Clement, Origen, Didymus, we often come across references to 'our predecessors' (including references to Philo), but this is lacking in Philo himself.[71] As I have argued elsewhere, this contrasts with both the Greek philosophical and the Rabbinic traditions, and remains highly puzzling.[72]

On the other hand, Moses does have 'false successors', later philosophers who have taken over his doctrines without giving him the credit for it. At *QG* 4.167 he speaks of 'younger philosophers' (νεώτεροι) who have received their virtue-loving views directly from Moses. In *QG* 3.16 the doctrine of the three goods 'is praised by some of the philosophers who came afterward, Aristotle and the Peripatetics'.[73] These philosophers have derived the truth of their doctrines from Moses, and by implication from Judaism.

(6) On the question of loyalties we can be brief. As I argued in my previous article,[74] Philo's loyalty to the ancestral traditions of his people and the specific figure of the lawgiver Moses is unconditional. His position is to some extent comparable to membership of and loyalty to a philosophical *hairesis*, but by no means entirely so. The ethnic and religious aspects of Judaism add a different dimension. Philo was not in a position to 'swap affiliations', as an adherent of a Greek *hairesis* could do. He could either be a member of the 'holy congregation of the Lord' or he could become an apostate, like his nephew Alexander. Unless, perhaps, there were various directions within Judaism itself. This possibility we shall raise below.

(7) The veneration that Philo has for Moses jumps forth from nearly every page of his writings. Nearly twenty times, for example, he calls him the 'most holy (ἱερώτατος) Moses'.[75] Someone who has become a disciple (φοιτητής) of Moses has no excuse if he worships lifeless things such as idols or planets, for 'he has many a time read his words when he solemnly utters those most holy and divine instructions' (*Spec.* 2.256).[76] In some texts,

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[70] See the list of predecessors given by Hay (1979-80) 42-3 and the further analysis of Goulet (1987) 32-45.

[71] Cf. Runia (1993b) 161f.

[72] Runia (1986) 505.

[73] On Philo's texts stating the derivation of Greek philosophy from Moses see Pilhofer (1990) 173-192. The most negative text is *QG* 4.152, which speaks of the 'theft' of Heraclitus.

[74] Runia (1992), esp. 126-128.

[75] *Leg.* 3.185, *Cher.* 39, *Det.* 135, 140, *Spec.* 1.59, *Virt.* 175 etc.

[76] It is better to translate ἀκούειν in ἤκουσέ τινος λέγοντος with 'read' than 'listen to'; cf. Schenkeveld (1992).

e.g. *Mos.* 1.158 and *Det.* 161-2, Moses is even accorded divine status. Here the text Ex. 7:1 exerts its influence (in which he is 'sent as god to Pharaoh'), which explains why no tension is felt with the demands of the first commandment.[77] Just as it is unthinkable that a Platonist would denigrate the 'divine Plato', so this is unthinkable for Philo in the case of Moses. Just as it is unthinkable that a later Epicurean would criticize the writings of the god-like master, so this would be unthinkable for Philo in the case of the Mosaic scriptures.

Another theme that is relevant to the religious aspect of the philosophical *hairesis* is the language of the mysteries. On numerous occasions Moses is called the hierophant of the divine mysteries. Philo claims, for example, that he was initiated into the greater mysteries by the God-beloved Moses and into the lesser mysteries by the prophet Jeremiah.[78] At *Somn.* 1.164 Moses is famously invoked as hierophant who will prompt, preside over and anoint the eyes of the initiate until as mystagogue he has disclosed the hidden splendour of the sacred *logoi* and revealed their enlocked beauties. Ever since Goodenough, who took the role of Moses as initiator into the mysteries literally, these texts have been controversial in Philonic studies.[79] I follow the interpretation of Nikiprowetzky, who, after pointing out that numerous philosophical texts use such metaphorical language, argues that for Philo the only true mystery is the meaning that Moses, as inspired transmitter of the divine oracles, has located at the heart of scripture.[80] I have not found texts contemporary with Philo in which the founder of a *hairesis* is called a hierophant. In later Neoplatonic texts (5th century), however, we find something similar: Proclus calls his master Syrianus the hierophant of Plato, while Marinus in his life of Proclus calls his master the hierophant of the entire cosmos.[81] In one text Proclus calls Plato initiator

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[77] My interpretation of Moses' divine status in Philo is given in Runia (1988), with further bibliography. See now Borgen (1996), who concentrates on the text *Mos.* 1.158. Mack (1972) to my mind overemphasizes Moses' paradigmatic and soteriological role. See also the corrective view of Holladay (1977).

[78] *Cher.* 48-9; cf. *Post.* 173. The ἱεροφάντης transmits the divine mystery, the μύστης receives it.

[79] Goodenough (1935); reformulated by Mack (1972).

[80] Nikiprowetzky (1977) 6, philosophical parallels at 24-5.

[81] Proclus, *In Rep.* 1.71.24, *In Parm.* 618.8, Marinus *Vita Procli* 19; first and third texts cited by Brisson as comments on Porphyry *VP* 15.5, where we read that Plotinus called his collaborator Porphyry a poet and philosopher and hierophant when he read out his poem 'The sacred marriage'; see Brisson *et al.* (1982-92) 2.267. A search on the TLG reveals that no ancient author uses the word ἱεροφάντης and its derivatives as much as Philo.

into and hierophant of the true mysteries.[82] Moses is hierophant because he has received some of his knowledge direct from the divine source. His role as hierophant makes him more awesome, perhaps, but not necessarily an object of worship or a 'saviour'. The language of the mysteries is primarily metaphorical.

First conclusion on Philo and the Greek hairesis-*model*

On the basis of these considerations we may conclude, I believe, that the Greek *hairesis*-model is relevant to Philo's presentation of the Mosaic philosophy, but that Philo certainly does not take it over lock, stock and barrel. None of the features of that model were not in some respects applicable to Philo's presentation of Mosaic thought and Judaism, but repeatedly we had to introduce various kinds of qualification in order to do justice to the Philonic material. As was to be expected, these qualifications in every case had to do with Philo's Jewish context and loyalty to Judaism.

There are, therefore, three aspects of our theme that demand explanation and elucidation. Why does Philo use the term *hairesis* so little? Why is it attractive for him to take over various aspects of the Greek *hairesis*-model in describing Judaism and the place of Mosaic thought within it? How does his view of Judaism relate to the Greek-*hairesis* model that was prevalent in his intellectual milieu and how has it influenced him in its use?

Apologetics and the evidence of Josephus

In answering these questions we should first take into account a dimension of Philo's writings that has so far received little emphasis in our argument. It is well known that Philo's writings have a strong apologetic element.[83] Although they are in all likelihood written primarily for a Jewish public, Philo is at all times aware that he also has a mission to the intellectuals living beyond the confines of the Jewish quarters of Alexandria. His task is to defend Judaism as a religion and a way of life. This apologetic context has encouraged him, I believe, to increase his emphasis on

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[82] *Theol. Plat.* 1 Pref., 1.6.7 Saffrey-Westerink. Proclus then goes on to name various Neoplatonists starting with Plotinus as τῆς Πλατωνικῆς ἐποπτείας ἐξηγητάς, i.e. the *diadoche* of the *hairesis*. The entire preface reminds one strongly of aspects of Philo's presentation of Moses, but it is four centuries later!

[83] On the bitter earnestness of the ideological struggle between Jews and Greeks in Philo's Alexandria see, for example, the analyses of Borgen (1984) 138-154, (1997) 158-193.

the role of Moses as philosopher and sage, source of all wisdom, at the expense of a more general presentation of Judaism as a religion of revelation.[84] Moses has to be presented in terms that Greek intellectuals would understand. The same concern applies to the presentation of his followers who are dedicated to the study of his thought and the practice of his laws.

At this point it may be useful to take into account some additional evidence. About half a century after Philo the Jewish historian Josephus describes Judaism in three celebrated passages in terms of a number of *haireseis: Jewish War* 2.119-62, *Antiquities* 13.171-3 and 18.11-22 (and cf. *Vita* 12). These texts have long been the focus of scholarly debate, and have some years ago been extensively and penetratingly examined by Steve Mason in his monograph on the Pharisees in Josephus.[85] For our purposes it is sufficient to note the following five points in Josephus' description.

(1) He regards three φιλοσοφίαι or αἱρέσεις (the terms seem for him virtually synonymous) as distinct groups: the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. There is also a fourth group, led by Judas the Galilean, a sophist (so not a true philosopher), who started a *hairesis* of his own (ἰδίας αἱρέσεως, *BJ* 2.118), but Josephus does not regard it as having the same legitimacy.[86] For two of the groups he indicates the approximate number of members, and also describes them with terms that we might translate with 'party', i.e. μόριον, τάγμα, γένος, σύνταγμα and μοῖρα.[87] This does not necessarily mean, however, that Josephus uses the term *hairesis* merely as a synonym for these terms. Its primary meaning remains 'school of thought', as can be seen from the fact that it is equated with 'philosophies'.[88]

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[84] Runia (1986) 533ff.; also the cogent remarks of Amir (1983) 77ff. (but he does not emphasize the apologetic context).

[85] Mason (1991) *passim.*

[86] There are some discrepancies between the descriptions at *BJ* 2.118 and *Ant.* 18.23.

[87] See lists and references at Mason (1991) 127. Note that Philo uses μοῖρα for the Essenes at *Prob.* 75, γένος for the Therapeutae at *Contempl.* 11, 21 etc.

[88] Mason *loc. cit.* writes: 'Josephus's reservation of αἵρεσις for the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Judas's faction implies that the word denotes not merely a 'group' but a philosophical school with an identifiable membership.' This seems to me misleading because it suggests a greater degree of organization on the part of the philosophical schools than actually existed. See our remarks above at n. 12-13. On the other hand Mason shows how the term *hairesis* is in close connection with terms such as μόριον, τάγμα and μοῖρα (though the claim that they are 'fully interchangable' goes too far). This suggests that the meaning of the word *hairesis* is shifting in the direction of 'group' or 'sect', i.e. (g) in our semantic matrix given above on p. 118. Cf. the contemporary use of the term *hairesis* in the Acts of the Apostles (referring to the new group of

(2) Josephus gives (admittedly very brief) descriptions of their core doctrines, just as if they were Greek philosophical *haireseis*. The Pharisees, for example, attribute all things to fate and God, and maintain the immortality of the soul. This is reminiscent of brief accounts of the doctrines of the *haireseis* such as might be given in Diogenes Laertius and other doxographies dependent on the Περὶ αἱρέσεων literature.[89]

(3) Josephus actually compares the Jewish *haireseis* with Greek schools: the Pharisees with the Stoics (*Vita* 12), the Essenes with the Pythagoreans (*Ant.* 15.371).

(4) Josephus does not name a founder of these three Jewish *haireseis* (certainly Moses is not presented as such),[90] though in one text he explains the Pharisaic oral law in terms of a 'succession of fathers' (νόμιμά τινα παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς).[91] It is possible to draw the inference that Josephus considers the development of the three *haireseis* as a symptom of the decline of Judaism from the unique purity of the Mosaic legislation,[92] but as far as I know, he never says this in as many words.

(5) Josephus relates these three *haireseis* to his own experience. In his autobiography (§10-12) he says when he was young he tested them out, and then became a disciple of a certain Bannus, who apparently did not belong to any of them and lived in seclusion in the desert. Such a journey through the *haireseis* and related schools is in fact a *topos* in ancient literature.[93] After three years he went into political life and 'followed the *hairesis* of the Pharisees'.[94]

Christians at 24:5). Glucker (1978) 184 describes the development of the term as coming now to 'designate a group of people, a philosophical or political faction, united by a shared persuasion of body of doctrine', but continues to emphasize that the term has no institutional connotations.

[89] On this literature see text above at n. 20.

[90] In *C. Ap.* 2.151ff. he presents him as a legislator superior to the philosophers, in terms not dissimilar to Philo at *Opif.* 1-3, *Mos.* 2.45-51, to whom indeed he was probably indebted.

[91] *Ant.* 13.297; cf. Mason (1991) 235. We should note here too a remarkable Rabbinic *diadoche* of Pharisaic origin given at the beginning of the Mishnaic treatise *Aboth*, starting from Moses but soon reaching various historical Rabbis; on this text see Bickerman (1952), Glucker (1978) 356-64, Cohen (1980).

[92] Cf. Mason (1991) 374, under conclusion 7c.

[93] Cf. Porphyry *VP* 3.7-13, Justin *Dial.* 2-8 and detailed study of the topos in Whittaker (1997).

[94] I agree with Mason (1991) 347ff. that πολιτεύεσθαι is best taken as 'to participate in public affairs', but am not convinced that the phrase τῇ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει κατακολουθῶν does not imply some kind of affiliation (his word) with the Pharisaic *hairesis*.

In conclusion I think we can readily agree with Marcus that 'Josephus presents the varying religions and social philosophies of the three groups in such a way that they will be more intelligible to Greek readers'.[95]

Pluralism and unity in Philo's portrait of Judaism

It is no coincidence, I believe, that we find no account of Judaism in Philo that is comparable with Josephus' description of the *haireseis*. Philo is not interested in giving a clear map of the various directions that existed in the Judaism with which he was familiar. Apologetic accounts are given of two groups within Judaism, the Essenes (one of Josephus' *haireseis*), and the Therapeutae. Philo makes various remarks about the doctrines these two groups espouse—for example, in the case of the Essenes, that of the areas of philosophy they are only interested in ethics and a limited part of physics (*Prob.* 80),[96] but not in the systematic way attempted by Josephus.[97] Moreover their general location within Judaism is not made at all clear. Philo's motive for describing them is quite different. They are chosen because they illustrate the practical and contemplative lives respectively. It may be concluded that Philo is above all interested in presenting Judaism as a unity, an entire people ardently focussed on observance and study of the Law of Moses.

There is, however, another side to Philo's portrait of Judaism. From numerous remarks made throughout his exegetical writings, it is apparent that he does recognize a number of different groups or directions in Judaism who disagree with each other *in their interpretation of scripture.* Roughly speaking we may distinguish the following four groups:[98]

(a) simple literalists, people who live in a small world (μικροπολῖται, *Somn.* 1.39), taking scripture at face value;

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[95] Marcus (1933) = Josephus LCL 7.310 n. But the suggestion that Nicholas of Damascus was his source is now generally discredited.

[96] As Nikiprowetzky (1977) 104 points out, this is precisely what is contained in scripture, which the Essenes interpret allegorically (*Prob.* 82).

[97] Hay (1992) 673, 680 notes that Philo speaks of the dogmata of the Therapeutae (*Contempl.* 26, 31 etc.), but says almost nothing about them. Moreover he makes it difficult for his readers to distinguish between the ideas of the Therapeutae and his own interpretation of them.

[98] For the evidence see Shroyer (1936), Hay (1979-80), (1991), Goulet (1987) 33ff. The last-named scholar divides the references into eight groups, a more complex classification than required here.

(b) 'malicious literalists'[99] who ridicule both the phraseology of scripture and attempts to interpret it non-literally, e.g. when Moses records the changes of name of Abraham and Sarah (*Mut.* 60-1);
(c) allegorical interpreters, who do not reject the literal meaning of scripture, but also seek to uncover its deeper meaning, using the method of allegory which is dear to men of vision (ὁρατικοὶ ἄνδρες, *Plant.* 36);
(d) the extreme allegorists, who go so far in their spiritualization of the Law that they abrogate its literal observance, mentioned only (and in not very concrete terms) in the famous passage at *Migr.* 86-93.

Of these groups only two are legitimate in Philo's eyes. The first group is too limited in its approach, but their view of scripture can be accepted. The second and fourth deny essential aspects of Judaism. The group or direction that remains is the one where Philo's own sympathies lie and to which, to judge from scattered first person singulars and plurals in his allegorical treatises,[100] he feels a strong affinity. The latter-day pupils and disciples of Moses who practice allegorical exegesis continue the tradition, or even 'succession', of θεσπέσιοι ἄνδρες, inspired men. These are the 'lovers of soul' (*Deus* 55), the 'men of understanding and wisdom' (*Mut.* 140), who form the spiritual vanguard of Judaism. Whatever their audience may have been, Philo's allegorizing writings are the concrete products of this movement. This group, we may surmise, forms a kind of 'inner circle', a group of committed intellectuals within the Jewish community.

There are, however, absolutely no grounds for supposing that these groups or directions within Judaism are regarded by Philo as equivalent to the *haireseis* of Josephus or the 'schools of thought' of Greek philosophy. When he refers to these groups Philo adopts a perspective internal to Judaism and regards them, almost myopically, from the viewpoint of his own exegetical activities.

There does remain one text which still requires further attention. As we saw earlier, when describing the activities of the Therapeutae Philo mentions writings left to them by the 'founders of the *hairesis*'. Scholars have been divided on whether the term *hairesis* should be rendered as 'sect' or as 'way of thinking/school of thought'.[101] The former translation brings

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[99] Shroyer's term, (1936) 277; see also above at n. 67.

[100] Cf. the texts at *Her.* 81 and *Cher.* 49 cited above on p. 131-132. Another telling text is *Fug.* 55, where he says he attends the lectures of a wise woman named Skepsis, a personification of insight gained via the allegorical method.

[101] See text above at n. 44-46.

Philo's text closer to the accounts we found in Josephus. The term *hairesis* would then be used in the sense that was developing at this time and indicates a concrete group or party of people.[102] This is possible, but it should be noted that the Therapeutae form a very small group, apparently able to meet together within the confines of a meeting house. They are hardly to be compared with the Pharisees or Essenes as described by Josephus. My own preference is for the other interpretation, which adheres to the more prevalent meaning of *hairesis* in Philo's day. 'Way of thinking/school of thought' can interpreted either as referring to their contemplative way of life, or the use of the allegorical method in their scriptural exposition (as implied by Bormann's translation). The two alternatives in fact only differ in their point of reference, for it is via the study of scripture that the members of the community practise the contemplative life.[103] Both views place the Therapeutae securely within the range of Philo's own ideals, but they should not be identified with a 'school of thought' within Judaism to which he himself might belong.[104] The reason for the use of the term, I would argue, is primarily apologetic and explanatory.[105] Philo wants to describe these contemplatives in terms that Greek readers standing outside Judaism would understand.

Further conclusions on Philo and the Greek hairesis*-model*

It may be concluded, therefore, that Philo stresses the unity of Judaism in contrast to the divisions that mark Greek culture, and in particular Greek philosophy. Judaism does not contain any *hairesiomachoi* who fight for the victory of one party at the expense of others. The only choice in Philo's view is loyalty or disloyalty leading to apostasy.[106] For Judaism as

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[102] See our remarks above in n. 88. It would be a very early example of this meaning.

[103] As noted by Nikiprowetzky (1977) 102-103; see also my comments, (1997) 15-16.

[104] Hay (1991) has shown that the Therapeutae should not be associated too closely with Philo's own ideals, because there are subtle differences between what they practice and what he preaches. For a more radical dissociation of Philo from the Therapeutae see Goulet (1987) 527-31. It should be noted that this conclusion entails a revision of my tentative view cited above at n. 4.

[105] That *De vita contemplativa* and its lost sister work derive from a larger apologetic work on behalf of Judaism seems to me very likely. Following a suggestion of Massebieau, Cohn (1899) 420 argued that it originally belonged to the Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων. The difficulty with this hypothesis is that Eusebius at *PE* 8.10.19 quotes an account of the Essenes from the same work (generally regarded as part of the *Hypothetica*), and it would not have had two accounts of the same group.

[106] As in the case of the 'malicious literalists' cited above at n. 99.

a whole, however, Philo is able to exploit the Greek *hairesis*-model to a considerable extent. In a rather general sense, as we saw above, the philosophy of Moses is given characteristics belonging to the Greek *haireseis*. This apologetic move comes to Philo naturally on account of his deep familiarity with the world of Greek philosophy. These characteristics can also be applied to the group of allegorical exegetes to which Philo himself belongs. As we saw, certain aspects, such as the *diadoché* of inspired interpreters who have been initiated into the mysteries, apply best to such an 'inner circle'. Nevertheless it is clear that Philo quite deliberately declines to reserve the description 'disciples of Moses' for this group only. It can equally be applied to the whole Jewish nation.[107]

It has been suggested to me by Malcolm Lowe that, on the basis of these conclusions, we can furnish an answer to the problem why Philo uses the term *hairesis* so little in his works, even though he is obviously well-acquainted with the Greek *hairesis*-model. The term is doubly unsuitable. In the first place it is risky to use it for Judaism *as a whole* because it might suggest that it occupies one particular place within a pluralistic setting, as was the case for the Greek schools. But Philo's claim, as we saw earlier,[108] is that the Mosaic thought to which Judaism is devoted represents the truth in its naked purity. Greek philosophy is either in its debt, or at most may have reached some of its doctrines through the independent use of the divine gift of reason.[109] Secondly, unlike we saw in Josephus, the term is (with one exception) not used to describe directions *within* Judaism because it might give the appearance of dividedness, as is the case for the schools of Greek philosophy and medicine. These considerations seem to me persuasive. They cannot, however, provide a complete answer to the problem mentioned above, because they do not explain why Philo uses the term so infrequently in relation to the Greek 'schools of thought'. This, it must be admitted, remains a puzzle.

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[107] See for example the passage at *Deus* 146-148 on the royal highway in Num. 20:17-20: 'But it is not just a single man who has learnt the first elements of wisdom from Moses and can make this claim [i.e. about not needing wealth], but it is an entire most populous nation. And here is the evidence: the soul of each of his pupils (γνώριμοι) has taken heart and dared to say to the king of all phenomenal goods, the earthly Edom (for truly all things that are good in appearance only are earthly), "I shall now pass by through your land (or earth) (Num. 20:17)".'

[108] See text above at n. 73.

[109] One might also note, as Prof. van Winden reminds me, the tendency in later Greek thought to regard the wisdom of the ancients (Celsus' Ἀληθὴς λόγος) as the

Philo's double perspective on Greek and Mosaic philosophy

In his most benign and accommodating mood Philo is prepared to place Greek philosophy and Jewish religion on roughly the same level. In one text (*Virt.* 64-5) he speaks of the Jews as:

> . . . not just any nation, but the most populous of all nations everywhere, who profess the greatest of professions, the supplication of He who is, who is creator and father of the universe; for what is gained from the most reputable philosophy by its disciples, this is given to the Jews through their laws and customs, knowledge of the highest and most ancient cause of all things, preventing them from straying into belief in created gods; for nothing that has come into being is God in reality (ἀληθείᾳ), but in people's opinion (δόξῃ) only, being deprived of that most necessary attribute, eternal being.

Given this positive view, which was no doubt shared by many of Philo's fellow-Jews in Alexandria,[110] it is no surprise that various general aspects of the Greek-*hairesis* model are put to good use when Philo presents the 'philosophy of Moses' to his readers.

But his writings contain another view which is quite different. As we saw in the fragment from *QE* (see text above p. 126), Philo can be quite harsh when he confronts the dissensions and conflicts of Greek and foreign philosophy. The members of each *hairesis* do nothing but produce 'differing views', ἑτεροδοξίαι. The implication is, as we saw, that truth has to be accessed in another way, via the oracles of Moses. Unlike the dividedness of Greek philosophy, Judaism as presented in an idealized form by Philo is marked by an admirable unity. As is more often the case, both Philo's language and his attitudes here look forward—to the Christian fathers—rather than back.[111] Before Philo the term *heterodoxia* is found only once, at Plato *Theaetetus* 193d2 in an epistemological context which has nothing to do with Philo's usage.[112] After Philo it is only found in Patristic texts, and there it means not just 'different thinking' but 'wrong thinking',

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single source of truth, which was later corrupted into various streams. Cf. Van Winden (1970) 206ff., where he adduces the example of Numenius. This idea runs counter to the *hairesis* model which was still prevalent in the 2nd cent. AD. The two views clash in Justin's *Dialogus*.

[110] Sterling has argued that a positive attitude to Greek culture was part of Alexandrian Judaism's self-understanding; see (1995).

[111] On Philo's influence on early Patristic literature and thought see Runia (1993b).

[112] When mistakes are made in the use of memory; Cornford (1935) 124 translates 'false judgment'.

heterodoxy.[113] Elsewhere Philo uses the *hairesis*-model of Greek philosophy in rather general terms to present Mosaic philosophy, but more specifically in this text he also points forward to a new kind of thinking in which that model will be eclipsed and superseded.[114]

NL-2333 AE *Leiden*, Rijnsburgerweg 116 D.T. Runia

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[113] See LSJ *ad loc.* The TLG 'D' disk locates 26 exx. in Patristic and Byzantine texts. On Philo's striking terminological innovations taken over by the Fathers see Runia (1992).

[114] This paper was first presented under the title 'Did Philo of Alexandria use the Greek *hairesis*-model in his presentation of the philosophy of Moses?' as part of a panel discussion on the theme 'Were there Jewish schools of exegesis in Alexandria' organized under the auspices of the Philo seminar and held in New Orleans in November 1996. The paper was also given at the Hebrew University Jerusalem in January 1998. On this occasion I benefited greatly from a discussion of its contents with Dr. Malcolm Lowe, which led me to reformulate some of my conclusions.

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'THE SCHOOL OF SACRED LAWS': THE SOCIAL SETTING OF PHILO'S TREATISES

BY

GREGORY E. STERLING

> Joshua b. Perahiah says:
> 'Set up a master for yourself'.
> 'And get yourself a fellow disciple'.
> 'And give everybody the benefit of the doubt'.
> (*m. 'Abot* 1.6)

One of the most intriguing and neglected *testimonia* concerning Philo comes from the sixth century bishop of Halwan, Barhadbsabba 'Arbaya, who composed a work setting out the foundings and histories of different schools. The Antiochian-inclined bishop provides the following account of the origins of the Alexandrian school: 'The director and exegete of this school was Philo the Jew who founded it. From the time he undertook this task, he interpreted allegorically (lit. Platonically), completely excluding history'.[1] The bishop goes on to associate Arius with this school at the time of Philo's death, suggesting that Alexandrian allegory is fertile ground for heresy.[2] While the bishop clearly does not know his chronology, he does raise several interesting questions. Did Philo write and teach in a school? Did this school have any influence on the later Christian schools of Alexandria and, if so, how? Was there more of a connection than the transmission of the Jewish exegete's writings by the later Christian community?[3]

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[1] Translation mine (as are all others unless noted). For the text see A. Scher, *Mar Barhadbsabba 'Arbaya, Cause de la fondation des écoles*, PO 4.4.18 (Paris 1907; reprint, Turnhout 1971) 375.12-14.

[2] Cf. the discussion of D.T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey*, CRINT 3.3 (Assen/Minneapolis 1993) 5-6, 269-70, esp. 270.

[3] This article was originally presented as a paper for a panel of the Philo of Alexandria Group of the Society of Biblical Literature that took place at the annual meeting held in New Orleans during November of 1996. The other panelists were John J. Collins, David Runia, and Annewies van den Hoek. David Runia's contribution appears in a revised form elsewhere in this journal, 'Philo of Alexandria and the Greek *hairesis* model'.

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Twentieth century scholars have offered several different answers to these questions. Wilhelm Bousset argued for a Jewish school of allegorical exegesis based upon a source critical analysis of Philo's treatises.[4] His thesis has, however, not won widespread acceptance since we lack references to such an institution.[5] Harry Wolfson attempted to avoid this difficulty by basing his analysis on the explicit references to places of instruction in Philo's works. He concluded that Philo taught in a 'synagogal school for higher education' which convened on days other than the Sabbath.[6] Valentin Nikiprowetzky criticized Wolfson for applying Philo's references to synagogues to separate institutions which lack a basis in the text. He therefore preferred to speak of 'Écoles de Sagesse' which he identified with synagogues.[7] This, however, also faces a serious difficulty: how did the Allegorical Commentary function in a synagogue setting? The implied audience is too sophisticated for a standard synagogue gathering. Others, like Robert Grant, recognizing the limitations of the evidence, have thrown their hands up in the air and said that we can only claim that Philo's works were probably associated with a school of some sort.[8]

I am more sanguine about the possibility of coming to a probable conclusion than the last group. I wish, however, to offer a different model

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Annewies van den Hoek published her paper in revised form as 'The "Catechetical" School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage', *HTR* 90 (1996) 59-87. I am grateful to the other panelists and to the audience for their contributions to the discussion.

[4] W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom: Literarische Untersuchungen zu Philo und Clemens von Alexandria, Justin und Irenäus*, FRLANT N.F. 6 (Göttingen 1915; reprint, Hildesheim 1975).

[5] For a summaries of the critique see R.A. Culpepper, *The Johannine School: An Evaluation of the Johannine School Hypothesis based on an Investigation of the Nature of Ancient Schools*, SBLDS 26 (Missoula, MT 1975) 204-06 and B.L. Mack, 'Philo Judaeus and Exegetical Traditions in Alexandria', *ANRW* 2.21.1 (1984) 241-43.

[6] H.A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1947) 1:79. Cf. also Culpepper, *The Johannine School*, 197-214 and N.G. Cohen, *Philo Judaeus: His Universe of Discourse*, Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 24 (Frankfurt am Main 1995) 29-31, who argues that Philo was a midrashist and heavily influenced by the traditions circulating in *Beth Hamidrashim*.

[7] V. Nikiprowetzky, *Le commentaire de l'Écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, ALGHJ 11 (Leiden 1977) 178-79.

[8] R.M. Grant, 'Theological Education at Alexandria', in B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring (edd.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Philadelphia 1986) 179-80.

than those which have been previously proposed. I suggest that *Philo had a private school in his home or personally owned structure for advanced students which was similar to schools of higher education run by individuals throughout the Greco-Roman world.*

Before I attempt to argue the specifics of this case, I need to clarify several key points. First, the evidence is entirely circumstantial: we do not have any reliable reference which explicitly mentions Philo working in a school setting. We must therefore compare Philo's works to those which we know were produced in school settings and ask if there is enough similarity between them to posit a school setting for the Alexandrian Torah commentator. I am therefore not looking for hard proof—it does not exist—but for a more adequate model to explain the treatises of Philo than has been previously offered. In order to do this, I will compare Philo's treatises to tertiary educational practices in philosophical circles.[9] I have chosen these schools as a potential model because of Philo's own commitment to philosophy and the availability of the evidence. Other models might also prove worth pursuing, for example, a medical school like Galen's[10] or the later schools of Rabbinic sages.[11] Second, during this period philosophers

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[9] For general works on education in the Hellenistic-Romans worlds see H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York 1956) 206-16; M.L. Clark, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (Alburquerque 1971) 55-71; and L.C.A. Alexander, 'Schools, Hellenistic', *ABD* 5 (1992) 1005-11. There are a number of works dealing with specific traditions. For the Academy see H. Cherniss, *The Riddle of the Early Academy* (Berkeley 1945) and J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, Hypomnemata 56 (Göttingen 1978). On the Lyceum see J.P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution* (Berkeley 1972) and F. Grayeff, *Aristotle and His School: An Inquiry into the History of the Peripatetics With a Commentary on* Metaphysics Z, H, Λ *and* Θ (New York 1974) 13-85. For Epictetus see B.L. Hijmans, Jr., *ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ: Notes on Epictetus' Educational System*, Wijsgerige Teksten en Studies 2 (Assen 1959). For Plotinus consult M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, 'L'arrière-plan scolaire de la *Vie de Plotin*', in L. Brisson, M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, *et al.* (edd.), *Porphyre, La Vie de Plotin*, 2 vols. Histoire des doctrines de l'antiquité classique 6, 16 (Paris 1982-92) 1:229-80.

[10] E.g., H. von Stadten, 'Hairesis and Heresy: The Case of the *haireseis iatrikai*', in B.F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders (edd.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, Volume 3: Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World* (Philadelphia 1982) 76-100 and L.C.A. Alexander, 'Paul and the Hellenistic Schools: The Evidence of Galen', in T. Engberg-Pedersen (ed.), *Paul in his Hellenistic Context* (Minneapolis 1995) 60-83.

[11] On Jewish schools in Palestine see M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia 1974) 1:78-83; G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black (edd.), *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh 1973-86) 2:415-63, esp. 417-22;

who educated advanced students did so in several different contexts; however, the majority appear to have taught in a home or rented structure rather than in an institution with a permanent place in society. There were no universities as we think of them.[12] The arrangement revolved almost exclusively around the teacher-student relationship with some consideration attached to student-student relationships.[13] Some philosophers lived in a patron's house;[14] others taught out of their own home.[15] A failure to appreciate this phenomenon has bedeviled a great deal of the debate which has frequently assumed a formal social institution that existed for a significant time period. I will argue that as a wealthy individual, Philo taught students who came to his home or private structure to study with the most eminent Jewish scholar in Alexandria.

The Exegetical Tradition

One of the first requirements of a school setting is the presence of a known tradition. Until relatively recently this was a point of contention; however, there is a growing consensus that Philo worked within an exegetical tradition.[16] The consensus rests on three lines of argumentation which

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and S. Safrai, 'Education and the Study of the Torah', in S. Safrai and M. Stern (edd.), *The Jewish People in the First Century*, CRINT 1.2 (Assen/Philadelphia 1987) 945-70.

[12] Correctly emphasized by Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 212 and Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 66.

[13] The informal nature of advanced education was also true in later Judaism. See Safrai, 'Education and the Study of the Torah', 953.

[14] This was epecially true of Greek philosophers who lived among the Romans: Aristus lived with Brutus (Plutarch, *Brutus* 2.3); Alexander with Crassus (Plutarch, *Crassus* 3.3); Diodotus with Cicero (*TD* 5.112-13; *ND* 1.6; *Fam.* 13.16.4; *Att.* 2.20.16). Epictetus attests the practice of offering a lecture in the house of a distinguished individual (*Disc.* 3.23.23).

[15] Seneca attended the lectures of Metronax of Naples in his house (*Ep.* 76.1-4). For further examples see Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 174-77 and S.K. Stowers, 'Social Status, Public Speaking and Private Teaching: The Circumstances of Paul's Preaching Activity', *NovT* 26 (1984) 65-68.

[16] Two of the major figures who thought Philo represents an isolated phenomenon are J. Dillon, 'The Formal Structure of Philo's Allegorical Exegesis', in D. Winston and J. Dillon (edd.), *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria: A Commentary on* De Gigantibus *and* Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis, BJS 25 (Chico, CA 1983) 82; and S. Sandmel, 'Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature', *HUCA* 25 (1954) 209-37; 26 (1955) 151-332; *idem*, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (New York/Oxford 1979) 13; *idem*, 'Philo Judaeus: An Introduction to the Man, his Writings, and his Significance', *ANRW* 2.21.1 (1984) 5. Among major figures who argued that he stood within a tradition are É. Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*,

I will summarize. First, Philo openly refers to other exegetes: both those who have a literal understanding of the text and those whose focus is almost exclusively allegorical.[17] While Philo does not identify these exegetes, he includes their views whether he agrees or disagrees with them. A minimal conclusion from these references is that Philo was aware of working in an exegetical tradition. David Hay who studied the references to other allegorists went further and suggested that they point to a school setting.[18]

Second, while Bousset's thesis about a school has been set aside, his source critical analysis has been revived with significant results.[19] In recent years Thomas Tobin and Richard Goulet have written monographs attempting to identity the sources standing behind the incongruities which obtrude in Philonic texts.[20] Whether one agrees with Tobin's efforts to trace an evolving tradition or Goulet's theory of an earlier and superior commentary which Philo poorly redacts, they—like Bousset—point to the fact that Philo preserves earlier work without specific attribution, sometimes even without anonymous attribution.

Third, in several recent papers I have attempted to take a different line of approach by exploring Philo's relationship to other Jewish literature.[21]

Études de philosophie médiévale 8 (Paris 1950) 45-61, esp. 47 and E.R. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (New York 1962²) 27.

[17] The major works which have studied these are M.J. Shroyer, 'Alexandrian Jewish Literalists', *JBL* 55 (1936) 261-84; D.M. Hay, 'Philo's References to Other Allegorists', *SP* 6 (1979-80) 41-75; and *idem*, 'References to Other Exegetes', in D.M. Hay (ed.), *Both Literal and Allegorical: Studies in Philo of Alexandria's* Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus, BJS 232 (Atlanta 1991) 81-97. Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*, 2, also appealed to these references.

[18] Hay, 'Philo's References to Other Allegorists', 60-61.

[19] For example see the programmatic essays of R.G. Hamerton-Kelly, 'Sources and Traditions in Philo Judaeus: Prolegomena to an Analysis of His Writings', *SP* 1 (1972) 3-26; B.L. Mack, 'Exegetical Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism: A Program for the Analysis of the Philonic Corpus', *SP* 3 (1974-75) 71-112; *idem*, 'Philo Judaeus and Exegetical Traditions in Alexandria' 227-71.

[20] T.H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation*, CBQMS 14 (Washington D.C. 1983) and R. Goulet, *La philosophie de Moïse: Essai de reconstitution d'un commentaire philosophique préphilonien de Pentateuque*, Histoire des Doctrines de l'Antiquité Classique 11 (Paris 1987).

[21] G.E. Sterling, '*Magister* or *Maverick*? Philo and Alexandrian Judaism', Philo of Alexandria Seminar, Annual Meeting of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (August 1993) and *idem*, 'Recluse or Representative? Philo and Greek-Speaking Judaism Beyond Alexandria', *SBLSP* 34 (1995) 595-616. Cf. my forthcoming, *The Jewish Plato: Philo of Alexandria, Greek-Speaking Judaism and Early Christianity* (Peabody, MA). Peder Borgen has

I have argued that Philo knew and used Aristobulus, Pseudo-Aristeas, and Ezekiel the Tragedian.[22] Other works attest a common milieu: Pseudo-Phocylides and the Wisdom of Solomon share a number of concerns with Philo; the same is true to a lesser extent with *The Testament of Job* and *Joseph and Aseneth*. The tradition in which Philo worked appears to have enjoyed a *Nachleben* in Jewish circles in the Pseudo-Philonic homilies *On Jonah* and *On Sampson*. I would also argue that several early Christian documents reflect some of the same traditions, especially Hebrews and *The Epistle of Barnabas*.[23] One set of examples from the last will illustrate the nature of the tradition. Pseudo-Aristeas, Philo, and Pseudo-Barnabas all provide interpretations of the food laws of Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14. There are three overlapping interpretations among these texts: the *Epistle of Aristeas* and *Barnabas* distinguish between unclean birds which use violence to obtain food and clean birds which do not, while Philo applies the distinction to the soul removing ἐπιθυμία from itself;[24] all three interpret 'chewing the cud' to refer to memory or meditation;[25] and all understand 'parting the hoof' to mean the power to discriminate, although the Jewish authors use it specifically for the power to distinguish good from evil while their Christian counterpart gives it an eschatological twist.[26] What impresses me about these interpretations is that they all stem from a common beginning point; their differences merely reveal the specific interests

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recently made a very similar argument in *Philo of Alexandria, An Exegete for His Time*, NovTSup 86 (Leiden 1997) 38-45.

[22] It is possible that he knew Ezekiel through Alexander Polyhistor. The issue is impossible to settle since we only know Ezekiel's work as it has come down to us through Polyhistor.

[23] The literature on the relationship between Philo and Hebrews is enormous. The two most important recent works which represent opposing perspectives are J.W. Thompson, *The Beginnings of Christian Philosophy: The Epistle to the Hebrews*, CBQMS 13 (Washington, D.C. 1982), who argues for a Platonic background, and L.D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought*, SNTSMS 65 (Cambridge 1990), who argues against it in favor of apocalyptic traditions. On the relationship between Philo and *Barn.* see R.A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache*, The Apostolic Fathers 3 (New York 1965) 2-3, 19-22, 45-56; J.P. Martín, 'L'interpretazione allegorica nella Lettera di Barnaba e nel giudaismo alessandrino', *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 6 (1982) 173-85; and Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, 90-93.

[24] *Ep. Arist.* 145-47 and *Barn.* 4 on the one hand; and *Spec.* 4.116-18 on the other.

[25] *Ep. Arist.* 153-60; Philo, *Spec.* 4.106-09; *Agr.* 131-45; *Barn.* 11, which urges the reader to associate with those who meditate on the word of the Lord.

[26] *Ep. Arist.* 150-52; Philo, *Spec.* 4.106-09, esp. 108; *Barn.* 11.

of each author. I find it difficult to resist the conclusion that the ἀφορμή for all three is a common exegetical tradition.[27]

Direct Statements

Does Philo provide any hints about the social setting of this tradition? The most obvious way to address this question is to examine the texts in which Philo situates exegesis in a social setting. There are at least four types of statements that are relevant here.

John Glucker identified the first two in another connection by pointing out that the standard terminology for an organized philosophical school is σχολή and διατριβή while αἵρεσις and ἀγωγή designate a school of thought or persuasion.[28] Interestingly Philo never uses σχολή or διατριβή in the sense of school.[29] He does, however, use the verb form σχολάζω to indicate that Jews spend their leisure on the Sabbath in philosophical pursuits.[30] His preferred term for a 'school' is διδασκαλεῖον which he uses five times. Perhaps the most famous is his statement in *De vita Mosis*: 'For what are our houses of prayer (προσευκτήρια) in each city if not schools (διδασκαλεῖα) of prudence, courage, moderation, justice, piety, holiness, and every virtue which enables us to understand and set right our human and divine duties'.[31] Similarly in a defense against the charge of idleness on the Sabbath he says: 'On the Sabbath in every city thousands of schools (διδασκαλεῖα) of prudence, moderation, courage, justice, and all the other virtues are

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[27] So also A. Terian, 'Some Stock Arguments for the Magnanimity of the Law in Hellenistic Jewish Apologetics', in B.S. Jackson (ed.), *Jewish Law Association Studies I: The Touro Conference Volume* (Chico, CA 1985) 141-49, who argues that the interpretations were standard arguments used in Jewish apologetics.

[28] Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, 159-225, esp. 165, 167, 174, 191-92, 197. On αἵρεσις see Runia, 'Did Philo of Alexandria use the Greek *hairesis* model?'

[29] He uses σχολή in the following ways: leisure (*Agr.* 103; *Conf.* 3; *Mos.* 1.89 (*bis*), 89, 322; *Spec.* 1.70; 2.196; 3.93; 4.160; *Prob.* 69; *Flac.* 41); κατὰ σχολήν, 'leisurely' (*Leg.* 1.98; *Mos.* 2.267); and σχολῇ as an adverb meaning 'not at all' (*Spec.* 1.104). He uses διατριβή in the sense of 'to spend time' (*Sacr.* 24; *Post.* 173; *Sobr.* 67; *Congr.* 81; *Fug.* 202; *Somn.* 1.68; *Abr.* 23; *Ios.* 118; *Spec.* 2.44, 119; *Contempl.* 20; *Flac.* 177).

[30] *Opif.* 128; *Mos.* 2.211; *Dec.* 98; cf. also *Spec.* 2.60. For other uses see *Migr.* 189; *Congr.* 113; *Ios.* 53; *Mos.* 1.125; *Spec.* 1.70; 2.101; *Flac.* 33, 36; *Legat.* 128, 175. Among the latter group of texts he often uses it along with ἀργέω (*Spec.* 2.60; *Flac.* 33; *Legat.* 128).

[31] *Mos.* 2.216. The reference here is to the 'houses of prayer' themselves not to another entity. So Nikiprowetzky, *Le commentaire de l'Écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, 179. *Contra* J. Daniélou, *Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1958) 21, who considers both to be possible.

open'.[32] A third explicit example occurs in another apologetic context. In the *Legatio ad Gaium*, Philo cites Augustus' treatment of Jewish practices as a precedent. The first emperor permitted the Jews to assemble 'in their synagogues (εἰς τὰ συναγώγια)' which are 'schools (διδασκαλεῖα) of moderation and justice'.[33] The other two references also refer to the same social entity but not explicitly.[34] As an Alexandrian, Philo's preferred term for the Jewish house of worship is προσευχή,[35] although he can use συναγωγή or συναγώγιον.[36] The identification of 'prayer houses' with schools has been one of the major reasons why some have argued that Philo's school was intimately connected with a synagogue. There is some historical evidence for such schools. A priest and σοφοδιδάσκαλος named Samoe donated a canopy structure to the impressive synagogue in Sardis in the fifth century which archaeologists have interpreted to be the place where Samoe held school when Sabbath services were not taking place.[37] Should we envision Philo doing the same? It is possible; however, we must also remember that Philo is deliberately clothing the 'houses of prayer' in Hellenistic garb for apologetic purposes.[38] They are places where virtue is cultivated through philosophy rather than vice through idleness.

If we turn to the second category Glucker identified, the school of thought, we find similar results. Philo knows and uses αἵρεσις to refer to the school of thought of the Greek philosophical traditions, the Cynics and Therapeutae.[39] In a few instances he may even use it to refer to 'sect' and

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[32] *Spec.* 2.62.

[33] *Legat.* 311-12.

[34] *Dec.* 40; *Praem.* 66.

[35] *Flac.* 41, 45, 47, 48, 49, 53, 122; *Legat.* 132, 134, 137, 138, 148, 152, 156, 157, 165, 191, 346, 371. Cf. also *Mos.* 2.216 (cited above) where he uses προσευκτήριον.

[36] Συναγωγή: *Post.* 67 (*bis*); *Agr.* 44 (*bis*) all of which are citations of Num 27:16-17; *Prob.* 81, the only reference to 'synagogue'. Συναγώγιον: *Somn.* 2.127; *Legat.* 311 (cited above). For the evidence from Egypt and the distinction in terminology see M. Hengel, 'Proseuche und Synagoge: Jüdische Gemeinde, Gotteshaus und Gottesdienst in der Diaspora und in Palästina', in G. Jeremias, H.-M. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann (edd.), *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt (Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag)* (Göttingen 1971) 157-84.

[37] A.R. Seager, 'The Synagogue and the Jewish Community: The Building', in G.M.A. Hanfmann (ed.), *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975* (Cambridge, MA 1983) 170 and A.T. Kraabel, 'The Synagogue and the Jewish Community: Impact of the Discovery of the Sardis Synagogue', in *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times*, 183, 184, 189-90. Cf. also Figs. 252 and 267.

[38] It is worth noting that all of the references are in the Exposition of the Law or *Legat.*

[39] *QE* F 4; *Plant.* 151 and *Contempl.* 29 respectively. For the fragment see F. Petit,

not just 'school of thought'. He does not, however, use it to refer to his own tradition.[40] Similarly, he uses ἀγωγή to refer to 'way of life';[41] however, in this case he also employs it to represent the Mosaic tradition. The clearest example is in his interpretation of the multiple names attributed to Moses' father-in-law. Philo explains that when Moses delivers the daughters of the priest of Midian they return not to Jethro, but to Raguel. This means that 'they have abandoned their relationship to vanity and identified themselves with the guidance of the law (ἀγωγή νόμιμος)'. They have become 'part of the sacred herd' since the name Raguel means 'God's shepherding'.[42] If we expand our search to include διαδοχή we find one instance where Philo uses it to refer to an old story invented by wise people (ὑπὸ σοφῶν) and handed down by succession (κατὰ διαδοχὴν παραδοθείς) to later generations.[43] He thus thinks of the Mosaic tradition as a whole, but does not develop the concept in a way analogous to the later Rabbis.[44]

We also have Philo's descriptions of the Therapeutae and Essenes.[45] The most striking feature of his accounts of these sects is his characterization of the allegorical practices of the Therapeutae. He tells us that 'while they read the sacred books they practice their ancestral philosophy by means of allegorical interpretation since they believe that the language of the literal text consists of symbols of a hidden nature which is revealed in the deeper meaning'.[46] He goes on to affirm that some of the founders of the sect (οἱ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγέται) composed allegorical treatises which their successors continue to use.[47] Scripture is like a living being whose body

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Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum: fragmenta graeca, PAPM 33 (Paris 1978) 283-84 and the discussion in Runia, 'Philo of Alexandria and the Greek *hairesis* model?' Cf. the cognate αἱρεσιομάχος in *Mos.* 1.24.

[40] He most commonly uses it to refer to 'choice' (*Cher.* 30; *Post.* 78; *Gig.* 18; *Deus* 49; *Plant.* 45, 147; *Ebr.* 171; *Her.* 241; *Congr.* 110, 130; *Mut.* 153; *Abr.* 215; *Mos.* 2.160, 176, 177, 278; *Spec.* 1.340; 2.228 (*bis*); 4.108, 157 (*bis*); *Virt.* 60, 185, 205; *Praem.* 16, 54, 78; *Prob.* 83). He likes to contrast αἵρεσις with φυγή (*Cher.* 30; *Deus* 49; *Plant.* 45; *Ebr.* 171; *Mut.* 153; *Spec.* 1.340; 2.228 (*bis*); 4.108; *Virt.* 205; *Prob.* 83).

[41] *Ebr.* 193, 195. For other uses see *Post.* 181; *Deus* 61, 119; *Plant.* 177; *Congr.* 158.

[42] Mut. 114; cf. also *Det.* 16, 118 for similar usages of ἀγωγή to refer to the way of life under the law.

[43] *Plant.* 127. For other uses of διαδοχή see *Det.* 75; *Her.* 37, 100; *Mut.* 95; *Somn.* 2.184; *Ios.* 36, 246; *Mos.* 1.38, 191, 231; 2.221, 233, 243, 244; *Spec.* 1.296; 2.127, 129; 3.16; *Praem.* 151, 169; *Prob.* 148; *Aet.* 69, 74; *Legat.* 143, 288.

[44] E.g., *m. 'Abot* 1.1.

[45] *Contempl* and *Prob.* 75-91; *Hypoth.* 8.11.1-18 respectively.

[46] *Contempl.* 28.

[47] *Contempl.* 29. I have translated αἵρεσις as 'sect' in this text since Philo has assigned

represents the literal meaning and whose ψυχή represents the allegorical.[48] These statements sound so much like Philo's own views that a number of scholars have argued that either he or the allegorists he describes in his corpus were associated with or indebted to Therapeutae.[49] He offers a similar, although much briefer, description of the Essenes.[50] There are, however, two significant problems with such identifications. First, the accounts of the Therapeutae and Essenes are part of a literary tradition which extols select religious/philosophical groups of a people as heroes of virtue.[51] Encomia which have deliberately cast non-Hellenes in Hellenistic molds must always be read with care. Second, there is no evidence that the Therapeutae connected their allegorical interpretations with philosophy. I do not mean that Philo did not describe them in philosophical terms, but that there is no evidence that the Therapeutae discovered Platonism in their allegorical interpretations of the Torah as Philo did.[52] While I think it would be a mistake to exclude the Therapeutae from those with whose interpretations Philo interacted, I believe it would be a greater error to suggest that we could explain the Philonic enterprise on the basis of his membership in an exclusive sect.

There is one final piece of direct evidence which has not—to my knowledge—been previously introduced to the discussion. Unfortunately, like all other direct evidence, it is also problematic. In the dialogue with Tiberius Julius Alexander, his nephew, and Lysimachus, Tiberius' nephew and his great-nephew, Lysimachus says: 'So I sit here quietly, modestly, and with restored humility as is proper for a student; and here you are seated in front of me on a platform looking dignified, respectable, and erudite, ready to begin to teach your teachings'.[53] The dialogue presumes a formal school

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a specific locale, structure, and organization to the group. Runia, 'Did Philo of Alexandria use the Greek *hairesis* model?' has argued that it should be rendered 'school of thought'.

[48] *Contempl.* 78. Cf. also *QG* 3.3 and Origen, *Princ.* 4.2.4-6.

[49] Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 53-60 and Goulet, *La philosophie de Moïse*, 525-31, esp. 527-31.

[50] *Prob.* 82.

[51] Cf. G.E. Sterling, '"Athletes of Virtue": An Analysis of the Summaries in Acts (2:41-47; 4:32-35; 5:12-16)', *JBL* 113/4 (1994) 679-96.

[52] Cf. the important comments of D.M. Hay, 'Things Philo Said and Did Not Say About the Therapeutae', *SBLPS* 31 (1992) 678-79.

[53] *Anim.* 6. I have used the translation of A. Terian, *Philonis Alexandrini* De Animalibus: *The Armenian Text with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Studies in Hellenistic Judaism 1 (Chico, CA 1981).

setting. The problem is that we have no way of knowing whether this is strictly a literary conceit or whether it corresponds in some way to the place where Philo taught. We can only say that Philo wants us to imagine him in the role of a philosopher teaching in a school in this dialogue.

The Philonic Corpus

Another way to address the question is to compare Philo's treatises to those produced in other social settings. What are his treatises? In what types of social settings were similar works produced in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds? Some have argued that his writings are closely related to synagogue homilies and therefore associated with the synagogue.[54] Following the work of Peder Borgen, I am in full agreement that some of Philo's exegetical treatments are related to homilies.[55] The problem is that the treatises are no longer cast as homilies or even converted homilies, similar to say the Epistle to the Hebrews which converts a homily into a letter by adding an epistolary postscript;[56] rather, they—at least the Allegorical Commentary and the *Quaestiones et Solutiones*—are running commentaries on the biblical text.[57] If we ask where similar commentaries were produced, we might immediately think of Qumran and the practice in the philosophical schools to mention two possibilities. It is, however, difficult to specify which tradition Philo follows. John Dillon has argued that Philo's writing practices closely approximate those of the later Neoplatonists in three major areas: they divide the text up into *lemmata*, begin with the literal meaning and then move to the allegorical, and finally often open with ἀπορίαι.[58] There is a good deal to be said for his argument both along formal lines and from the fact that Platonists revived the practice of writing commentaries

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[54] Wolfson, *Philo*, 1:95-96 and Culpepper, *The Johannine School*, 209-12.

[55] P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo*, NovTSup 10 (Leiden 1965). On Jewish homilies more generally see the discussion and bibliography of W.R. Stegner, 'The Ancient Jewish Synagogue Homily', in D.E. Aune (ed.), *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament*, SBLSBS 21 (Atlanta 1988) 51-69.

[56] Cf. Heb 13:22-25, esp. 22 which describes the preceding as ὁ λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως.

[57] Conclusively shown by Nikiprowetzky, *Le commentaire de l'Écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, 170-235, esp. 180.

[58] Dillon, 'The Formal Structure of Philo's Allegorical Exegesis', 77-87. He compares Philo principally to Proclus. We could expand the comparison to include Olympiodorus and Themistius.

in the first century BCE.[59] It may be that Philo and the Neoplatonists drew from a standard form of writing a commentary in the Platonist tradition.[60] While this makes perfectly good sense *a priori*, David Runia has shown that Philo has a number of unique features in the format of his commentaries and has concluded that Philo's commentaries were *sui generis*.[61] The most that can be confidently affirmed at this stage of our understanding of ancient commentaries is that Philo's practices were similar to but not identical with those in the Platonic tradition. The study of ancient commentaries still needs attention.

How were the commentaries used? We know that in the philosophical schools students read select works of central figures in their school of thought, e.g., Platonists read Plato and Stoics read Chrysippus.[62] Ancient students like their modern counterparts often found these texts difficult.[63] In order to facilitate comprehension, teachers explained the text much in the same way that classicists or biblical scholars explain texts in classes today. For example, Epictetus apparently had an assigned text which he and the students read in advance and on which he then commented for the benefit of all present.[64] In such settings commentaries on the texts functioned as guides to explain the text and provide orientation to the larger conceptual framework of the tradition. They were written by and for members of the school. This I think is a particularly attractive hypothesis for the Allegorical Commentary. The implied audience of these treatises is a sophisticated audience who know the biblical text exceptionally well and are capable of appreciating extended philosophical expositions of it. The

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[59] See the helpfulaess ys of P. Donini, 'Testi e commenti, manuali e insegnamento: la forma sistematica e i metodi della filosofia in età postellenistica', *ANRW* 2.36.7 (1994) 5027-5100 and D. Sedley, 'Plato's *Auctoritas* and the Rebirth of the Commentary Tradition', in J. Barnes and M. Griffin (edd.), *Philosophia Togata II: Plato and Aristotle at Rome* (Oxford 1997) 110-29.

[60] Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*, 153, argued that the form of a commentary presupposed a school setting.

[61] D.T. Runia, 'The Structure of Philo's Allegorical Treatises: A Review of Two Recent Studies and Some Additional Comments', *VChr* 38 (1984) 209-56 and 'Further Observations on the Structure of Philo's Allegorical Treatises', *VChr* 41 (1987) 105-38 which were both reprinted in *Exegesis and Philosophy: Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, CSCS 332 (Aldershot 1990).

[62] E.g., Epictetus mentions students reading Chrysippus (*Disc.* 1.4.6-9, 14, 28-29; 2.17.34; cf. also 1.26.1, 13; 3.26.3; 4.5.36; 4.4.14, 17).

[63] E.g., Epictetus, *Encheir.* 49.

[64] Epictetus, *Disc.* 1.10.7-8; *Encheir.* 49.

implied audience of the *Quaestiones et Solutiones* is not as sophisticated. Perhaps the latter was for beginning students and the former for the advanced.[65]

There is one other feature of the treatises to which Bousset called attention and which should not go unmentioned. The inconcinnities and tensions which annoy modern readers are marks of a school tradition.[66] Philo offers various interpretations as a matter of preserving the traditions. Since he is working within a tradition there is no need to impose his own views on all of his predecessors; he is content to allow them a voice as well as to make his own heard in matters of importance. I think that the *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim et Exodum* are particularly good illustrations of this: Philo presents multiple views as a means of illustrating the range of meanings of a text to the students.

Philo's Library

If our analysis is sound, then Philo must have worked with a library in which his own works became an indispensable part. This would be in keeping with the practices of philosophers who regularly had libraries.[67] What happened to this library? We know that Clement of Alexandria knew both Philo and Aristobulus whose work was in Philo's library.[68] Origen inherited this library and took copies to Caesarea when he left Egypt. Eusebius

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[65] Sze-kar Wan, 'Philo's *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim*: A Synoptic Approach', *SBLSP* 32 (1993) 22-53, esp. 37-38, 53, where he tentatively concludes that the zetematic character of *QG* points to a school setting. Ellen Birnbaum has recently argued for distinct audiences for Philo's works in a compelling way. See her *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes*, SPM 2 (Atlanta 1996), especially pp. 17-21.

[66] Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*, 5-7, 157.

[67] For example see Grayeff, *Aristotle and His School*, 69-85, for Aristotle's library; M. Gigante, *Philodemus in Italy: The Books from Herculaneum* (Ann Arbor 1995) 15-48, 115-21, for Philodemus; Proclus, *V. Plotini* 14, for Plotinus. Cf. also Philostratus, *V. Soph.* 2.21, for Proclus of Naucratis.

[68] On the transmisssion of the Philonic corpus see Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature* 16-31, esp. 17-23 and *idem*, 'Caesarea Maritima and the Survival of Hellenistic-Jewish Literature,' in A. Raban and K.G. Holum (edd.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden 1996) 476-95. For the transmisson of Aristobulus see N. Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulus: Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdischen-hellenistischen Literatur*, TU 86 (Berlin 1964) 7-9, 26-35 and Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume 3: Aristobulus*, SBLTT 39 (Atlanta 1995) 43-45. On Clement see A. van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and his Use of Philo in the* Stromateis, VChrSup 3 (Leiden 1988) and Runia, *op. cit.*, 119-56. For Clement's knowledge of Hellenistic Jewish literature see A. van den Hoek, 'How Alexandrian was

had access to the Caesarean library and provides us with some idea of its contents through his citations. Among the Jewish authors whom he knows are Aristobulus, Pseudo-Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus.[69] We can therefore confidently place the works of Aristobulus and Philo (and perhaps Pseudo-Aristeas) in Alexandria in c. 50 CE and in the latter part of the second century CE. From this and related evidence Annewies van den Hoek has suggested that a Christian library containing these works existed in Alexandria in the second century CE.[70] While I find this an attractive hypothesis, I would qualify it by suggesting that the Christian library was individually owned at this point—at least there is no evidence that it was connected formally to a church.

How did these Hellenistic Jewish texts come into Christian hands? One possibility is that the works of Jewish authors were deposited in a public library which later Christians used.[71] I find this unlikely on at least two counts. First, it requires that not only Philo's writings were deposited but Aristobulus' as well. While Philo was a significant social figure and might have warranted such accord, it is difficult to make the same case for Aristobulus. Second, the hostilities between the Jewish community and the Greeks in Alexandria during and immediately after Philo's lifetime make it highly unlikely that anyone but a Jew would have preserved his writings.[72]

Dominique Barthélemy put forth another possibility when he suggested that Pantaenus rescued Philo's works from the ruins of the Jewish community's destruction.[73] I also find this to be problematic on two counts.

Clement of Alexandria? Reflections on Clement and his Alexandrian Background', *HeyJ* 31 (1990) 179-94, esp. 184-86.

[69] Eusebius cites most of these in *PE* 8-9. He provides a good deal of evidence for Philo and Josephus elsewhere as well. I have used K. Mras, *Eusebius Werke: Die Praeparatio Evangelica*, GCS 8.1-2 (Berlin 1954-56) for *PE*. For the transmission of *Ep. Arist.* see A. Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*, SC 89 (Paris 1962) 8-41.

[70] Van den Hoek, 'The "Catechetical" School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage', 79-85.

[71] We might think of Eusebius' statement in *Eccl. Hist.* 2.18.8.

[72] On these tensions see E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian, A Study in Political Relations*, SJLA 20 (Leiden 1981) 220-55, 364-68, 389-412, 516-19.

[73] D. Barthélemy, 'Est-ce Hoshaya Rabba qui censura le 'Commentaire Allegorique'? A partir des retouches faites aux citations bibliques, étude sur la tradition textuelle du Commentaire Allégorique de Philon' in *Philon d'Alexandrie. Lyon 11-15 Septembre 1966: Colloques Nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* Paris (1967) 60. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, 22-23, 135, has followed him.

First, the devastation which occurred to the Alexandrian Jewish community in 115-17 was immense.[74] The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, a second century legal code governing Alexandria, does not even mention the Jews. The great community which produced the bulk of the literature which we have from the Diaspora fell virtually silent.[75] Appian recognized the extent of the destruction when he wrote that Trajan 'was eradicating the Jewish race in Egypt'.[76] While it is possible that a significant Jewish library escaped the wreckage, it is not very likely unless it had become obscure or had been hidden. Second, there is some evidence that Philo's works or something analogous to them were significant in Gnostic circles, possibly prior to Pantaenus. The evidence for this is the influence of Platonizing Jewish exegesis on Gnostic texts.[77] For example, *The Gospel of Truth* and Philo have a very similar interpretation of Genesis 2:8: the Jewish exegete suggests the Creator 'planted' the divine ideas in the human soul; the Christian composer considers the plants verbal expressions of divine meditation.[78] Both associate the notion of planting with divine thinking.[79] This would be particularly significant if we were certain that the author was Valentinus who was in Alexandria prior to Pantaenus. We have a clearer example in the *Apocryphon of John* which presents the same exegetical analysis of Genesis 3 as Philo in two details: the serpent taught Adam ἐπιθυμία and sleep means the loss of αἴσθησις.[80] The *Apocryphon of John* should probably be dated to the early part of the third century CE, although it uses older material.[81]

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[74] On the revolt see A. Fuks, 'Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in A.D. 115-117', *JRS* 51 (1961) 98-104.

[75] The only exception is a polemic against Greek culture! See W.F. Adler, 'Apion's "Encomium on Adultery": A Jewish Satire of Greek Paideia in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*', *HUCA* 64 (1993) 15-49.

[76] Appian, *Civil War* 2.90.380 (GLAJJ 107.350). Cf. also Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 4.2.4.

[77] The most important works addressing this question are B. Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Minneapolis 1990) and J. Holzhausen, *Der 'Mythos vom Menschen' im hellenistischen Ägypten: Eine Studie zum 'Poimandres' (= CH 1) zu Valentin und dem gnostischen Mythos*, Athenäums Monografien: Theophaneia 33 (Bodenheim 1994), especially 102-18.

[78] Philo, *QG* 1.6//NHC 1.36.35-37.6.

[79] B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions* (Garden City, NY 1987) 217 and 262 n. a, is inclined toward Valentinus' dependence on Philo.

[80] Philo, *Leg.* 2.72//NHC 2.22.12-14 and Philo, *QG* 1.24; *Leg.* 2.26-34, esp. 26, 30//NHC 2.22.22-25.

[81] See the dating by the latest editors: M. Waldstein and F. Wisse, *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,1 with BG 8502,2*, NHMS 33 (Leiden 1995) 1.

The presence of such material suggests that Philo or material analogous to him was in circulation prior to the 'orthodox' appropriation.

This line of reasoning suggests that Christians acquired these Hellenistic Jewish works prior to the destruction of the Jewish community in 115-17. Using this as a watershed, we have a sixty to seventy year period from the time of Philo's death to the revolt. How were they preserved during this period? There are several possibilities: his family may have preserved them or his disciples may have kept them if he had a school. If his works were private compositions kept by his family, we must ask how they became public property?[82] If, on the other hand, Philo had a school, his students would have kept the library. This would explain both how the material was public property and how not only Philo's works were known to Christians but some of the other Jewish authors in his library.

How did they come into the possession of Christians? There are two possibilities: one, a student in the school was either a Christian or became one and made arrangements for the Christian community to obtain copies of the manuscripts; two, a later disciple who became the head of his own school converted to Christianity and brought the library with him. While we will probably never know what actually took place, the theory that his library was preserved by a school of disciples appears the most reasonable explanation of the evidence. Either a student or a head of a subsequent school converted to Christianity and brought the library.

Conclusions

Was Philo 'the director' of a school as the Syrian bishop affirmed? I think that he was. The most probable setting for this school was a private residence or building. While it is not impossible that it could have been in a synagogue, I wonder whether Philo could have kept his library there and whether it would have become accessible to Christians. It is easier to think that the wealthy Philo used part of his own house or purchased another building to run his private school. His students were presumably Jewish intellectuals who were active in the cities numerous 'houses of prayer'. This would account for the incorporation of homiletic material and Philo's own preeminence in the community which selected him to lead

[82] I.e., how did Christians come to know about them? Did a member of the family or a friend who had them convert? This might explain the transmission of Philo's writings but not that of other Greek-speaking Jewish authors (see below).

a delegation of the greatest importance. Josephus' description of Philo as 'a man illustrious in all respects' who 'was not uninformed about philosophy' must have been his common reputation.[83]

Following his death, one of his disciples must have acquired his library and set up his own school using the same hermeneutic of Platonizing allegory. This would not have been unusual if we understand Philo's references to other exegetes to point to the presence of several schools in the large community. At some point prior to the revolt of 115-17, one of Philo's successors or a student converted to Christianity. The conversion meant not only the preservation of the Philonic corpus and other Hellenistic Jewish works, but the bequeathing of a hermeneutic to Christianity. The tradition and library now began to move in Christian circles including some which would be identified as Gnostic. It continued its unofficial and informal life until it reached Clement and Origen. I am not suggesting a continuous institutional history, but the passing of the hermeneutic and its accompanying library from one private school to another. I think that it is in this sense that we may speak of Philo's 'school of sacred laws' as the forerunner of the later Christian διδασκαλεῖον at Alexandria.[84]

Department of Theology
University of Notre Dame Indiana 46556

[83] Josephus, *Ant.* 18.259.

[84] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.10.1.

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH AND DOCETIC CHRISTOLOGY

BY

DARRELL D. HANNAH

I *Introduction*

It is often asserted that the *Ascension of Isaiah* contains a Christology which is "naïvely docetic"[1] or tends toward docetism.[2] At least one author has labeled it docetic without qualification.[3] Such assertions are based above all on three considerations. First, the short summary of the life of Jesus found in 11.2-21[4] contains the statement that the Christ child "sucked the breast like an infant, as was customary, that he might not be recognized" (11.17).[5] Second, the birth of Christ, to which over half of this summary

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[1] So J. Knight, *Disciples of the Beloved One: The Christology, Social Setting and Theological Context of the Ascension of Isaiah* (JSPS 18; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 66, 89-91.

[2] So R.H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London: A. & C. Black, 1900) xlix; E.M. Yamauchi, "The Crucifixion and Docetic Christology", *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 46 (1982) 8; E. Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae* (CCSA 8; Brepols: Turnhout, 1995) 29, 63-66, 208, 563-564. Cf. the more careful treatment in R.E. Brown, K.P. Donfried, J.A. Fitzmyer, *et al., Mary in the New Testament. A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1978) 275-278.

[3] S. Pétrement, *A Separate God. The Origins and Teachings of Gnosticism*, Carol Harrison, (tr.), (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984) 144-152, 324-328.

[4] This passage is missing from the both the Second Latin (L^2) and the Old Church Slavonic versions (S). However, it is in all probability original. It appears in the Ethiopic version and a Coptic fragment of 11.14-16 exists. In addition, the "Greek Legend", a medieval reworking the *Ascension*, probably presupposes 11.19-20 at 2.39. Further, L^2S exhibit a tendency to abbreviate. It was once customary to regard 11.2-22 as an interpolation, but today most interpreters believe it is original. So e.g., M.A. Knibb, "Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah", in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985) II.150, n. 36; Knight, *Disciples of the Beloved One*, 26-27; and R. Bauckham, "Gospel Traditions in the Ascension of Isaiah", Unpublished Paper, 1983.

[5] All quotations of the *Ascension of Isaiah* are from Michael Knibb's translation. In what follows I will presuppose the essential unity of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, as well as an early second century date. Both propositions are becoming something of a consensus

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of the Gospel story is dedicated, is described in miraculous terms which far exceed anything in the canonical Gospels. Finally, there is the theme, which runs throughout the second half of the book, of the hidden descent of Christ. According to this motif, Christ, or the Beloved as he is so often referred to in this apocalypse, upon entering each of the lower heavens takes the form of an angel characteristic to that heaven in order to keep his mission secret.[6]

In this essay I intend to argue that such considerations do not point in the direction of docetism. Accusations of docetism in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, I believe, proceed both from a lack of appreciation for the second century context and from the imprecise, fluid nature of docetism.[7] In what follows I will examine each of the above three considerations, the statement about the baby Jesus at the breast, the description of the wondrous birth, and the motif of the hidden descent, in light of their historical context. It will, I believe, become very clear that none of these three conceptions would have necessarily branded the author of the *Ascension of Isaiah* docetic in the eyes of second or third century Christianity. I will also briefly discuss the crucifixion of Jesus as it is portrayed in the *Ascension* and the implications of this for the author's supposed docetism.

It is perhaps appropriate to begin with a definition of docetism. When we turn to the earliest examples of docetism which have come down to

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in scholarship. See e.g., M. Pesce, "Presupposti per l'utilizzazione storica dell'*Ascensione di Isaia*. Formazione e tradizione del testo; genere letterario; cosmologia angelica," in *Isaia, il Diletto e la Chiesa*, ed. by M. Pesce, (Brescia: Paideia, 1983) 13-76; R.G. Hall, "The *Ascension of Isaiah*: Community, Situation, Date, and Place in Early Christianity", *JBL* 109 (1990) 289-306; Knight, *Disciples of the Beloved One*, 28-39; and Bauckham, "Gospel Traditions". For the early second century date, see also A. Acerbi, *L'Ascensione di Isaia. Cristologia e profetismo in Siria nei primi decenni del II secolo* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1989), 277-282.

[6] Pétrement especially makes much of this in her argument for the docetic nature of the *Ascension's* Christology. For example, she states that the traditions of Christ's descent "seemed to imply that his human form scarcely had more reality than the angelic forms he took while traversing the heavens. And the author of the *Ascension of Isaiah* himself seems to think that it is thus when he has the angel who speaks with Isaiah say, 'He will be *similar* to your form and it will be *thought* that he is flesh and blood'" (Pétrement's emphasis; *A Separate God*, 146).

[7] There is some truth to Pétrement's assertion that "a certain degree of Docetism has perhaps always existed in Christianity, even in nonheretical Christianity, and a certain degree of belief in the humanity of Christ has never disappeared, even in the heresies that might be thought to be truly Docetic." And she is surely correct that "Docetism is something far less simple than one imagines" (*A Separate God*, 145).

us, i.e., the opponents of both the Epistles of John and the Epistles of Ignatius, we find that the question of the corporeality or incorporeality of Christ's birth, death and resurrection immediately comes to the fore. It is precisely around these three lightning rods that the controversy rages. Ignatius repeatedly asserts the reality of the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus in his demonstrations against those "unbelievers (who) say that his passion was merely in semblance".[8] Time and again Ignatius asserts that Jesus was really born (ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη; *Trall.* 9), truly died (ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν; *Trall.* 9), and possessed flesh even after the resurrection (ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα; *Smyrn.* 3).[9] The Epistles of John do not contain the same degree of polemical language as do the Ignatian epistles; consequently it is more difficult to ascertain just what heresy is in view. Nonetheless, there is a general belief among interpreters that some kind of docetism or docetic tendency, perhaps similar to that countered by Ignatius, also stands behind the Johannine Epistles.[10] Such a stance accounts for both the opening affirmation which strongly emphasises the corporeality of the manifestation of "the eternal life which was with the Father" (1.1-3) and the confession that Jesus Christ has come ἐν σαρκὶ (4.2-3). Thus, the enigmatic statement that Jesus Christ came both δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος (5.6) was in all probability directed at those who denied the reality of the death of Christ, and perhaps the birth as well.[11] Further allusions to Christ's death (1.7; 3.16) and resurrection (3.2-3) suggest that the Elder was not unaware of the three docetic "flash points".[12]

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[8] ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, . . . *Smyrn.* 2.

[9] See also *Eph.* 19-20; *Magn.* 11; *Trall.* 9-10; *Smyrn.* 1-3.

[10] See e.g., R.E. Brown, *The Epistles of John* (AB 30; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982) 50-68, 73-79, 92-100, 103-115; and, more succinctly, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979) 151-162; R. Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, R. & I. Fuller (trs.), New York: Crossroad, 1992) 17-24; J.L. Houlden, *A Commentary on the Johannine Epistles* (BNTC; London: A & C Black, 1973) 11-14, 34-35; C.H. Dodd, *The Johannine Epistles* (MNTC; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1946) xix-xxi; S.S. Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John* (WBC 51; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984) xxiii-xxvi. Contrast J. Lieu, *The Theology of the Johannine Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991) 75-79.

[11] Most commentators understand the water to refer to Christ's baptism and the blood to his death. See Brown, *Epistles*, 109-123; Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John*, 278-280; Schnackenburg, *Epistles*, 232-233; R. Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, R.P. O'Hara *et al.*, (trs.), (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973) 79-80. All of these, however, overlook the fact that the baptism of Jesus is not recounted in the Fourth Gospel; a fact noted by Houlden, *Commentary*, 126. It is possible then that water refers to the birth rather than the baptism.

[12] Brown (Epistles, esp. 58-59, 75-79, 97-98, 104-106; *Community*, esp. 155-157) has

If we can trust reports of later heresiologists, the same picture emerges for those docetists which date from middle of the second century: Cerdo, Marcion, and the *Acts of John*. According to an unknown author of the early third century, Cerdo rejected Christ's suffering and birth, and affirmed "a resurrection of the soul merely . . . denying that of the body".[13] Marcion, on the other hand, while denying Christ's birth,[14] and apparently restricting his resurrection to Christ's soul,[15] highly valued the reality of the passion.[16] Finally, the *Acts of John* explicitly reject the reality of Christ's suffering (97-102), and by avoiding all mention of a resurrection implicitly deny it as well.[17] Thus we see that it is primarily over these three matters, the birth, death and bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ, that the earliest docetists repeatedly took issue.

It is not surprising, then, that at least one recent interpreter has focused on these when arriving at a definition of docetism. Norbert Brox has recently urged that the terms "docetic" and "docetism" be confined to those Christologies which asserted that

> the phenomenon of Christ, his historical and bodily existence, and thus above all the human form of Jesus, was altogether mere semblance without any true reality. The human existence and suffering of Christ as pure semblance: this

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argued at length that it is not docetism *proper* which exercised the author of the Johannine epistles, but rather a tendency to undervalue the salvific significance of Jesus' earthly life and death which later developed into the docetism countered by Ignatius. So also Schnackenburg, *Epistles*, 22-24.

While this could explain the relative dearth ("relative dearth" at least in comparison with Ignatius) of explicit polemic in the Johannine epistles, I do not believe it accounts for the kind of language we find in 1 John 1.1-3. There the emphasis on Jesus' corporeality strongly suggests a full blown docetism, and not just a tendency to downplay the significance of Jesus' material existence, is being opposed. So also B.D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture. The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 170-171, n. 66.

[13] Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv.Haer.* 6.1: . . . *hunc in substantia carnis negat, in phantasmate solo fuisse pronuntiat, nec omnino passum, sed quasi passum, nec ex uirgine natum, sed omnino nec natum. Resurrectionem animae tantummodo probat, corporis negat.*

The Latin text is that by A. Kroymann in *Tertulliani Opera* (CCSL; Turnhout: Brepols, 1954) 1398-1410.

[14] Tertullian *Marc.* iii.8; *Carn.* 1, 3.

[15] Irenaeus *Adv.Haer.* i.27.3.

[16] Tertullian, *Marc.* iii.19. On this cf. E.C. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London: SPCK, 1948) 100-101.

[17] Unless it is implied in §102: "When he had said these things to me . . ., he was taken up" (Ταῦτα εἰρηκότος πρός με . . ., ἀνελήφθη). Nonetheless, even if a resurrection is implied here, it is clearly merely an incorporeal, spiritual resurrection. Cf. *GPet.* 19.

> idea served to eliminate the incarnation and Passion of the heavenly Redeemer where they gave offence. Polemic was directed especially against the (bodily) birth and Passion. . . . Jesus Christ as divine Redeemer, . . . had no contact with matter, however fleeting, because by his very nature and his mission he could not and must not have it.[18]

Brox's definition is an attempt to distinguish "purely docetic Christologies" from those "separationist Christologies", popular among gnostics, which affirmed a truly human Jesus who was indwelt by a heavenly Christ at his baptism and was abandoned by this heavenly Christ just prior to the crucifixion. The definition also distinguishes docetism from Valentinian Christology which was in all respects "separationist" except that it attributed a psychic body rather than a physical one to the "human" Jesus. Docetism, in this narrow definition, would only include the opponents of both the Epistles of John and the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, as well as Cerdo, Satornil, Marcion and the *Acts of John.*

Other scholars have argued that it would be better to include separationist and Valentinian Christologies among those deemed docetic. One recent proponent of a broad definition is Michael Slusser,[19] who argues that Irenaeus and other heresiologists who group these various Christologies together had good theological reasons for doing so; i.e., in their various ways they all denied the humanity of Jesus and thus made him both irrelevant to the human situation and a charlatan in that he appeared to be other than what he truly was. While I am not unsympathetic with Slusser's plea that docetism be defined in terms of the second century texts themselves, there are good reasons to side with Brox and those who would define docetism more narrowly. First, Slusser is selective as to which texts from the second century he uses for his definition: He favors the Fathers over apocryphal or "heretical" writings. Second, "separationist" Christologies appear to have developed later than the "purely" docetic ones. And finally, the broad definition is simply not as useful as the narrow one. Those who distinguished a heavenly Christ from the earthly Jesus may have been attempting to do the same thing as those who simply affirmed that Christ's humanity was a mere semblance, but they do it in an altogether more subtle and nuanced manner. To class them too closely together is to be in danger of missing this complexity.[20] I thus propose to follow a narrow defi-

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[18] N. Brox, "'Doketismus'—eine Problemanzeige", *ZKG* 95 (1984) 306. I have followed here the translation in W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, R. McL. Wilson (tr.), (Cambridge: Clarke & Co., 1991) 1.220.

[19] M. Slusser, "Docetism: A Historical Definition", *Second Century* 1 (1981) 163-172.

[20] Cf. the similar approach of Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 119-135, 181-187.

nition of docetism and exclude separationist Christologies from consideration. There is, in any case, no question of a separationist Christology in the *Ascension of Isaiah.*

II *The Reality of the Crucifixion and the Bodily Resurrection*

Given that the earliest docetists, those roughly contemporary with the *Ascension of Isaiah*, appear to have been particularly offended by understandings of the birth, death and resurrection of Christ they deemed too physical, those texts in the *Ascension of Isaiah* which relate to these three issues should prove to be illuminating. The passage in which the author of the *Ascension* describes the birth will be examined shortly. First, however, I wish to explore the four or five times our author explicitly mentions the Beloved's death and resurrection. The first is the most significant. In a passage which gives a summary of the Christ-event we find the following

> For Beliar was very angry with Isaiah because of the vision, and because of the exposure with which he had exposed Sammael, and that through him there had been revealed the coming of the Beloved from the seventh heaven, and his transformation, and his descent, and the form into which he must be transformed, (namely) the form of a man, and the persecution with which he would be persecuted, and the torments with which the children of Israel must torment him, and the coming of the twelve disciples, and the teaching, and that before the sabbath he must be crucified on a tree, and be crucified with wicked men and that he would be buried in a grave (3.13).[21]

It is highly unlikely, if not well high impossible, for a docetist to have written this passage. The explicit language of "persecution" (ὁ διωγμός), "torments" (αἱ κολάσεις), the statements that "he must be crucified" (δεῖ αὐτὸν . . . σταυρωθῆναι) and "he will be buried in a grave" (καὶ ὅτι ἐν μνημείῳ ταφήσεται)

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[21] Fortunately this passage is preserved in the original Greek: Ἦν γὰρ ὁ βελιὰρ ἐν θυμῷ πολλῷ [ἐ]πὶ Ἡσαίαν ἀπὸ τῆς [ὁρά]σεως καὶ ἀπὸ το[ῦ δει]γματισμοῦ ὅτι [ἐ]δειγμάτισεν τὸν [Σ]αμαήλ, καὶ ὅ[τι δι' α]ὐτοῦ ἐφανε[ρώθη ἡ] ἐξέλευσις [τοῦ ἀγα]πητοῦ ἐκ [τοῦ ἑβδ]όμου οὐρα[νοῦ καὶ ἡ] μεταμόρφωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ κατάβασις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἰδέα ἣν δεῖ αὐτὸν μεταμορφωθῆναι ἐν εἴδει ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὁ διωγμὸς ὃν διωχθήσεται, καὶ αἱ κολάσεις αἷς δεῖ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸν κολάσαι, καὶ ἡ τῶν δώδεκα ⟦παρουσία καὶ ἡ⟧ μαθητεία, καὶ ὡς δεῖ αὐτὸν ⟦πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου σταυρωθῆναι ἐπὶ ξύλου⟧ μετὰ ἀνδρῶν κακοποιῶν σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν μνημε(ί)ῳ ταφήσεται. The words in double brackets, παρουσία καὶ ἡ and πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου σταυρωθῆναι ἐπὶ ξύλου, do not appear in the MS, but are Charles' retranslation from the Ethiopic. One Latin text (L^{1}), though fragmentary, preserves a portion of this passage. It softens the Greek some, but on the whole supports it: *et persecutionem quam passurus est, et contumeliam quam patere[tur. . . .*

tell against any kind of docetism. No qualification, explanation or softening, such as is common in docetic writings, is offered. The contrast with texts like the *Acts of John* 97-101 or the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter* 81.3-83.15 is striking. They too speak of the suffering or death of Christ, but they immediately distinguish Christ from the figure on the cross or qualify his sufferings so as to be completely dissimilar to human suffering. And they say nothing whatever about his burial. The contrast with our text could not be clearer. To be sure, there is in this passage no polemic against docetism and thus no explicit statement of the reality of the Beloved's suffering and death.[22] That the sufferings are real must be assumed; nonetheless this is the only possible meaning of the text, for a docetist would have felt the need to add qualifications to make it clear that the passion and death were not real. The same is true of the description of the resurrection which follows (3.16-17). The corporeality of the Beloved's resurrected body is implied, perhaps naïvely, by the fact that when he emerges from the tomb the Beloved rides in triumph upon the shoulders of the Angel of the Holy Spirit and the archangel Michael.[23]

Significantly, this summary of the Christ-event ends with the sending out of the apostles. We are told that "they will teach all nations and every tongue the resurrection of the Beloved, and those who believe in his cross will be saved, and in his ascension to the seventh heaven from where he came" (3.18).[24] The primitive kerygma here consists of the Beloved's cross or death, resurrection and ascension. Had this been penned by someone of docetic leanings we should expect some indication that the death was only apparent and not real, and that the resurrection was only spiritual and not corporeal. The centrality of the death of the Beloved for our author is confirmed by other brief references to his death or cross in 4.13;

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[22] Contrast an anti-docetic work like the *Epistula Apostolorum* (7-12, 19) whose polemical statements make its anti-docetic views explicit.

[23] The Greek is fragmentary at this point, but the most significant portion of the passage is preserved: . . . ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ πν[εύματο]ς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ Μιχαὴλ ἄρχων τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων ὅτι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀνοίξουσιν τὸ μνημονεῖον, καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καθίσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους αὐτῶν ἐξελεύσεται. . . .

Cf. a similar tradition about the two angels in *GPeter* 10 [39-40] and, perhaps, in the gloss on Mark 16.4 in it^{k}.

[24] καὶ μαθητεύσουσιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πᾶσαν γλῶσσαν εἰς τὴν ἀν[ά]στασιν τοῦ ἀγαπ[η]τοῦ, καὶ οἱ [π]ιστεύσαντες τ[ῷ] σταυρῷ αὐτοῦ σωθ[ή]σονται καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐ[τ]οῦ εἰς τὸν ἕβδ[ο]μον [ο]ὐ[ρ]ανὸν ὅθεν καὶ [ἦ]λθε]ν.

The letters in double brackets are not present in the Greek MS, due to accident or misspelling. Those in single brackets are absent due to lacunae.

9.14, 26; and 11.19-21. One of these, 9.14, explicitly states that the Beloved will be killed.[25] Two of the others, 4.13 and 11.19-21, speak of the Beloved's crucifixion, again without any qualification or softening.

Finally, the author of the *Ascension* creates a typology between Isaiah's martyrdom and the death of Jesus. In 1.13 Isaiah claims that he will inherit "the inheritance of the Beloved", while in 8.12 he is told by his *angelus interpres*, "you are destined in the lot of the Lord, the lot of the tree, to come up here".[26] Since there is no reason to think that Isaiah's martyrdom is anything other than a real death, it stands to reason that the death of the Beloved is equally intended to be understood as real. Clearly, then, the author of this early Christian apocalypse believed, in a manner inconsistent with docetism, that Christ really suffered and died and was raised.[27]

III *Asc.Isa. 11.17 and Angelic Docetism*

Those who find the *Ascension of Isaiah* "naïvely docetic", often compare the statement in 11.17 about the Christ child being nursed by his mother to certain parallels in second temple Judaism, especially Tobit 12.19 and exegesis of Gen. 18 found in Philo, Josephus and the Rabbis.[28] There was undoubtedly a widespread belief in ancient Judaism that angels did not eat. In *DeutR* 11.4 it is stated succinctly that "the angels neither eat nor drink". Of course, *Deuteronomy Rabbah*, as all rabbinic works, is a late collection, but preserves some early traditions. That this is so in this case is confirmed by many parallels in works from the second temple period. In the Book of Tobit, for example, after the archangel Raphael has revealed his true identity to Tobit and Tobias, he feels the need to explain to them that "although you were watching me, I ate nothing—but a vision appeared before you" (12.19).[29]

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[25] The Ethiopic and L^2S differ: The Ethiopic asserts that he will be "hung on a tree", while L^2S has "he will be killed" (*et occidet illum*); both readings imply a real death by crucifixion.

[26] The words "the lot of the cross" are absent from L^2S and Charles (*Ascension*, 56) thought that they were "a marginal explanatory gloss" which made their way into the text. Knibb (*OTP*, II.168, n. o) and Barton (*AOT*, 801) seem to agree. While this is less than obvious to me, the loss of these words does not efface the Isaiah-Christ typology.

[27] Significantly, Pétrement (*A Separate God*, 327) admits that this fact is the chief difficulty in identifying the *Ascension of Isaiah* as docetic.

[28] So e.g., Knight, *Disciples of the Beloved One*, 89-90.

[29] So ℵ: καὶ ἐθεωρεῖτέ με ὅτι οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ ὅρασις ὑμῖν ἐθεωρεῖτο. Codices B and A read: πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὠπτανόμην ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον, ἀλλὰ ὅρασιν ὑμεῖς ἐθεωρεῖτε.

Similarly, when Jewish exegetes from our period turned to Genesis 18, and its story about the three angels who enjoyed Abraham's hospitality, they nearly always felt the need to explain away the unequivocal scriptural affirmation that the angels ate what Abraham served them (Gen. 18.8). Philo simply asserts: "It is marvel indeed that though they neither ate nor drank they gave the appearance of both eating and drinking" (*Abr.* 118).[30] Josephus, in the same way, adds that the angels gave Abraham "to believe that they did eat" (*Ant.* i.197).[31] The *Testament of Abraham* describes the archangel Michael in a quandary over Abraham's hospitality, even though he had presumably faced the same difficulty on the earlier visit recorded in Genesis 18 (cf. *T. Abr.* A 6.1-6). In any case, on this occasion having been sent to announce Abraham's death and deliver his soul to paradise, Michael again must deal with a feast prepared by Abraham. Michael pretending that he needs to "relieve himself", leaves Abraham's tent just as the meal is being served, ascends into heaven "in the twinkling of an eye" and complains to God that "all the heavenly spirits are incorporeal, and they neither eat nor drink" (4.9);[32] Abraham will surely notice when he does not eat. God assures his Archistrategos that he will send upon him an "all-devouring spirit" who will consume everything from Michael's hands and through Michael's mouth.[33]

This same concern to explain away the most obvious meaning of Genesis 18.8 continues in Rabbinic literature. For example, in the Babylonian Talmud we find:

> R. Tanḥum b. Ḥanilai said: "One should never break away from custom. For behold, Moses ascended on High and ate no bread, whereas the ministering angels descended below and ate bread. 'And ate'—can you really think so!—But say, appeared to eat and drink" (*bBM* 86b).[34]

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[30] τεράστιον δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ πίνοντας πινόντων καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐσθίοντας ἐσθιόντων παρέχειν φαντασίαν. All my citations of Philo are from G.H. Whitaker and F.H. Colson *Philo*, 10 vols., (LCL; London: Heinemann, 1929-43).

[31] οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ἐσθιόντων. Translation and text is from H.St.J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, 10 vols., (LCL; London: Heinemann, 1926-1965).

[32] πάντα τὰ ἐπουράνια πνεύματα ὑπάρχουσιν ἀσώματα, καὶ οὔτε ἐσθίουσιν οὔτε πίνουσιν· Text and translation from M.E. Stone (tr.), *The Testament of Abraham* (T&TPS 2; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972).

[33] 4.10: καθεζομένου γὰρ σοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀποστελῶ ἐπὶ σε πνεῦμα παμφάγον, καὶ ἀναλίσκει ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου καὶ διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. It should be noted that this incident only occurs in Recension A of the *Testament*.

[34] The translation is taken from the Soncino edition.

The same tradition appears in *GenR* 48.14. Here it is attributed not just to R. Tanḥuma, who is said to be dependent on R. Eleazar, but also to R. Abun, who in turn is dependent on R. Meir. R. Tanḥuma b. Ḥanilai was a second generation Amora, and so dates from the third century. However, his and R. Abun's authorities, who are Tannaites, take us well back into the second century. The Targums, with the single exception of *Targum Onkelos*, contain the same exegesis. Both *Targum Ps.-Jonathan* and *Targum Neofiti* make it clear that it only seemed to Abraham that the angels ate his food. In reality they did not eat.[35]

All this attests to the widespread assumption in second temple Judaism, and later in the Rabbinic period, that angels being incorporeal neither eat nor drink. Thus, the most obvious interpretation of Genesis 18.8, that Abraham's angelic visitors received his hospitality by actual consumption of food, was seen to be a difficulty which was resolved by means of an "angelic docetism". It only *appeared* to Abraham that they ate and drank; they only *seemed* to partake of Abraham's food. The meals Raphael supposedly ate in the presence of Tobias are explained in a similar manner.

The various descriptions, in our period, of manna as the heavenly "bread of angels" must be viewed alongside this assumption that angels do not eat or drink. For upon examination it becomes clear that this heavenly food was assumed to be qualitatively different from human food. The identification of manna as bread of angels is already found in Ps. 78.24-25, where it is termed the "grain of heaven" (דְּגַן־שָׁמַיִם) and the "bread of mighty ones" or "angels" (לֶחֶם אַבִּירִים).[36] This simple identification is repeated in Wisdom (16.20, ἀγγέλων τροφὴν ... ἕτοιμον ἄρτον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ) and Ps.-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (10.7, *de celo panem*; 19.5, *panem angelorum*). The Book of Wisdom and Ps.-Philo, however, go well beyond the Psalmist's simple equation of the manna with angelic food. The author of Wisdom shows how differently he conceived manna, over against terrestrial food, with his assertions that it "provid(ed) every pleasure and (was) suited to

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[35] Interestingly, at 19.3 *Targ. Ps.-Jon.* has the angels pretending to eat before Lot as well, using the very words as in 18.8. The text of *Targ. Neofiti*, however, would seem to imply that the angels actually ate on this occasion, but the marginal gloss and the fragmentary Targums all have the angels pretending to eat at 19.3, in agreement with *Targ. Ps.-Jon.*

[36] The LXX translates ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ and ἄρτον ἀγγέλων, respectively.

Cf. also Neh. 9.15 and Ps. 105.40. Neither of these passages, however, explicitly identifies manna as angelic food.

every taste" and "ministering to the desire of the one who took it, was changed to suit every one's liking" (16.20-21).[37] This same tradition of the manna changing to suit the eater continued well into the rabbinic period.[38] Similarly, Ps.-Philo stresses the heavenly nature of manna when he implies that it rained down out of the heavenly paradise, or some location near it (19.10).[39]

That manna or angelic food originates in paradise is supported by two other Jewish documents, *Joseph and Aseneth* and the *Vita Adae et Eva.* In the first, the heavenly messenger who appears to Aseneth, probably the archangel Michael (cf. 14.8), feeds Aseneth with a honeycomb which was made by "the bees of the paradise of delight" from "the dew of the roses of life which are in the paradise of God" (16.14; καὶ τοῦτο πεποιήκασιν αἱ μέλισσαι τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς ἐκ τῆς δρόσου τῶν ῥόδων τῆς ζωῆς τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ). This honeycomb is further said to be the food of all the angels, of all God's chosen and of all the sons of the Most High, for it is "a comb of life, and every one who eats of it will never ever die" (καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐσθίουσι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὅτι κηρίον ζωῆς ἔστι τοῦτο καὶ πᾶς ὅς ἂν φάγῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποθανεῖται εἰς τὸν αἰῶα χρόνον).[40] That this honeycomb is to be identified with manna is generally accepted both since manna is the food of angels and because according to Exodus 16.31 manna tasted like honey.[41] In the *Vita Adae et Eva* 4.2, Adam complains that when they lived in paradise they ate the food of angels (*esca angelica*), but now they must make do with the food of animals and beasts (*haec tribuit Dominus animalibus et bestiis*).[42] Both these texts emphasize the other worldly character

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[37] ... πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν ἰσχύοντα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἁρμόνιον γεῦσιν· ... τῇ δὲ τοῦ προσφερομένου ἐπιθυμίᾳ ὑπηρετῶν πρὸς ὅ τις ἐβούλετο μετεκιρνᾶτο.

[38] *Mek* Wayassa 5.41 on Ex. 16.23 (R. Yehoshua and R. Eliezer [both T2]); *bYoma* 75a (R. Abbahu [pA3]); *Sifre Num* 89 (unattributed).

[39] 19.10: God shows Moses "the place from which the manna rained upon the people, even unto the paths of paradise" (*locum unde pluit manna populo usque ad semitas paradysi*).

[40] The text of *Joseph and Aseneth* follows that prepared by C. Burchard and printed in A.-M. Denis, *Concordance grecque des Pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament* (Louvain: Catholic University of Louvain, 1987) 851-859.

[41] Cf. B.J. Malina, *The Palestinian Manna Tradition* (AGJU 7; Leiden: Brill, 1968) 64, n. 3; and C. Burchard, "The Importance of Joseph and Aseneth for the Study of the New Testament: A General Survey and A Fresh Look at the Lord's Supper", *NTS* 33 (1987) 102-134.

[42] The Armenian *Penitence of Adam* 4 and the Georgian *Vita Adae* 4 are very similar.

of manna or angelic food: it originates in paradise, it gives eternal life, and it was eaten by Adam and Eve before their fall, after which they were constrained to make do with the food which humans have eaten ever since.[43] Clearly, these traditions about manna may qualify but they do not conflict with the widespread assumption that angels as incorporeal beings do not need tangible nourishment. Manna, as angelic food is fundamentally different from that which beings of flesh and blood need. This is not to suggest that there was one single conception regarding manna in the second temple period. Rather, my contention is that the widespread assumption that angels neither eat nor drink and the biblical identification of manna as the bread of angels led many to the conclusion that manna must be qualitatively different from tangible, corporeal, human food.[44]

However, even this qualification was too much for some. The Babylonian Talmud at *Yoma* 75b records a disagreement between R. Aqiba and R. Ishmael. R. Aqiba, on the basis of Ps. 78.24-25, gives the prevalent identification of manna with the bread of angels. R. Ishmael objects that since angels neither eat nor drink, אבירים ("mighty ones" or "angels") must be read as אברים ("parts" or "limbs").[45] R. Ishmael, then, even with possible biblical sanction, cannot accept that angels needed nourishment. Presumably assumptions concerning the incorporeal nature of heavenly beings would not allow it.

All this serves to confirm the strength of the ancient belief that angels neither eat nor drink. Thus, when scripture describes angels eating or drinking, some kind of angelic docetism was deemed necessary. Abraham's angelic visitors did not really eat, they only appeared to do so. Raphael did not really eat before Tobias and Tobit, rather they were seeing a vision. All this contrasts with the Christ-child in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. His suckling of the breast may not have been caused by a need for food. It

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The text of the *Vitae Adae et Eva* is cited from W. Meyer, "Vita Adae et Eva", *Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-philologische Klasse* 14 (1878) 209-244.

[43] Significantly according to *2Bar.* 29.8 manna will be eaten by the righteous in the Messianic kingdom. Although nothing is said about manna being the food of angels, its special nature is surely in view here. Cf. also *SibOr.* iii.741-749, esp. 746; vii.148-149; and Rev. 2.17.

[44] It is perhaps significant that in *3Bar.* 6.11 manna is the food of the phoenix, which while strictly speaking is not an angelic creature it certainly is a heavenly one.

[45] "How then do I interpret 'the bread אבירים'? Bread which was absorbed by the two hundred and forty eight parts (אברים)." Adapted from the translation in the Soncino edition.

may have served primarily to hide his true identity, but it was at least a real taking in of nourishment. The text does not say that "he only *appeared* to suckle" or that "he only *seemed* to nurse in order that he might not be recognized", but that "he sucked the breast like an infant, as was customary, that he might not be recognized". If parallels are sought for this, there are much closer ones than the instances of angelic docetism. For example, Clement of Alexandria held that Christ's body, although human, did not need physical nourishment. Nonetheless, Christ ate and drank to keep his followers from the error of docetism:

> But in the case of the saviour, it were ludicrous [to suppose] that the body, as a body, demanded the necessary aids in order to its duration. For He ate, not for the sake of the body, which was kept together by a holy energy, but in order that it might not enter into the minds of those who were with Him to entertain a different opinion of Him; in like manner as certainly some afterwards supposed that He appeared in a phantasmal shape (*Strom.* vi.9 [71.2]).[46]

Although a select number passages like this one from Clement's writings could be read as evidence for docetic tendencies, many more passages make it clear that Clement believed in the reality of the incarnation (*Paed.* i.8 [74.4]), the tangibility of Jesus' flesh (*Paed.* i.6 [42.1-44.1]; *Strom.* vii.2 [8.1, 5-6]; v.3 [16.5]), the corporeality of his birth (*Paed.* i.6 [42.1-44.1]; *Strom.* iii.17 [102.1]), and the reality of his suffering and resurrection (*Strom.* vi.15 [127.1-2]). Current scholarship is agreed that Clement was no docetist.[47] Nonetheless, Clement was deeply influenced by "the Greek ascetical ideal of *apatheia*, or emancipation from passion".[48] He believed that the mature,

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[46] ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ σῶμα ἀπαιτεῖν ὡς σῶμα τὰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας εἰς διαμονήν, γέλως ἂν εἴη· ἔφαγεν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, δυνάμει συνεχόμενον ἁγίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ τοὺς συνόντας ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπεισέλθοι, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὕστερον δοκήσει τινὲς αὐτὸν πεφανερῶσθαι ὑπέλαβον·

All my translations of Clement are from A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, and A.C. coxe (eds.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10 vols., (rprt. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994). All my citations of the Greek text of Clement are from O. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (GCS 12, 15, 17; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905-09).

[47] Cf. e.g., J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 2nd ed., (New York: Harper & Row, 1960) 153-154; A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 1. *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*, John Bowden (tr.), (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975) 136-137; W.E.G. Floyd, *Clement of Alexandria's Treatment of the Problem of Evil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 77-79; E. Procter, *Christian Controversy in Alexandria. Clement's Polemic against the Basilideans and Valentinians* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995) 69-70.

[48] Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 154.

perfect Christian—in his terminology the "true Gnostic"—has overcome all "passions" (πάθεσι), such as anger, fear, lust and only those needed to maintain the body such as hunger and thirst remain (*Strom.* vi.9 [71.1-3]). Christ as the mature Christian *par excellence* held even these bodily passions in check, for "after he had taken upon him our flesh, which is by nature subject to passion, he trained it to a habit of impassibility" (*Strom.* vii.2 [7.5]).[49] Although for most modern theologians such a dependence upon the Greek notion of ἀπάθεια would come perilously close to docetism, Clement himself saw no contradiction in denying hunger and thirst to Christ, while in the same breath taking a shot at docetists.[50] Just as the Christ-child in the *Ascension* actually takes in nourishment, not because he needs it, but in order that his heavenly origin might remain hidden, so according to Clement Christ did not need nourishment, but really took it in so that no one would conclude that he was merely a phantom. In both instances, unlike Abraham's angelic visitors, Christ's eating and drinking are real and not a mere semblance.

A passage in the *Acts of Peter* is, I believe, to be understood in the same way. In a sermon, Peter declares:

> He ate and he drank for our sakes, though himself without hunger or thirst, he bore and suffered reproaches for our sakes, he died and he rose again because of us . . . this (God) who is both great and little, beautiful and ugly, young and old, appearing in time and yet in eternity wholly invisible; whom no human hand has grasped, yet is held by his servants, whom no flesh has seen, yet now he is seen; whom no hearing has found yet now he is known as the word that is heard; whom no suffering can reach, yet now is (chastened) as we are; who was never chastened, yet now is chastened; who is before the world, yet now is comprehended in time; . . . (20).[51]

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[49] ὅς γε καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐμπαθῆ φύσει γενομένην ἀναλαβὼν εἰς ἕξιν ἀπαθείας ἐπαίδευσεν.

[50] To be sure, Clement appears to be unique among the Fathers in this opinion. Irenaeus (*Adv.Haer.* iii.22.2), Tertullian (*Carn.* 9), Origen (*Cels.* i.70), and Hippolytus (*Noet.* 18) all affirm that Christ experienced real hunger and thirst.

[51] *manducauit et bibit* [MS: *uiuit*] *propter nos, ipse neque esuriens neque sitiens, baiulauit et inproperia passus est propter nos, mortuus est et resurrexit nostri causa . . . hunc magnum et minimum, formonsum et foedum, iuuenem et senem, tempore adparentem et in aeternum utique inbisibilem; quem manus humana non detinuit et tenetur a seruientibus, quem caro non uidit et uidet nunc, quem non obauditum sed nunc cognitum, obauditum uerbum et nunc est tamquam nosset passionem exterum, castigatum numquam sed nunc castigatus, qui ante saeculum est et tempore intellectus est, ...*

Translation from W. Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Peter", *NTA* II.304. The text is cited from R.A. Lipsius & M. Bonner (ed.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 3 vols., (reprt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1959; orig. pub. 1891-1903) I.67-68.

Whatever its relation to the whole *Acts of Peter*, this passage, while affirming the incomprehensibility of the incarnation, also confesses its reality. It affirms Jesus' corporeality, his physical suffering, the temporality of his human existence and the reality of his resurrection. The statement, then, that he ate and drank without feeling hungry or thirsty should not be understood to be docetic, but rather along lines of Clement.[52]

Finally, the Risen Christ's consumption of broiled fish in the Gospel of Luke (24.36-43) should also be recalled. His request for something to eat, as well as his invitation "touch me" (ψηλαφήσατέ με), appear to be designed to avoid any misunderstanding along docetic lines. The disciples were fearful supposing they were seeing a spirit (vs. 37; πτοηθέντες δὲ καὶ ἔμφοβοι γενόμενοι ἐδόκουν πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν). So Jesus shows them the wounds in his hands and feet and says: ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα (vs. 39). When they still doubted, he then asks for something to eat. Luke will not allow his readers to miss the point; the disciples offer him a piece of broiled fish and in front of them all Jesus consumes it (vss. 42-43).[53] Nolland's objection that "Eating cannot of itself 'prove' Jesus' genuine material humanity" for Tobit and Tobias were convinced that Raphael ate before them, but were mistaken,[54] misses the point of the whole passage. It is precisely because they thought he was a spirit, a phantom that Jesus asked for the food. Whether or not such an act would actually constitute proof is a red herring. On the literary level, Jesus'

The important but difficult phrase "whom no suffering can reach, yet now is (chastened) as we are" is a translation of Turner's emendation *passionum exteram et nunc est tamquam nos* for the MS's *et nunc est tamquam nosset passionem exterum*. Turner supposes that the Greek behind this was: παθῶν ἀλλότριον καὶ νῦν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς or καθ' ἡμᾶς. See C.H. Turner, "The Latin Acts of Peter", *JTS* 32 (1931) 127-128.

[52] The author of the *Acts of Peter* was not a skilled theologian and there are statements in the work which can be understood as docetic. Chief among these appears in chapt. 24: "Another prophet says: 'he was not born from the womb of a woman, but came down from a heavenly place'" (*alter propheta dicit: Non de vulua mulieris natus, sed de caeleste loco descendit*). Nonetheless, even this saying appears in a context which is anti-docetic.

[53] Apparently a textual variant was inserted to strengthen the anti-docetic content of the passage. Although their exact wording differs, K Θ f^{13} *l*844 *l*2211 al $it^{aur,c,rl}$ Vg $Syr^{c,h**}$ Bo all portray Jesus returning a portion of the fish uneaten; a tangible piece of evidence, complete with teeth marks (!), that a physical Jesus had eaten a bit of real fish.

The other variant, in which the disciples give to Jesus a bit of honeycomb as well as broiled fish (Θ Ψ f^{1} f^{13} 33 *l*844 *l*2211 MajT $Syr^{c,p,h**}$ Bo^{pt} CyrJ Epiph), is intriguing even if puzzling. Could it have been inserted under the influence of *Joseph and Aseneth* 16.14?

[54] J. Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:52* (*WBC* 35C; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1993) 1215.

ingestion of the fish functions as evidence of his corporeality and serves to forestall a docetic reading of the passage.

Nonetheless, it is unlikely that Luke intended to imply that the Risen Christ needed nourishment to survive. Rather, his eating serves merely to prove that he is a real, tangible human being. Just as the Christ-child in the *Ascension* suckles the breast not for any physical need of his own, but to hide his heavenly nature, so here the Risen Christ eats not for any need of nourishment, but to prove his human nature.

To be sure, neither Clement, nor the *Acts of Peter*, nor Luke offer a precise parallel. In each case an orthodox portrayal of Jesus presents him eating not out of need, but to forestall docetism. That is suggestive of what we find in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. There the stated purpose, of course, is not to prove the real humanity of Jesus, but to hide his heavenly origin. Nonetheless, the parallels suggest that if the author had held to a docetic Christology, along the lines of "angelic docetism" he would have said that the Christ-child *appeared* to suckle the breast or something similar. When we turn to a truly docetic text, what we find is striking. In the *Acts of John*, John describes what would happen if ever Jesus and his disciples accepted an invitation to dinner:

> I will tell you another glory, brothers; sometimes when I meant to touch him I encountered a material body; but at other times again when I felt him, his substance was immaterial and incorporeal, and as if it did not exist at all. And if ever he were invited by one of the Pharisees and went (where) he was invited, we went with him; and each one of us received one appointed loaf from those who invited us, and he also would take one; but he would bless his and divide it among us; and every man was satisfied by that little (piece), and our own loaves were kept intact, so that those who had invited him were amazed (93).[55]

Here there is no question of Jesus eating anything at all. His loaf was divided and multiplied among his disciples; he himself ate nothing. I con-

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[55] Ἑτέραν δὲ ὑμῖν δόξαν ἐρῶ, ἀδελφοί· ποτὲ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι ἐν ὑλώδει καὶ παχεῖ σώματι προσέβαλλον· ἄλλοτε δὲ πάλιν ψηλαφῶντός μου αὐτὸν ἄυλον ἦν καὶ ἀσώματον τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ ὡς μηδὲ ὅλως ὄν. εἰ δέ ποτε ὑπό τινος τῶν Φαρισαίων κληθεὶς εἰς κλῆσιν ἐπορεύετο, συναπῄειμεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐλάμβανε τακτὸν ἄρτον ἕνα ὑπὸ τῶν κεκληκότων, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαμβανεν ἕνα· τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ εὐλογῶν διεμέριζεν ἡμῖν· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχέος ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐχορτάζετο καὶ οἱ ἡμῶν ἄρτοι ὁλόκληροι ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὥστε ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς καλοῦντας αὐτόν.

The above translation is taken from K. Schäferdiek, "The Acts of John", *NTA* II.181. The text is from E. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli, *Acta Johannis* (CCSA 1-2; Turnhout: Brepols, 1983) 197-199.

clude that *Asc.Isa.* 11.17 is not parallel in any way to the examples of "angelic docetism", to say nothing of the christological docetism of the *Acts of John.* Indeed, its closest parallels are from texts which are explicitly antidocetic.[56]

IV *The Miraculous Birth of Asc.Isa. 11.5-14*

The birth narrative in 11.5-14 describes a birth so wondrous that some scholars doubt it can be termed a birth at all.

> And after two months of days, while Joseph was in his house, and Mary his wife, but both alone, it came about, when they were alone, that Mary then looked with her eyes and saw a small infant, and she was astounded. And after her astonishment had worn off, her womb was found as (it was) at first, before she conceived (11.8-9).

K. Froehlich calls this a "miraculous appearance (rather than birth)".[57] However, there are a number of hints in the text that the author believed this to be a real human birth, even if a miraculous one. First, Mary is obviously pregnant, for the size of her womb returns to normal after the birth.[58] Indeed, the text twice explicitly states that she "is with child" (11.3, 5). If, as appears likely, the author is dependent either on Matthew's birth narrative or on Matthew's source,[59] then the original Greek would in all probability would have read ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν (cf. Matt. 1.18, 23). Furthermore, our author also speaks of Mary's conception (vs. 9).

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[56] Interestingly, Valentinus held that while in some sense Jesus ate and drank, his eating and drinking differed from that of all other humans: "(Jesus) ate and drank in manner peculiar to Himself, and the food did not pass out of His body. Such was the power of his continence that food was not corrupted within Him; for He Himself was not subject to the process of corruption" (ἤσθιεν καὶ ἔπινεν ἰδίως οὐκ ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ βρώματα. τοσαύτη ἦν αὐτῷ ἐγκρατείας δύναμις, ὥστε καὶ μὴ φθαρῆναι τὴν τροφὴν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ τὸ φθείρεσθαι αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν. Cited by Clement of Alexandria, in *Strom.* iii.6 [59.3). Valentinus could then bring himself to imagine Jesus taking in nourishment, but could not conceive of the natural process of digestion and excretion having any place with Jesus.

[57] R.E. Brown, K.P. Donfried, J.A. Fitzmyer, *et al.*, (eds.), *Mary in the New Testament. A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars* (London: Geoffery Chapman, 1978) 250. The first draft of the chapter in question was written by K. Froehlich.

[58] So also J.C. Plumpe, "Some Little-Known Early Witnesses to Mary's *Virginitas in Partu*", *TS 9* (1948) 567-577; esp. 574; and P.F. Buck, "Are the 'Ascension of Isaiah' and the 'Odes of Solomon' Witnesses to an Early Cult of Mary?", *De primordiis cultus Mariani* (Rome: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1970) IV.371-399, esp. 379.

[59] So Bauckham, "Gospel Traditions", 48-56.

To be sure, if this is a real birth it is also a very unusual one. On no less than three occasions the author states that Mary and Joseph had only been married two months when the child was born (vss. 6, 7, 13) and some have concluded from this that a pregnancy of only two months is intended.[60] This is far from certain. For the conception clearly takes place when they are betrothed, before they are married, and no indication of the length of the engagement is given. The text is very unclear at this point, but it is possible to read the two months of vs. 6 and the two months of vs. 7 as referring to two different periods. In this scenario, Mary and Joseph were betrothed for an unstated period of time before she was found to be pregnant. Then two months lapsed between the angel's appearance to Joseph and the marriage (vs. 6), and a further two months from the marriage to the birth (vs. 7-8). Thus, more than four months are accounted for and there is no reason to suppose that the period between the conception and the angelic announcement to Joseph must have been brief; it would have taken time for the pregnancy to show and for Mary's supposed unfaithfulness to be discovered. If we conjecture that this unstated period of time, after the conception and before's Joseph's angelic visitation, was three months—and expecting women often begin to show after three months—then we have a seven month pregnancy. Significantly, ancient Jewish and Christian literature, as with Greco-Roman literature, often attribute to significant religious figures a pregnancy lasting only seven months.[61] After a thorough examination of this motif, P.W. van der Horst concludes that it was usually reserved for "persons that were begotten by divine beings or whose conception had been miraculous in one way or another".[62] In the end, given the author's imprecise language no certain conclusions can be drawn regarding the length of the pregnancy. It is, however, unlikely to have lasted only two months and may possibly have been seven months.

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[60] E.g., Knight, *Disciples of the Beloved One*, 89.

[61] As Mary in *Prot. James* 5.2 and Jesus in the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, according to Ps.-Cyril's *Discourse of Mary Theotokos*, and in Epiphanius *Pan.* li.29.3. Ps.-Cyril is preserved only in Coptic. Text and translation can be found in E.A.E. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1915) 60, 637.

On this whole issue, see P.W. van der Horst, "Seven Months' Children in Jewish and Christian Literature from Antiquity" *ETL* 54 (1978) 346-360; reprinted in P.W. van der Horst, *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (NTOA 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990) 233-247.

[62] Van der Horst, "Seven months' Children", 246 (orig. pub. p. 359).

If we may conclude that the described pregnancy was not of unnatural brevity, it certainly culminates in a wondrously painless and swift birth. Mary isn't even aware that it is happening until after it is concluded! Then Mary and Joseph's neighbors affirm that no midwife aided in the birth and no cries of pain were heard (11.14). However, the suppositions that the birth of Jesus occasioned no pain for Mary and that no midwife was needed are by no means unique to this text. Indeed, this would eventually become the standard opinion among orthodox theologians. Fourth and fifth century Fathers of no less a stature than Gregory of Nyssa[63] among the Greeks, Augustine among the Latins,[64] and Ephraim the Syrian[65] all affirm either the painlessness of the birth or the integrity of the hymen after the birth.[66] Already at the beginning of the third century Clement of Alexandria asserts that upon examination after the birth Mary's hymen was found to be intact.

> But, as appears, many even down to our own time regard Mary, on account of the birth of her child, as having been in the puerperal state, although she was not. For some say that, after she brought forth, she was found, when examined, to be a virgin (*Strom.* vii.16 [93.7]).[67]

Clement's "some say" (φασί τινες) shows him to be dependent on a source or sources, although whether they were oral or written cannot be known with any certainty. Nonetheless, the tradition that Mary was examined by a midwife, who arrived only after the birth, already appears in the mid- to late second century in the *Protevangelium of James.* This text implies that the birth was painless (19.2) and goes to great lengths to stress both the absence of the midwives at the birth itself and their post-natal examination of Mary, in which she is found to be still a virgin (19.3-20.3). There is nothing in this apocryphal gospel to suggest docetism. The birth is miraculous, but the child nurses at the breast (19.2) and, while no pain is men-

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[63] *Vita Mosis* 2.21 (*PG* 44.332); *Hom. Cat.* (*PG* 44.1053); *In natalem Christi* (*PG* 46.1136).

[64] *Sermo* 191-2.

[65] *Hymns on the Nativity* 12.3; 28.5; perhaps 11.3.

[66] Cf. also the many Fathers listed by K. Rahner in "*Virginitas in Partu.* A Contribution to the Problem of the Development of Dogma and Tradition", *Theological Investigations,* vol. 4, K. Smyth (tr.), (London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1966) 152-153. However, some of Rahner's references are incorrect or open to interpretation. See also H. Graef, *Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1963) I.48-100.

[67] 'Αλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν, τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαριὰμ λεχὼ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γέννησιν, οὐκ οὖσα λεχώ· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσάν φασί τινες παρθένον εὑρεθῆναι·

tioned, Mary feels the child within her pressing her (ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐπείγει με προελθεῖν) just prior to the birth (17.3).[68] Thus, already in the mid- to late second century some orthodox Christians, who affirmed a real human birth, also asserted that birth, and not just the conception, was miraculous.

This same collocation of ideas occurs in one other second century text. The nineteenth *Ode of Solomon* offers a striking parallel to both the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Protevangelium of James*.

> The womb of the Virgin embraced (or caught) it,
> And she conceived and bore;
> And the Virgin became a mother with great compassion;
> And she was in labour, and bore a Son without feeling pain,
> Because it did not happen without a reason;
> And she did not seek a midwife,
> Because he delivered her.
> She bore as it were a man by the will (of God),[69]
> And bore (him) and made him known,
> And obtained (him) in great power;
> And she loved (him) in deliverance,
> And guarded (him) in kindness,
> And made (him) known in greatness. Hallelujah (vss. 6-11).[70]

As with *Ascension of Isaiah* 11.8-9 and *Protevangelium of James* 19-20, here Mary suffers no pain and has no need of a midwife, nonetheless the birth seems to be a real birth for she "conceived and bore" and "was in labor"![71] The reality of the birth for the author of the *Odes*, however, has been called into question, for other passages in the *Odes of Solomon* may suggest a docetic understanding of the crucifixion. The question of docetism in the *Odes* remains a point on which there is little consensus. Some have concluded from the language of *Odes* 28 and 42, and similar passages, that docetic christology has at least influenced the author of the *Odes*.[72] Others have argued for an orthodox understanding of the author's christology.[73]

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[68] I am citing the Greek text found in H.R. Smid, *Protevangelium Jacobi. A Commentary* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965).

[69] Or "by her own will".

[70] Translation of J.A. Emerton, "The Odes of Solomon" in H.F.D. Sparks (Ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 683-731.

[71] Cf. the line "she was in labour, and bore a son without feeling pain" with *Prot. James* 17.3 where the child within Mary "presses her" and 20.2 where the child is born apparently causing Mary no pain.

[72] E.g., J.H. Charlesworth, "The Odes of Solomon—Not Gnostic", *CBQ* 31 (1969) 363-364.

[73] E.g., R. Harris and A. Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, 2 vols., (Manchester:

However the issue is finally settled, whether or not the author of the *Odes of Solomon* intended to describe the birth of Jesus in a docetic manner is not of vital importance. The fact is the passage could be understood in an entirely orthodox way, as the *Protevangelium of James* shows. Further, Lactantius at the end of the third century or in the opening decade of the fourth cites a line from *Ode* 19 as a proof-text for the virgin birth. It is extremely unlikely that he would have done this if he understood the passage as a witness to a docetic birth. It has been argued that Lactantius knew this passage from the *Odes* only from its use in a collection of *Testimonia*,[74] but this is improbable for he introduces his quote with "*Salomon in Ode undevicesima ita dicit . . .*". Thus, Lactantius apparently knew the *Odes* in a collection numbered exactly as that known to us.[75] It would seem then that we may add the *Odes of Solomon* to the *Protevangelium of James* and Clement of Alexandria as second or third century witnesses to a miraculous, but not docetic, understanding of the birth of Jesus. I would suggest that the *Ascension of Isaiah* also stood within this tradition.

Significantly, there is a Jewish tradition which attributes a painless birth to Moses. According to R. Judah b. Zebina[76] both Moses' conception and birth were painless, proof that his mother Jochebed, as all righteous women, was not subject to the decree against Eve (*bSot* 12a). A similar tradition already appears in Josephus (*Ant.* 2.218). Certainly there is no question of Rabbi Judah b. Zebina or Josephus envisioning Moses' birth as docetic. Rather, in both the painlessness of the birth points to the piety of Jochebed (R. Judah) or of Amram and Jochebed (Josephus). This means that the painlessness of Jesus' birth in the *Ascension of Isaiah* need imply nothing about its reality or non-reality in the mind of the *Ascension's* author.

The tradition about Moses' birth raises the question of the origin of the tradition, found in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Protevangelium of James*, the *Odes of Solomon* and Clement of Alexandria (a diverse grouping to be sure), that Mary experienced no pain in the birth of Jesus. Was this originally a Jewish tradition about Moses which was transferred to Christ? Perhaps, but more

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University Press, 1916, 1920) II.72-84; H.J.W. Drijvers, "The 19th Ode of Solomon: Its Interpretation and Place in Syrian Christianity", *JTS* n.s. 31 (1980) 337-355.

Ode 7 especially seems to imply an orthodox understanding of the incarnation.

[74] Harris and Mingana, *Odes and Psalms*, II.7-12.

[75] Cf. Emerton's discussion in *AOT*, 685-686 and n. 2.

[76] I have been unable to identify this Rabbi. The parallel text of *ExodR* 1.20 attributes the tradition to "R. Judah". Since no further clarification is given, the editor of *Exodus Rabbah* probably intended R. Judah the Prince. This, however, is very unlikely to be accurate.

seems to be involved here. The *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, which is roughly contemporary with the *Ascension of Isaiah*, asserts that in the messianic age the curse of Eve will be reversed and women will no longer endure pain in child-birth:

> And women will no longer have pain when they bear, nor will they be tormented when they yield the fruits of their womb (73.7).[77]

Significantly this passage occurs in a vision (*2Bar.* 53-76) which at least one investigator believes may predate 70 A.D. and was incorporated by the Seer into his apocalypse.[78] If this is so, then its traditions about the messianic age are early indeed. It is not hard to imagine such a Jewish tradition about the messianic age being taken up by Jewish-Christians and applied to Jesus himself. As the initiator of the messianic age it follows that his birth should occasion no suffering for his mother. Interestingly, this same idea recurs in rabbinic writings. In *Leviticus Rabbah* we find an unattributed saying that

> In this world a woman bears children with pain, but in the Time to Come (see) what is written! "Before she will travail, she will have brought forth; before her pain will come she will have been delivered of a man-child" (*LevR* 14.9).

The biblical text quoted here is Isaiah 66.7. Although it is not cited in *2Bar.* 73.7, it may be that the Jewish tradition about the reversal of the curse of Eve in the next age originated with a messianic interpretation of this passage from Isaiah. Once established in Judaism it was transferred to Christianity by Jewish-Christians and then taken up independently by the authors of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Protevangelium of James*, the *Odes of Solomon* and Clement of Alexandria.[79] If the tradition began with Isa. 66.7, then Irenaeus may provide yet another witness. For in his *The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* Irenaeus presents this passage as a prophecy of the virgin birth, explaining that Isaiah thus "proclaimed His (i.e., Christ's)

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[77] Translation by A.F.J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch", in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985) I.646.

[78] So Klijn, "2 Baruch", *OTP*, 1.617-618; *idem*, "The Sources and the Redaction of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch", *JSJ* 1 (1970) 65-76.

[79] Although, since Clement was dependent on a source, and since that source *may* have been the *Protevangelium of James*, it is possible that he is not an independent witness to this tradition.

unlooked-for and extraordinary birth of the Virgin" (54).[80] While he does not explicitly say that Mary's labor was painless, this seems to be assumed in the phrase "unlooked-for and extraordinary birth" especially since Irenaeus has just quoted Isa. 66.7 in full. This passage from Isaiah may also explain the בת קול of *Asc.Isa.* 11.11 and *Prot.James* 20.4 which warns the characters to keep secret what they have seen regarding the child's birth.[81] Both could have derived the heavenly voice from the larger context, for Isa. 66.6 speaks of "the voice from the temple, the voice of the Lord".

In any case, whatever the tradition's origin, its antecedents in Jewish sources makes it abundantly clear that Mary's lack of pain and the absence of midwives in no way need imply a docetic birth.

To be sure, the case may be different if we had begun with a broad definition of docetism, for then the separationist Christology of Valentinianism would have to be considered. As is well known, Valentinianism held that the psychic body of Jesus "passed through Mary as water goes through a pipe" (Εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ Μαρίας διοδεύσαντα, καθάπερ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλῆνος ὁδεύει).[82] This appears to envision a kind of birth in relation to Jesus and one which must have been viewed as painless, for it is difficult to see how water passing through a pipe could be conceived as painful. As I stated above, there are difficulties with including Valentinians among the docetists and, more to the point, there is no question of a separationist or Valentinian Christology in the *Ascension of Isaiah.* The intellectual distinctions made by the Valentinian School are very far removed from the thought world of the author of our apocalypse. Nonetheless, Valentinianism may show that there were some second century Christians who, because they shared some of the same concerns as docetics, sought to deny the reality of Jesus' full humanity by positing a painless birth. In other words, the parallels I have collected from orthodox Christian and Jewish sources show that the *Ascension of Isaiah's* description of the miraculous birth need not have been under-

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[80] Trans. from J.P. Smith, *St. Irenaeus. Proof of the Apostolic Preaching* (ACW 16; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952) 83; emphasis added.

[81] In the *Protevangelium of James* the majority of MSS have a בת קול in view for they attribute the warning to a "heavenly" voice (καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα αὐτῇ), but in the early Bodmer papyrus, and some latter MSS, it is an angel of the Lord who speaks (ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φωνῇ λέγων). The former is probably more original and the latter a harmonization to the context, especially the previous verse, in which an angel of the Lord appears and speaks.

[82] Cited by Irenaeus (*Adv.Haer.* i.7.2) in his summary of the doctrine of the Valentinian theologian Ptolemy.

stood in a docetic manner, while the Valentinian parallel shows that such a reading was possible. Parallels alone will not fully decide this question. Rather, we must look to the text of the *Ascension* itself for clues as to how the author understood the birth. There we find, as stated above, indications that Mary experiences a real pregnancy—her womb returns to its natural size and her conception is mentioned. When we add to this 1) the author's emphasis on the reality of the crucifixion, and 2) the non-docetic reading of 11.17 argued for above, it appears far more likely that the author of the *Ascension* intended to describe a real but miraculous birth rather than a docetic one.[83]

V *Christ's Hidden Origin and Transformation*

The final reason scholars have labeled the *Ascension of Isaiah* docetic arises out of the theme of the hidden descent of Christ which dominates the second half of the book. Of the three reasons given for seeing docetic tendencies at work in our text, this theme offers the only one which is any way convincing. The author of the *Ascension* stresses the secrecy which surrounds Christ's descent; as he enters each of the five lower heavens the Beloved transforms himself to appear as one of the angels of that heaven. His true identity then is unknown below the sixth heaven. It would seem that this succession of transformations functions merely as a series of disguises. The transformations do not appear to affect Christ's nature. In other words, "taking the form" of the angels particular to each heaven does not mean the Beloved *becomes* or is ontologically changed into an angel of that heaven, rather it means that he merely masquerades as various angels. Evidence for such a reading comes in the distress of Satan and of the evil angels of the firmament when the Beloved passes through the firmament on his return journey:

> And there was much sorrow there as they said, "How did our Lord descend upon us, and we did not notice the glory which was upon him,[84] which we (now) see was upon him from the sixth heaven?" (11.24).

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[83] Cf. the assertion of E. Tisserant, *Ascension d'Isaie* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1909) 204: "La naissance de Jésus est racontée d'une façon si extraordinaire qu'on pourrait croire au docétisme de l'auteur; néanmoins, il me semble que son récit est seulement inspiré par le désir d'exprimer aussi catégoriquement que possible la naissance virginale".

[84] Literally "was found upon him".

After recording a similar reaction in all of the heavens, the narrator adds "But there was one glory, and it was not transformed" (11.29). The successive transformations do not appear to entail a change in the Beloved's nature or "glory", but merely a change in his appearance. Here, then, is the only real docetism of the *Ascension of Isaiah*: Christ appears in the outward form of various angels while he passes through the five lower heavens and the firmament. He does not become an angel but he does take on their "external" visage. While Christ's "glory" would have been similarly hidden if these transformations were understood as a series of successive incarnations, there is nothing in the text to suggest that the author intended such a conclusion.

However, if the Beloved's successive angelic transformations do not involve any kind of incarnation, would not the same be true of his transformation into human form? After all, Isaiah's *angelus interpres* discloses that

> The Lord will indeed descend into the world in the last days, (he) who is to be called Christ after he has descended and become like you in form,[85] and they will think he is flesh and a man (9.13).

It is precisely this line of reasoning which led Pétrement to label our apocalypse docetic. She urges that the Beloved's "*transformation into a man seems to be thought of as analogous to his transformations into angels*. His humanity seems to be only an appearance meant to hide him".[86]

This is certainly more compelling than those who would argue on the basis of the birth narrative or the passage about the child Jesus at the breast (11.17) that the *Ascension of Isaiah* is naïvely docetic. Nonetheless, to conclude from this theme of the successive transformations that the author intended to portray the Beloved's humanity as a mere semblance does not immediately follow. Indeed, there are good reasons to suggest that such an intention never entered into the author's reasoning.

It must be noted that the language used is ambiguous. We are fortunate to have a critical passage for this motif preserved in the original Greek. In 3.13 we find reference to the Beloved's transformation (καὶ ἡ μεταμόρφωσις αὐτοῦ), as well as the statement "and the form into which he must be transformed, (namely) the form of a man" (καὶ ἡ ἰδέα ἣν δεῖ αὐτὸν μεταμορφωθῆναι ἐν εἴδει ἀνθρώπου). The key words are the nouns ἡ ἰδέα, τὸ εἶδος, ἡ μεταμόρφωσις, and its corresponding verb μεταμορφόω. It

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[85] Literally "like your form".

[86] Pétrement, *A Separate God*, 325 (Pétrement's emphasis).

is likely that in the original Greek many if not all the passages which dealt with the Beloved's transformation into the form of an angel or a man used these exact terms. But the use of these four words, in and of itself, tells us very little. The words are ambiguous, as their use in ancient literature demonstrates. The verb μεταμορφόω, for example, can be used both for transformations which are nothing more than an outward disguise and for something which implies a real ontological change. For example, Philo utilizes the verb when describing how the Emperor Gaius would clothe himself as the god Apollo (*Leg.* 95).[87] Again a magical papyrus details all the services which the "god" or "aerial spirit" will provide for the magician. Among these it states that "he changes into whatever form of b[east] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile" (μεταμοροῖ δὲ εἰς ἣν ἐὰν βούλῃ μορφὴν θη[ρίου] πετηνοῦ, ἐνύδρου, τετραπόδου, ἑρπετοῦ).[88] Here there is no question of the "god", presumably a "familiar spirit" is intended, becoming any of these creatures, but rather merely of it taking on their outward forms. On the other hand, μεταμορφόω is used for a real ontological transformation in Athenaeus' brief description of how Nemesis changed into a fish to escape Zeus (*Deipnosophists* viii.334c).[89] In the same way, τὸ εἶδος and ἡ ἰδέα can be used both for an appearance or likeness which is corporeal[90] and for a manifestation which is incorporeal.[91]

The language then of "metamorphosis" and "the form of a human being", etc., by itself, can tell us nothing about the kind of transformation envisioned here in the *Ascension of Isaiah.* It is necessary, therefore, to look for hints in the text itself for the author's intention. We have already seen that the angelic transformations are to be understood as docetic. That is, since the Beloved's glory did not change, but merely remained hidden we may conclude that he did not become an angel as he entered each of the various heavens, but he simply took on the outward appearance of angels characteristic to each of the heavens.

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[87] . . . εἰς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα μετεμορφοῦτο καὶ μετεσκευάζετο. . . .

Cf. also Appianus *Civil War* 4.41, where the verb is used for a disguise which entailed nothing more than an bandage around one eye.

[88] *PGM* 1.117-118. Text from K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2nd ed., (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973) I.8. Translation from H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) 6.

[89] . . . τὴν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διωκομένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς ἰχθὺν μεταμορφουμένην. . . .

[90] τὸ εἶδος: Luke 3.22 (= *GEb* 3); *1 Clem.* 16.3 (Isa. 53.2 LXX); *MPol* 15.2. ἡ ἰδέα: Luke 9.29 D; Hermas *Vis.* i.2.3; *Sim.* ix.17.1-2.

[91] τὸ εἶδος: Exod. 24.17 LXX; John 5.37. ἡ ἰδέα: Hermas *Vis.* v.4; *Sim.* ix.3.1.

But what about his transformation into the form of a human? Is there any clue that the author intended to say something about the Beloved's nature during this transformation? First, it is clear that the reason given for this transformation is the same as the others. The author states on a number of occasions that the purpose for the various transformations into angelic and human forms lies in the secrecy which shrouded his descent. For example, just after the author asserts that the Beloved will descend "and become like you in form, and they will think he is flesh and a man" (9.13), he immediately, as if to avoid any misunderstanding, goes on to affirm that

> the god of that world will stretch out [his hand against the Son], and they will lay their hands on him and hang him upon a tree, not knowing who he is. And thus his descent, as you will see, will be concealed even from the heavens so that it will not be known who he is (9.14-15).

The reason for the transformations, then, is the concealment of the Beloved's true identity. Again in the next chapter, we find this same pattern. The Great Glory, or God the Father, gives the Beloved careful instructions about his descent and concludes by stating the reason for all the transformations:

> And you shall make your likeness like that of all who (are) in the five heavens, and you shall take care to make your form like that of the angels of the firmament and also (like that) of the angels who (are) in Sheol. And none of the angels of that world shall know that you (are) Lord with me of the seven heavens and of their angels. And they shall not know that you (are) with me, when with the voice of the heavens I summon you, and their angels, and their lights, and when I lift up (my voice) to the sixth heaven, that you may judge and destroy the princes and angels and gods of that world, and the world that is ruled by them, . . . (10.9-12).

The purpose of the successive transformations theme, then, is to stress the angelic and demonic powers' ignorance of the Beloved's true identity. Our author's treatment of this motif is not that different from St. Paul's assertion in 1 Corinthians that

> we speak a wisdom from God hidden in mystery, which God foreordained before the ages for our glory, which no one of the rulers of this age knew. For if they had known they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory (1 Cor. 2.7-8).[92]

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[92] . . . λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν.

Indeed, one could understand the whole of the second-half of the *Ascension of Isaiah* as a midrashic explanation of this Pauline pronouncement. Ignatius of Antioch in his Epistle to the Ephesians expresses much the same idea slightly differently: "the virginity of Mary, and her giving birth were hidden from the Prince of this world, as was also the death of the Lord. Three mysteries of a cry which were wrought in the stillness of God" (19.1).[93] Note that in all three—Paul, Ignatius and our author—there is a close connection between the ignorance of the angelic powers and the Lord's death. According to St. Paul, if they had known who he was they would not have had him crucified. For Ignatius, the Lord's death was one of the secrets hidden from the Prince of this world. And in the *Ascension*, the god of this world in his ignorance moves against the Beloved and has him crucified. As we have seen, the reality of Christ's death in the *Ascension* makes any docetic reading of it unlikely. The transformation theme, then, since its purpose is to stress the secrecy of Christ's heavenly origin and is related to the author's belief in the reality of Christ's death, in no way serves a docetic purpose.[94]

To be sure, other early Christian texts made use this same tradition of Christ's hidden descent and successive transformations to express a docetic Christology. According to Irenaeus, Simon Magus and Menander held that

> since the angels ruled the world ill because each one of them coveted the principal power for himself, (Christ) came to amend matters, and had descended, transfigured and assimilated himself to powers and principalities and angels, so that he might appear among men to be a man, while yet he was not a man; and that thus he was thought to have suffered in Judea, when he had not suffered (*Adv.Haer.* i.23.3).[95]

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[93] Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη.

Later examples of this theme include Hippolytus *Comm. Dan.* i.5 (*GCS*, I.10); Ps.-Hipp. *Hom. Epiph.* iv (*GCS*, II.259); *Apoc. Elijah* 1.6 and Gregory of Nyssa *Orat. Catech.* 26.

[94] Significantly, the miraculous birth and the Christ-child's breast feeding are also linked in the text to the secrecy which surrounds Jesus' heavenly origins. For the former note the בת קול in 11.11 and the summary statements in 11.14b and 11.16; for the latter see 11.17b.

[95] Κακῶς γὰρ διοικούντων τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸν κόσμον, διὰ τὸ φιλαρχεῖν αὐτούς, εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐληλυθέναι αὐτὸν ἔφη μεταμορφούμενον καὶ ἐξομοιούμενον ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ὡς καὶ ἄνθρωπον φαίνεσθαι αὐτὸν, μὴ ὄντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ παθεῖν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ δεδοκηκέναι καὶ μὴ πεπονθότα.

Translation adapted from that of M. Dods in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. The text is from W.W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei. Libros quinque adversus Haereses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857) I.193.

One could point to similar passages in the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC vii.56.22-57.2), the *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC xiii.49.2-20), and Irenaeus' description of the Ophites and Sethians (*Adv.Haer.* i.30.12).[96] This, however, should not lead us to conclude that the mere use of this theme always implied a docetic Christology. It clearly did not. First, Irenaeus himself believed that Christ's descent was "invisible to creatures" and was unknown to the principalities and angels (*Dem* 84). An even clearer example of an orthodox use of the hidden descent theme appears in the *Epistula Apostolorum*, a mid-second century work with strong anti-docetic tendencies.[97] There, in a post-resurrection discourse, Jesus tells the eleven:

> But it happened, as I was about to come down from the Father of all, I passed by the heavens; I put on the wisdom of the Father and the power of his might. I was in the heavens, and I passed by the angels and archangels in their form, as if I were one of them among the dominions and powers (13).[98]

Since the *Epistula Apostolorum* was clearly written to combat docetism, the author's use here of the theme of Christ's hidden descent and transformation into the form of an angel offers an interesting parallel to what we find in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and it belies any simple equation of this theme with docetism such as we find in Pétrement.

Finally, there is one further clue that our author's description of Christ's secret journey from the seventh heaven was in no way intended to support a docetic Christology. In the fourth chapter we have one of the primary Christian examples of the so-called Nero *redivivus* myth. Here, as in the Book of Revelation, the Nero figure appears as a parody of Christ.[99]

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[96] Cf. also Apelles' statements about Christ's descent in both Tertullian (*Carn.* 6) and Ps.-Tertullian (*Adv.Haer.* 6).

[97] There is general agreement that the composition of *Ep.Apost.* dates to sometime in the middle decades for the second century. M. Hornschuh (*Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum* [PTS 5; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965] 116-119) places it in the first-half of the second century. C. Schmidt (*Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung. Ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts* [TU 43; Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1919], 361-402) opts for 160-170 A.D. J. Hills (*Tradition and Composition in the* ***Epistula Apostolorum*** [HDR 24; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990] 8-9) speaks of "the present consensus, that the *Epistula* was composed in the mid-second century", with which C.D.G. Müller ("Epistula Apostolorum", *NTA* I.251) concurs.

For the anti-docetic tendency, cf. 2, 4, 7-8, 11-12, 19, 21, and 39.

[98] Müller's translation of the Coptic, *NTA* 1.256. The Ethiopic is similar.

[99] For this theme in Christian literature, see R. Bauckham, "Nero and the Beast", in *The Climax of Prophecy. Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993)

The narrator tells us that "he will act and speak like the Beloved, and will say, 'I am the Lord, and before me there was no one'" (4.6b). Significantly, this Nero figure is identified as Beliar:

> ... Beliar will descend, the great angel, the king of this world, which he has ruled ever since it existed. He will descend from his firmament in the form of a man, a king of iniquity, a murder of his mother.... This angel, Beliar, will come in the form of that king,... (4.2, 4).[100]

Since the antichrist figure is a parody of Christ, the question of the precise relation of Beliar to Nero is not unimportant for our inquiry. If the anti-christ figure is presented here as the Archon Beliar with the outward visage of the historical but dead Nero then the conclusion that the Beloved bore merely the outward form of a man would be a virtually inescapable conclusion. In other words, since Beliar/Nero is a caricature of the Beloved/Jesus, if the former is shown to be a docetic manifestation then the latter is likely to be one as well.

Two considerations suggest that the author envisioned the spirit Beliar indwelling or possessing the historical figure of Nero, rather than Beliar docetically appearing on earth clothed in Nero's outward form. First, Beliar, or Sammael as the demon is also known in the *Ascension*, is twice said to have possessed Manasseh. In 1.9 Isaiah prophecies to Hezekiah that "Beliar will dwell in Manasseh and by his hands I will be sawed in half".[101] In addition, at 2.1 we are told that "Sammael dwelt in Manasseh and clung closely to him." This makes it probable that Nero's relation to Beliar is understood in a similar manner. Secondly, R. Bauckham has shown that until the end of the first century, the expectation which circulated around Nero's return was not that he would rise from the dead, but that he would

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384-452. Cf. also L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *The Antecedents of Antichrist. A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents* (JSJSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1996); G.C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist Myth* (BZNW 59; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991); and W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend. A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore*, A.H. Keane (tr.), (London: Hutchinson: 1896).

[100] Fortunately, a portion of these verses has been preserved in the original Greek: ... [στερεώμα]τος αὐτοῦ ἐ[ν εἴδει] ἀνθρώπου βασιλέως ἀνόμου μητραλῴου, ... Οὗτος [ὁ ἄρ]χων ἐν τῇ εἰδέᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου ἐλεύσεται, ...

[101] This is recast in the *GrkLegend* 1.9 as: κατοικήσει γὰρ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ Μανασσῆ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου, καὶ πρισθήσομαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρίωνι ξυλίνῳ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἕως ποδῶν εἰς δύο,.... Which allows us to tentatively reconstruct the original Greek behind the Ethiopic of *Asc.Isa.* 1.9 as: κατοικήσει γὰρ ὁ Βελιὰρ ἐν Μανασσῆ καὶ πρισθήσομαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς δύο.

return from his hiding place in Parthia.[102] In other words, the earlier and most widely attested form of the legend held that Nero was still alive and hiding in the east and would return to overthrow Rome. In a later, but sparsely attested, form of the legend Nero truly died in A.D. 68 but would be miraculously restored to life prior to his return. Now the former, the version of the legend most likely available to our author, clearly demands a human Nero indwelt by Beliar, while the latter may fit better with the conception of Beliar docetically wearing the outward appearance of a Nero who was in reality dead and gone. Again, the evidence is against a docetic reading of the *Ascension's* Christology. It should be remembered that in the *Ascension* the Nero figure is a parody of the Beloved not an exact parallel. Beliar merely possess Nero, while the Beloved incarnates Jesus. Nonetheless, in both Beliar/Nero and the Beloved/Jesus we are presented with a real human person.

VI *Conclusions*

I conclude the Christology offered by the *Ascension of Isaiah* is not in anyway docetic. Those passages which describe Jesus' death do not soften or mitigate that death in anyway as do docetic texts like the *Acts of John.* The closest parallels to the assertion that the baby Jesus suckled at the breast not out of need but so that he would not be recognized are explicitly anti-docetic statements in Clemént of Alexandria, the *Acts of Peter* and the Gospel of Luke. The description of the miraculous birth of Christ would not have necessarily suggested to second century readers that the author was guilty of docetism. The theme of Christ's hidden descent and successive angelic transformations not only has parallels in anti-docetic works, in our text it is closely related to the theme of Christ's death. Even the Neronic parody of the Beloved points to the reality of the humanity of Jesus.

To be sure, from a twentieth century perspective there is much in the *Ascension of Isaiah* which smacks of docetism. Our author, however, was not writing for a twentieth century audience. The evidence which I have accumulated strongly suggests that the author's orthodox contemporaries would not have found his work objectionable, at least not on docetic grounds. However, while our author cannot be said to be docetic, naïvely or otherwise, one has to admit that he is naïve. The description of the miraculous

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[102] Bauckham, "Nero", 407-423.

birth and the statement about the baby Jesus at the breast do not appear to have been written by someone whose personal experience with infants was in any way extensive. Nonetheless, in terms of the early second century I believe it is truer to say that the author of the *Ascension of Isaiah* is a naïve catholic, along the lines of a Clement, than a naïve docetist.

Westhill College of Higher Education
Weoley Park Road
Selly Oak
Birmingham B29 6LL

DIDACHE XIV:1 (ΚΑΤΑ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗΝ ΔΕ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ) REVISITED

BY

NEVILLE L.A. TIDWELL

One of the many enigmas of the Didache is the opening phrase of chapter XIV, κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου, a *hapax legomenon* virtually universally regarded as a pleonasm, translated, in what is assumed to be a literal manner, as "on the Lord's day of the Lord", and taken by the great majority of scholars to be referring to Sunday. On the text the limited witnesses differ. The version cited above is that of Bryennios's Greek text (Audet's *H* or *Hierosolymitanus*).[1] The Georgian version of the Didache (Audet's *g*) suggests a Greek original reading possibly καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ κυρίου, while *Apostolic Constitutions* VII (Audet's *CA*) glosses the text of the Didache with the words τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακήν φαμεν. Audet finds the reading of *H* "impossible" and "bien difficile à justifier"[2] and, on the basis of *CA* and *g*, argues that the original text read καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ κυρίου (pp. 72, 240, 460). He explains the text of *H* as the corrupt result of two stages of interpretation and amendment. At the first stage, to explain the archaic form of the original ἡμέρα κυρίου, he suggests, a copyist added κυριακή in the margin. At stage two the marginal gloss was then, through negligence or due to distraction, substituted for ἡμέρα while the original κυρίου was retained, thus producing the unjustifiable pleonasm of *H*.[3] This is something of a subjective, if imaginative, textual *tour de force*, motivated, one suspects, more by the conviction that Didache XIV has to do with the weekly Sunday "major" Eucharist than by a willingness to face up to the demands of the text-critical principle of the *lectio difficilior*. There are obvious problems with any attempt to reconstruct the Greek that may lie behind another language version of a text such as the Georgian Didache, and there are clearly dangers in any argument based upon the use and

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[1] Audet, J-P., *La Didachè. Instructions des Apôtres*, J. Gabalda, Paris, 1958, 24-78.

[2] *Ibid.*, 72, 460.

[3] *Ibid.*, 72-73. Audet considers that the text of *H* has "l'air du résultat d'une glose intrusive".

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interpretation of the text of the Didache in later liturgical texts which reflect circumstances quite different from those of the original document. Furthermore, although the provenance of the Didache is still a matter of debate, recent decades have seen a growing consensus towards Syria/Palestine as its place of origin, and κυριακή is widely thought to be distinctively Syrian Christian terminology (see further below). This would support the case for the originality of the Bryennios text of XIV:1 and encourage every effort to make sense of that text as it stands. It is the purpose of this article, therefore, to offer a quite new approach to this disputed issue.

Problems with the Lord's Day/Sunday Interpretation

If the so-called pleonasm with which Didache XIV opens refers simply to the weekly Lord's Day, Sunday, as the majority of scholars and commentators assume, then it is difficult to explain the superfluities in the expression. For Sunday we would expect either ἡ κυριακή alone (Ign. *Magn.*, 9:1), or ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα (Rev., 1:10), or Audet's ἡμέρα (τοῦ) κυρίου but not the supposedly pleonastic κυριακὴ κυρίου. Now the problem with this phrase is not simply the apparently unnecessary genitive, κυρίου. The initial problem is the word κυριακή itself. What is the origin of this word and what precisely does it denote? Rordorf,[4] having discussed all the relevant texts and their possible interpretations in some detail, concludes that the phrase ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, or simply ἡ κυριακή, is a uniquely early Christian coinage, with no equivalent in Hebrew or Aramaic. He further affirms that it is a word distinctively associated with the early Greek-speaking churches of Syria (it is not found in the LXX) and that it refers "unambiguously to . . . Sunday".[5] Additionally it should be noted that Didache XIV:1 is possibly the earliest example of the use of κυριακή[6] and, in the context of the Didache, could well be a further instance, as in the cases of fasting and

[4] Rordorf, W., *Sunday*, SCM, London, 1968 (German original, 1962), 207-215.

[5] *Ibid.*, 209-210, 214. Cf. also Foester, W., *TDNT*, III, κυριακός, 1039-1095.

[6] In the opinion of some Roman Catholic scholars in particular, e.g. Dockx, S., *Chronologies néotestamentaires et Vie de l'église primitive. Recherches exégétiques*, Editions Peeters, Leuven, 1984, 382, 387, and Mazza, E., "Didachè IX-X: elementi per una interpretationi eucaristica", *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 92, 1978, 393-419, the Didache emerged from the Apostolic Council of Acts 15 around 48 CE. J.A.T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, SCM, London, 1976, 327, suggests a date between 40-60 CE, and Audet, *op. cit.*, 199, between 50-70 CE. J. Hazelden-Walker argued for a date before Mark's Gospel, "A pre-Markan Dating for the Didachè", *JSNT*, 1980, 403-411.

prayer (VII:1-2), of the Didachist drawing attention to the distinction between contemporary Judaism and his community's Jewish Christianity. The word in this respect is the early (Jewish) Christian equivalent of the Jewish *shabbat* (Cf. Ign. *Magn.*, 9:1),[7] the one specially named day of the week in the respective traditions. Its coinage is a clear act of self-definition on the part of early Christians. It marks not only the observance of a different day from the Jews, but a day which is peculiarly "the Lord's (Jesus's) day". It is thus a symbol of the fundamental Christian confession of faith, "Jesus is Lord (κύριος)". The adjectival-noun on its own more than adequately identifies the weekly Lord's day, Sunday. Why then the additional, apparently superfluous genitive, κυρίου? What purpose does that serve?

Didache XIV:1 an annual festival occasion?

Rordorf's translation of Didache XIV:1 as "the Lord's own day" suggests that the added genitive has some kind of emphatic function, but, if that is the case, it would seem most naturally to imply the distinction of one particular Sunday from other Sundays rather than simply marking out Sunday from other days of the week.[8] That is to say, the phrase is referring to one particularly significant Sunday in the year, an annual occasion and not to a weekly observance. More than a century ago J. Rendel Harris[9] expressed the view that Didache XIV:1 "from its tenor and its context" appeared to refer to some great annual festival, and, in more recent times, several scholars (e.g. Dugmore, 1962; Geraty, 1965; Massey H. Shepherd Jr., 1960; Stott, 1965/6; Strand, 1966/7; van Goudoever, 1961)[10] have followed

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[7] Note the almost poetic parallelism of Ignatius's words: "If then those who had walked in ancient practices attained unto newness of hope, no longer observing sabbaths (σαββατίζοντες) but fashioning their lives after the Lord's day (κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες), on which our life also arose through Him and through His death . . .".

[8] Rordorf, *op. cit.*, 209, and *L'Eucharistie des Premiers Chrétiens*, Éditions Beauchesne, Paris, 1976, 23.

[9] J. Rendel Harris, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, London, 1887.

[10] Dugmore, C.W., "Lord's Day and Easter", *Neotestamentica et Patristica, in honorem O. Cullmann*, Supplement to *Novum Testamentum*, VI, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1962, 272-281; Geraty, L.T., "The Pascha and the Origins of Sunday Observance", *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, III, 1965, 85-96; M.H. Shepherd, Jr., *The Paschal Liturgy and the Apocalypse*, Ecumenical Studies in Worship, 6, Lutterworth, London, 1960; Stott, W., "A note on the Word KYPIAKH in Rev. i, 10", *NTS*, 12, 1965/66, 70-75; Strand, K.A., "Another Look at 'Lord's Day' in the Early Church and in Rev. i, 10", *NTS*, 13, 1966/67, 174-181; J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars*, 2nd ed., E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1961.

this lead, arguing that, not only the pleonasm of Didache XIV:1, but the use of κυριακὴ (ἡμέρα) in Rev., 1:10, Ign. *Magn.*, 9:1, Apostolic Constitutions VII:30, and the *Gospel of Peter*, 35:50, refers to an annual festival occasion. Most of these writers have identified the annual occasion as Passover/Easter, a sense most clearly apparent in the *Gospel of Peter* and implied, perhaps, by the association of κυριακή with the "day of the resurrection" in texts such as *AC*, VII:30. Stott (p. 72) and Strand (pp. 174, 176) favour the autumnal vintage festival, *Sukkot* for Rev. 1:10, especially in view of the imagery of Rev. 14:14ff. However the references in this passage appear to include both the cereal harvest (*Shavu'ot*) as well as the harvest of summer fruits and wine (*Sukkot*). None of these writers, however, give any serious consideration to *Yom Kippur* as the day identified by "the Lord's day of the Lord" (Didache XIV:1), and yet such an identification has much to commend it.

Didache XIV:1 and Yom Kippur

In a document emanating from a community in which a degree of Aramaic (e.g. μαραναθα) continued to be used in its worship and in which Jewish forms of thought and expression are frequent, it ought not to have escaped notice, as it appears to have done, that the so-called pleonasm at the opening of chapter XIV has a structure that is reminiscent of Hebrew superlatives formed by a singular noun in a construct or genitive relationship to its own plural, such as, for example, "Holy of holies" (*qōdesh haqq°doshîm*) or "Song of songs", "top of the pops", (*shîr hashshîrîm*). "The Lord's day of the Lord" is pleonastic perhaps, but in a way that is similar to, though not precisely identical with, such Hebrew superlative forms of expression. An exact correspondence with this form of the Hebrew superlative would require something like κυριακὴ κυριακῶν, not κυριακὴ κυρίου. However, there are other ways of expressing the superlative in Hebrew which need to be explored for the light they shed upon Didache XIV:1. One of these ways involves the use of the tetragrammaton, *yhwh*, "as an epithet intensifying or adding superlative force" to an idea.[11] The basic work on "unusual ways of expressing the superlative in Hebrew" was carried out by D. Winton Thomas in two articles in *Vetus Testamentum*, in 1953 and 1968.[12] De Boer, in his 1974 article, provided some further exam-

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[11] P.A.H. de Boer, "יהוה as an Epithet expressing the Superlative", *VT*, XXIV, 1971, 233.

[12] D. Winton Thomas, "A Consideration of some Unusual Ways of Expressing the

ples of Winton Thomas's main category of "unusual" superlative forms, namely the use of the tetragrammaton with superlative force. He cites further instances of this form of the superlative in the Hebrew Scriptures (p. 234), plus one example from the Qumran Scrolls, 4QSam[a] at 1 Sam. 5:11. The existence and use of this form of the superlative in biblical Hebrew is sufficiently soundly established as to require no further demonstration here, but what is of major importance for the argument I am pursuing is the well-known fact that the LXX, almost as a matter of course and uniformly across the work of numerous translators, represents the tetragrammaton by the use of κύριος *without* the article.[13] The omission of the article may have been thought to better "preserve the character of the tetragrammaton as a proper name",[14] but, be that as it may, the LXX seems to shew evidence of a more frequent usage of this form of superlative than MT itself. Thus the LXX not only translates plainly and literally Zech. 14:13 (*m[e]hûmat yhwh*) as ἔκστασις κυρίου, but by use of the same form also renders MT's *m[e]hûmōt rabbôt*, 2 Chron. 15:5. The LXX translators seem to have been particularly well-acquainted with the use of the tetragrammaton as a superlative and they employ that construction even where MT uses other means of elevating an idea to the superlative degree.

Now the Jewish Christian (or should one in this case say Christian Jewish?)[15] community of the Didache was Greek-speaking and the Didachist

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Superlative in Hebrew", *VT*, III, 1953, 209-224; "Some Further Remarks on Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew", *VT*, XVII, 1968, 120-124.

[13] G. Howard, *JBL*, 96, 1977, 63-83, argues that κύριος represents the tetragrammaton only in Christian MSS of the LXX, while Jewish MSS have either a blank space or the sign ΠΙΠΙ, the nearest version of the Hebrew letters *yhwh* that the Greek alphabet could produce. However, as J.D.G. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways*, SCM, London, 1991, 189, points out, while this difference between Jewish and Christian MSS existed in the written text, when either text were read publicly in Synagogues or Christian assemblies, κύριος is what would have been pronounced in both cases. More fully on the Jewish use of κύριος in the first century CE, see especially, Fitzmyer, J.A., "The Semitic Background of the New Testament Kyrios Title" in *A Wandering Aramaean: Collected Aramaic Essays*, Scholar's Press, Missoula, 1979. Although it is of no importance for the argument of this article, there is some debate whether LXX usage of κύριος prompted the Massoretic perpetual Qere substituting *ʿ[a]dônay* for the divine name or *vice versa*. Cf. Hahn, F., *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, Lutterworth, London, 1969 (1963), 71.

[14] Quell, G., *TDNT*, III, 1965, κυρίος, 1059.

[15] Considerable difficulty attaches to the definition of "Jewish Christianity". In the case of the Didache it is my conviction that the community whose traditions are reflected in the Didache was initially composed of Jews who believed in Jesus, or Christian Jews whose religious life and outlook remained close to their Jewish roots. At some stage in the redaction of those traditions some tension between these Christian Jews and non-

appears to have maintained the LXX tradition of using κύριος without the article to refer distinctively to Israel's God *yhwh* rather than to Jesus.[16] Giet, especially, has drawn attention to the frequent use of κύριος = *yhwh* in chapter XIV,[17] of which the opening phrase is an example. In the light of this linguistic evidence it would appear that the so-called pleonastic use of κυρίου in that opening phrase is best understood, in context, as a case of the tetragrammaton used in its superlative function. The phrase is, then, not a pleonasm at all but rather a straightforward Semitism[18] which is properly translated, quite literally, and in accordance with the conventions of the RSV, as "On the Lord's Day of the LORD". However, it is to be understood idiomatically as a form of the superlative, the "greatest of the Lord's Days, the most solemn of the Lord's Days". This all important point has been totally overlooked in all existing research on the Didache. The "Lord" (*mr'*) of the κυριακή is not the "LORD" (*yhwh*) of the κυρίου. The force of the divine name in such expressions as κυριακὴ κυρίου is to "raise a person or thing to a pre-eminent degree";[19] it is a particularly strong form of superlative. In Didache XIV:1 the opening phrase specifies a Lord's (Jesus's) Day that is exceptional, outstanding and in some sense superlative.

It has been suggested earlier in this article that, in the light of Ign. *Magn.* 9:1 κυριακή is Syrian Christian coinage intentionally created to distinguish Christian faith from Jewish, the Lord's Day from the Sabbath. If this argument is valid then the nearest Jewish equivalent to the "Lord's Day of the LORD" would be "Sabbath of Sabbaths".[20] But in biblical

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Christian Jews had arisen (cf. Didache VIII, 1,2.) and the community took on the character of a Jewish Christian group.

[16] In the final form of the Didache the title of the work Διδαχὴ Κυρίου . . . , and the admonition at XI:2 to receive a genuine itinerant teacher ὡς κύριον, may seem to deny this. However, the title is known in both a longer and shorter form in Bryennios's text and its redaction history, carefully analysed by Audet and others, points to an original brief title which referred to the teaching of the LORD (κύριος = *yhwh*). XI:2 also is best understood as saying that the genuine teacher should be received "as if he were the LORD Himself", recalling the prophets as the agents of the LORD in the Old Testament and reflecting the Jewish tradition in which "a man's agent is like to himself" (*Ber.* 5:5), as Giet also argues.

[17] Giet, S., *L'Énigme de la Didachè*, Editions Orphrys, Paris, 1970, 209 note 65, and 232.

[18] Niederwimmer, K., *Die Didache*, Vanden Hoek u. Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1989, 235, note 6. Cf. Audet, *op. cit.*, 460.

[19] D. Winton Thomas, *art. cit.*, 1953.

[20] Niederwimmer, *op. cit.*, 235 note 6, acknowledges the semitism at Didache XIV:1

times and in the earliest centuries of the Common Era, it is Yom Kippur which is distinguished as *the* Day of the Jewish festival calendar. The Mishnaic tractate relating to Yom Kippur is entitled simply *Yoma*, denoting the qualitatively superlative Day. In the Old Testament characteristically, though not exclusively, Yom Kippur is categorised as a *shabbat shabbātôn*. This expression is variously translated into English. The Jewish New Translation of Torah renders it "a Sabbath of complete rest" (e.g. at Lev. 16:31). G.F. Moore offers "Sabbath of eminent sanctity".[21] The Aramaic targum of Lev. 16:31 reads *shbt shbbt'* and the LXX translates it as an Hebraic superlative, σάββατα σαββάτων.[22] In post-Temple times Yom Kippur continued to be called the "sabbath of sabbaths" (*Yoma* 86a; *Ket.* 103b) as it continues to be spoken of in the Jewish community today.[23] Given the strongly Jewish flavour of much of the language and ideas of the Didache, the case for regarding the opening expression of Didache XIV as a Semitism referring to a Christian Jewish observance of Yom Kippur seems to be semantically reasonably well grounded. But the semantic argument does not stand alone. The identification of κυριακὴ κυρίου with Yom Kippur is re-inforced by several other features of Didache XIV. It would require another article at least to explore all the Day of Atonement features of the chapter but two of the most significant might be briefly examined in support of the linguistic argument I have presented.

Yom Kippur and the Topic of Didache XIV

The commonplace and widespread idea, amongst liturgists at least, that the topic of Didache XIV is, in contrast to Didache IX and X, the Sunday Eucharist has little or no foundation in the actual text of the chapter. It is not strictly true that chapter XIV returns to or picks up again the

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and compares "sabbaths of the LORD" (Lev. 23:38) and "a sabbath to the LORD" (Ex. 20:9) but he does not recognise the form of a Hebrew superlative using the tetragrammaton.

[21] Moore, G.F., *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, Vol. II, Schocken Books, New York, 1971 (1927), 58.

[22] Sperber, A., *The Bible in Aramaic*, Vol. 1, The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1959, *ad loc.* The plural form σάββατα, as frequently, is used with singular import. However, it is also possible that the LXX simply transliterates the Aramaic *shabbata'* and that σάββατον transliterates the Hebrew *shabbātôn*. See P. Harlé and D. Pralon, *Leviticus*, in *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, 1988, *ad. loc.*

[23] Cf. Sandmel, S., *Judaism and Christian Beginnings*, OUP, New York, 224, "sabbath of sabbaths", citing Lev. 23:32.

eucharistic theme of IX and X as Audet (p. 460) and Rordorf/Tuilier[24] maintain. Rather, Niederwimmer (pp. 12, 234) is most certainly right in observing that the primary topic and major issue of chapter XIV is confession and reconciliation, not Sunday worship itself. However, be it noted that the topic of this chapter is a somewhat more comprehensive process of purification by confession, repentance and reconciliation than is referred to in Didache IV:14. The important new element in the process in chapter XIV is *reconciliation*, XIV:2. There are two reasons why reconciliation is particularly significant. Firstly, the reconciliation is between a man and his fellow (μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου) not between man and God. This, of course, is the fundamental issue in the Jewish observance of Yom Kippur in the only part of tractate *Yoma* which refers to post-Temple times,[25] *Yoma* 8:9: "for transgressions between a man and his fellow man the Day of Atonement does not atone until he shall have first placated (or propitiated) his fellow man". Didache XIV and tractate *Yoma* 8:9 also link purity and cleansing to this process of confession and reconciliation; confess "so that your sacrifice may be pure" and be reconciled "lest your sacrifice be defiled" says Didache XIV; of appeasement of one's fellow man R. Elazar ben Azariah explained, "From all your sins before the LORD shall you be clean" and R. Akiba remarked, "Happy are you, O Israel, before whom do you cleanse yourselves and who cleanses you?" records *Yoma* 8:9. Secondly, the process of reconciliation as distinct from simple confession and repentance, requires arrangements to be made for the restitution of stolen property, for example, and may involve a lengthy process of repeated negotiations or even litigation (cf. Matt. 18:15-17 and 1QS VI:24-VII:25) involving the whole community. This would be impossible on a weekly basis but, as the Jewish tradition sensibly acknowledged, "He will be merciful to all who once in the year turn from all their iniquity" (Jubilees 5:13). An annual comprehensive purging and cleansing of the community was a feature of various sectarian movements in Judaism of the first century CE. It makes sense to see a similar pattern of observance in the life of the Christian Jewish community of the Didache.[26]

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[24] *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)*, Sources Chretiennes 248, Éditions du Cerfs, Paris, 1978, 65. Hazelden-Walker is particularly explicit about this, *art. cit.*, 1980, 409.

[25] E.P. Sanders, "Puzzling out Rabbinism" in Green, W.S. (ed). *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, Vol. II, Brown Judaic Studies XI, Scholar's Press, Missoula, 1980, rightly comments that the post-Temple reference of *Yoma* 8 is a matter of "inference". However, he indicates, that what may only be inferred from the Mishnah is made explicit in *Sifra, Emor Pereq 14:1ff* and *Ahare Mot Pereq 8:1ff.*

[26] It is to be noted that the regular confession of sins in the assembly referred to in

The Divine Name yhwh/κύριος *in Didache XIV*

The complex issues concerning the use of κύριος in the LXX, New Testament and early Christianity are debated in a number of works,[27] but none shed any new light on the usage of the Didache. Giet (1970 p. 209 note 65, and p. 242), however, makes some very interesting observations on this issue. He examines the Didachist's use of κύριος, both with and without the article, and draws attention to two aspects of the usage of the Didache that are of particular relevance and value to this article. Firstly, he concludes that κύριος with the article in the Didache refers to Jesus as Lord, while without the article it refers to Israel's God, *yhwh*. Secondly, he notes, the relatively frequent use of κύριος without the article in Didache XIV, namely three times in a very brief chapter. Giet does not draw from these observations what might seem to be the obvious conclusion. He does not recognise the Semitic superlative in the opening phrase of the chapter, the first instance of κύριος in the chapter, and so does not consider the possibility that the chapter refers to a Christian Jewish observance of Yom Kippur. But, once that identification is made, we may be reminded that in the Jewish tradition of the post-exilic age and certainly down to 70 CE, Yom Kippur was the one and only day in the year when the unutterable divine name was precisely and clearly pronounced by the High Priest ten times during the Yom Kippur ceremonies, *Yoma* 3:8; 6:2; *Sotah* 7:6. Each occasion, when the divine name was pronounced in the readings from Scripture, signalled a prostration in response, accompanied by the benediction or doxology, "Blessed be the name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever and ever", *Yoma* 4:1. It seems likely that this tradition continued, after the destruction of the Temple, in the Scripture readings of the Synagogue on Yom Kippur. The High Priest's Scripture readings had taken place in the Synagogue within the Temple complex while the Temple still stood (*Sotah* 40b; *Yoma* 68b) and, in some form, after the Temple's destruction, Yom Kippur continued to be celebrated in the Synagogue, *Yoma* 86a, "if all the festivals pass away, the Day of Atonement will not pass away". Most probably the High Priest's liturgical privileges were transferred from the Temple to the "lay" members of the Jewish community as were virtually all other priestly privileges, following the destruction of the Temple.

Didache IV, 14 does not include reconciliation, although this issue is discussed earlier in the chapter at IV,3. IV,3 indicates what might be involved in achieving reconciliation between Christian brothers.

[27] E.g. Quell *TDNT*, III, 1039-1095; Hahn, *op. cit.* and Fitzmyer, *op. cit.*

In particular, distinctive features of the annual festivals, such as the lulav, hakafot, Passover seder, sukkot and shofar,[28] from the former Temple, were adapted for continued use in the Synagogue or home after 70 CE., as they had been even before the fall of the Temple in the diaspora. Why, then, should not the distinct pronunciation of the divine name on Yom Kippur have been maintained? Apart from the opening phrase of Didache XIV, the other two instances of κύριος, representing the tetragrammaton, have to do with Old Testament Scripture. Firstly, the LORD is cited as the one who proclaimed the rather freely adapted words of Malachi 1:11, 14; and, secondly, the divine name is part of the citation itself, in the expression "says the LORD". The adapted version, perhaps recalled from memory of early Christian sacrifice testimonia, also significantly contains the words "I am a great king, says the LORD, and My name is wonderful among the nations", the world-wide proclamation of the awesome (θαυμαστόν, *nōrâ*) Name perhaps echoing the public pronunciation of the Name at Yom Kippur. I would suggest that the Jewish tradition of the public utterance of the divine name on Yom Kippur offers a reasonable explanation for the distinctive use of κύριος without the article three times within the short space of Didache XIV, once the reference to Yom Kippur in the opening phrase of the chapter is recognised.

Conclusion

In chapter XIV of the Didache the author/compiler of this enigmatic document, through the use of a Semitic form of superlative, identifies the occasion to which he refers as an early Christian Jewish/Jewish Christian continuing observance of Yom Kippur.[29] In this chapter he echoes distinctive features of Yom Kippur as his Jesus-confessing Jewish community still

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[28] In Synagogue art the most ubiquitous symbols in use were the ritual items associated with the feasts of Tishri, i.e. lulav and etrog (Sukkot), shofar (Rosh Hashanah) and an incense shovel (Yom Kippur). See esp. E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World*, Vol. IV, "The Incense Shovel", 195-208, Pantheon Books, New York, 1954. This strongly suggests the transference of aspects of Yom Kippur from the Temple to the Synagogue perhaps, and certainly the continued observance of Yom Kippur in some form in early post-Temple times.

[29] An argument, based on the Matthean Lord's Prayer, for the continued observance of Yom Kippur among Christian Jews of Syria, is advanced in two articles by J. Massingberg Ford, "Yom Kippur and the Matthean Form of the Pater Noster", *Worship*, 41, 10, 1967, 609-619, and "The Forgiveness Clause in the Matthean Form of the Our Father", *ZNW*, 59, 1968, 127-131.

knew it and observed it. In a state of purity achieved through confession, repentance and reconciliation, the Christian Jewish observance of the day was inaugurated by a Christian version of a community *seʿudah*, a breaking of bread and giving of thanks (making Eucharist?),[30] most probably in the evening.[31] The day following was doubtless observed as a day of "affliction", though of this nothing is said. The Didachist does not write of things that to Jesus-believing Jews would have been well-known already. Clearly the argument of this article, if valid, carries quite significant and far-reaching implications for the study and analysis of the Didache as a whole, its provenance, date, and structure, the community for which it was compiled, as well as for the much-debated relationship between the liturgical chapters, IX, X and XIV. It would strengthen the case for a Syrian provenance, point to a date in the last three decades of the first century, intimate a structure related to the annual round of Christian Jewish festivals (chapters IX and X are often recognised as baptismal/paschal, for example), and help to build up a portrait of a Christian Jewish community as the setting of the Didache and short-circuit once and for all the whole debate about the relationship of the rite of IX-X and the alleged but undescribed Eucharistic rite of XIV.

Manchester Metropolitan Univ., Hassall Road,
Alsagar, Stoke on Trent ST 7 2 HL

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[30] It is unclear whether the breaking of bread and thanksgiving are two separate rites, the latter following after the former, or whether the expression is a hendiadys denoting a single rite of "breaking of bread with thanksgiving". Likewise it is debatable whether, at the time of the Didache, εὐχαριστήσατε bore the later technical sense of "make Eucharist". Most are agreed, however, that the assembly for this occasion involved a meal, whether Agapé or whatever. Perhaps on Yom Kippur the meal is in some way indicative of an earlier diaspora or post-Temple Jewish tradition that "the table atones through hospitality", *Ber.* 55a, *Ḥagig.* 27a. These talmudic texts attribute the idea that table hospitality is a means of atonement to Yoḥanan ben Zakkai, founder of the Yavneh academy at the time of the First Revolt.

[31] The earliest Christians appear to have gathered for worship, especially the "breaking of bread" in the evening although it is disputed whether the day was Saturday or Sunday. Cf. Acts 20:7. The evidence is discussed in Rordorf, *Sunday*; Carson, P.A., *From Sabbath to Lord's Day*, Grand Rapids, 1982; and H. Riesenfeld, "The Sabbath and the Lord's Day in Judaism, the Preaching of Jesus and Early Christianity", in *The Gospel Tradition*, Philadelphia, 1970, 111-138.

REVIEWS

Miroslav Marcovich, *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone* (PTS 47). Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1997. XV, 339 p. DM 198,– ISBN 3-11-015738-1

In 1994 Marcovich edited the two Apologies of Justin. Now he presents a critical edition—in fact the first one—of the Dialogue with Trypho. "Justin's works are preserved in a single, relatively late manuscript—the *Parisinus gr.* 450, dated A.M. 6872 = A.D. 1363 . . . The manuscript is plagued with countless textual gaps, scribal errors and corruptions, dislocation of text, intrusive marginal glosses, etc." (p. VIII). This is the editor's description of the material on which he had to work. His editorial activity can be compared to that of a restorer. The manuscript text was like a ruin that had to be restored to its original shape. In the Introduction he gives 70 "Samples of Textual Criticism", in which he explains why and how the manuscript text should be emended. Moreover, in the critical apparatus one finds a large number of *scripsi*'s, *addidi*'s, *supplevi*'s, *delevi*'s.

Let me first say that I am full of admiration for this critical edition, which is the result of an enormous labour and testifies to a profound knowledge of the early Christian writings. One finds this knowledge reflected in the *apparatus fontium*, which has sometimes the character of a commentary *in nuce*.

Among the alterations of the text proposed by the editor there are some which I regard as outstanding emendations; for instance the reading λυτός instead of αὐτός in 5,4 (the first "sample" in the Introduction). In other cases one finds very intelligent conjectures. Sometimes, however, one wonders whether the manuscript text is wholly unacceptable. Is it necessary to insert τινι in 2,24 and 37, πάντα in 3,27, ὅτι in 4.53? This question was repeatedly raised in my mind. On numerous occasions I had the impression that the editor was simply improving the text of Justin. He indicates what Justin—in his view—*should* have written.

In some cases I am inclined to disagree with the editor's choice. In 11,1 Justin states that he does not believe in another God than the Jews do (οὐδ' εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ ἠλπίκαμεν), and he continues (in the manuscript): Ἠλπίσαμεν δὲ οὐ διὰ Μωσέως οὐδὲ διὰ τοῦ νόμου. The editor follows Sylburg (1593) and

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reads Ἠλπίκαμεν, referring to the previous ἠλπίκαμεν. But, in my view, Justin's way of arguing is as follows: "We *do not believe* in another God than you do. But *we did not come to* that faith through Moses and the Law", and then the aorist is appropriate.

In 78,1 Justin tells the story of Herod and the astrologers. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, μαθὼν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν, τότε ἐλθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρραβίας μάγων . . . Here the editor changes αὐτόν in αὐτούς, as if those astrologers from Arabia came to the priests and not to Herod, as the gospel states.

The editor appreciates the "keen and sensitive textual criticism" (p. 7) of Styan Thirlby (1722) and often follows his proposals. But to my mind it is regrettable that he did not do so in 3,36. Having given his definition of philosophy (Φιλοσοφία μὲν ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶ τοῦ ὄντος . . .), according to the manuscript Justin makes Trypho ask the question: Θεὸν δὲ σὺ τί καλεῖς; Thirlby conjectured: Τὸ ὂν δὲ σὺ τί καλεῖς; supposing that Justin gives an explanation of his definition. Some lines further on the term ἐπιστήμη will be treated. So Trypho asks: "What do you call 'the being'?". And Justin answers in Platonic terms: "that which is always constant and the same, and is the cause of existence for all other things", and he adds: "That of course is God" (τοῦτο δή ἐστιν ὁ θεός). These last words make it, in my view, improbable that God was already mentioned in the previous sentence.

These remarks do not detract from the high regard which the reviewer has for this edition. It offers the reader all the ingredients for a correct understanding of this important text.

The introduction contains a clear survey of the contents of the dialogue under the heading "Justin's Point" and a convincing argument for the thesis that the dialogue is divided in *two* Λόγοι, corresponding to the *two* days of discussion between Justin and Trypho.

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Basilius von Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron, herausgegeben von Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta † und Stig.Y. Rudberg (GCS, N.F. 2). Berlin. Akademie Verlag, 1997. ISBN 3-05-002 002-4.

Basil's *In Hexaemeron* stands out as an imposing monument in the field of the Patristic literature. It is well composed and has both a candid style and a rich content. Its influence on the later commentators of the Genesis creation account has been enormous.

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It is quite remarkable that it has taken so long for a critical edition of this text to appear. The reason for this late appearance lies probably in the fact that the Mauriner edition by Dom Julien Garnier (1721) was of such high quality. The well-known edition in the Sources Chrétiennes by St. Giet in fact does little more than reproduce Garnier's text. The present edition, which is based on a thorough investigation of the many manuscripts, confirms in general the excellence of Garnier's readings.

The introduction to the present edition could be kept short, because the two authors had dealt with the preliminary questions in an earlier study (*Basile de Césarée. La tradition manuscrite directe des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron. Étude philologique*, Berlin 1980. TU 123). It should be noted that a complete survey of all manuscripts and editions is found now in *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis* II 1-2 by P.J. Fedwick (Corpus Christianorum), Brepols, Turnhout, 1996.

The *apparatus* underneath the text is divided into five parts: 1. an *apparatus biblicus*; 2. an *apparatus fontium et testimoniorum* (mainly compiled by Rudberg); 3. enumeration of the manuscripts concerned at that page; 4. the *apparatus criticus* proper (mainly prepared by Amand de Mendieta, who died in 1976). 5. *scholia et glossae* (containing highly interesting material).

In earlier editions the Greek text was divided in rather lengthy sections. The present editors have subdivided it into smaller paragraphs, which facilitates the understanding of the argument.

In some cases the punctuation of the Garnier text was not ideal, for instance in p. 7, l. 9 and p. 87, l. 4, where one would prefer a comma to a colon. In one case the authors corrected Garnier by beginning a new sentence—in fact even a new paragraph—with Ὅτε in p. 9, l. 11, but they retained the full stop in l. 14. They should, however, have placed a comma there, since with συμφυὴς ἄρα the main clause of the sentence begins. As things now stand the subordinate clause (Ὅτε . . .) dangles in mid-air.

There is also one passage in which I would prefer a different reading. Referring to I Cor. 2,4 and 13 Basil says: Ἀκούσωμεν τοίνυν ἀληθείας ῥημάτων οὐκ » ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας « ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀλλ' » ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος « λαληθεῖσιν. Here Garnier follows the three manuscripts which read λαληθέντων. Giet, who reads λαληθεῖσιν, supposes that Basil would have hesitated to consider πειθοῖς and διδακτοῖς as substantives, and so added λαληθεῖσιν as a substantive term, almost equivalent to the λόγοις used in the Pauline text. I prefer to think that Basil hesitated to construct ῥημάτων with the preposition ἐν, and therefore added the participle λαληθέντων, on which the preposition depends.

Whatever may be thought on this question, the present edition is of an excellent quality. At long last the text of Basil's Homilies has received the critical attention it deserves. The present volume is completed with a full word-index.

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CLAVIS PATRUM GRAECORUM. Supplementum. Cura et studio M. Geerard et J. Noret, adiuvantibus F. Glorie et J. Desmet (Corpus Christianorum). Brepols, Turnhout, 1998. 516 p. ISBN 2-503-05061-1 (relié), 2-503-05062-x (broché)

The publication of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* was a historic event in the history of Patristic scholarship. In a period less than ten years M. Geerard achieved this enormous task. The first part (Vol. II: Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum) appeared in 1974, the second (Vol. III: A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Johannem Damascenum) in 1979, the third (Vol. IV: Concilia, Catenae) in 1980, the fourth (Vol. I: Patres antenicaeni) in 1983. Lateron, in 1987, a fifth volume appeared with Indices, Initia and Concordantiae.

In this Supplementum the two authors have collected the additional relevant publications which appeared up to 1997. It stands to reason that the additions to the volume that was published first occupy the most space: 300 pages on the total of 500. They embrace the result of nearly a quarter century of scholarly activities and moreover deal with the period when Patristic literature flourished most. For this period a new edition would perhaps have been preferable, but for the whole Clavis a supplement seems to be appropriate at this time.

The layout of the original Clavis, which gives every work its own number, has been retained. One sees immediately, whether a particular item has undergone further treatment.

The authors deserve the sincere thanks of all Patristic scholars.

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Karl Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker.* Neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 1997. 599 pp., 331 ill. ISBN 3-7965-0997-5. SFr 128, DM 150.

After more than 50 years the distinguished Basel archaeologist (b. 1905) has produced a second, much fuller collection of ancient representations of famous poets, orators and philosophers (first ed. 1943). All manner of representations are included: on vases, as statues and busts, on coins and casts, in mosaics and wall-paintings. The most distinctive aspect of the author's method is that it is rigorously diachronic. The aim is to show how the representation of creative genius developed from archaic Greece right through to later Christian antiquity. Images of poets such as Homer and Sappho can thus be traced over a period of more than eight centuries. Detailed comments are made not only on the work of art, but also on what we need to know about the figures in question. Many of the attributions to lesser-known persons are based on comparative evidence and seem, to the non-expert at least, rather speculative. Nevertheless it is immensely rewarding to be able to study at leisure the portraits of ancient writers whose names and (in most cases) works are so familiar to us.

No portraits of Christian authors are included. Students of Christian art will be interested to note, however, that the final image of the book is a statuette of Christ as teacher, depicted with the outward trappings of the philosopher, but with a face and especially a curly shock of hair whose beauty are clearly meant to evoke the features of a Greek god. Noteworthy too are the third and fourth century portraits of Greek philosophers (perhaps including Plotinus), whose elongated ascetic faces anticipate later Byzantine iconic art. But the greatest value of the collection for the Patristic scholar is that it makes it possible to gain some idea of the countless images of great pagan writers and thinkers that early Christians encountered as part of their participation in Greco-Roman culture. These damaged but still impressive remains, now scattered in numerous museums, represent a part of their cultural milieu against which they generally reacted sharply, but which could also excite their admiration, as we may deduce from those cases when traits were taken over in the representation of Christ, the apostles and evangelists.

A final point of interest of the book is that it promotes an elevated view of classical culture which is nowadays seldom encountered. It may be illustrated by the following pronouncement on Greek artistic representation of the individual: 'In den Bildnissen seiner Grossen hat das griechische Volk

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ein Denkmal seiner selbst hinterlassen, das ebenso unvergleichlich ist, wie die ganze griechische Kunst. Es sind nicht Bilder von Individuen, die mehr oder weniger zufällig zu diesem Volke gehören, wie viele Bildnisse der späteren abendländischen Kunst. Sondern es sind unentbehrliche Glieder einer Kultur, weil sie wie alles Griechische etwas vom Urbild in sich haben, oder mit anderen Worten, weil jeder griechische Mensch, solange er Grieche ist, noch etwas von den Göttern seines Volkes in sich trägt (p. 476).'

The book is beautifully produced. Almost all the black and white photos of the statues and coins are of excellent quality. It is a pity, however, that the wall-paintings and mosaics have not been reproduced in full colour. One would have thought that modern technology would have made this possible without raising the cost excessively.

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Adalbert Keller, *Translationes Patristicae Graecae et Latinae: Bibliographie der Übersetzungen altchristlicher Quellen. Erster Teil: A-H.* Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1997. xxxii + 454 p. ISBN 3-7772-9729-1. Price DM 440.

This reference work, which will be warmly welcomed by all those who have an interest in Patristic literature, is perhaps best seen as a complement to the Greek and Latin *claves* prepared by M. Geerard and E. Dekkers respectively. For each Patristic work that has been completely preserved in the original Greek and Latin, the compiler gives the more recent editions, followed by a list of translations made into German, English, French, Italian and Spanish. The list is not meant to be exhaustive. Preference is given to recent scholarly translations, but if these are not available, then older and more popularizing translations are listed instead. All the important 19th and 20th century series of translations are taken into account. This volume contains the works of 220 early Christian authors. The time span is covered is approximately to the end of the 7th century, including Isidore of Seville on the Latin side and John of Damascus on the Greek. A few well-known anonymous or pseudonymous authors are included, such as the author of the Letter to Diognetus (under the name Diognetus) and Dionysius the Areopagite. Instructions to the user are given in all the five languages that the work covers.

A few minor criticisms can be made. A number of very well-known and widely circulating translations are missing, e.g. the Penguin Classics ver-

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sions of Augustine's *Confessions* (by R.S. Pine-Coffin), the *City of God* (by H. Bettenson) and the Apostolic Fathers (by M. Staniforth). I would recommend that in the case of every translation the date is given of its original publication. For example, in the case of series of the Anti-Nicene and of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers no dates are given at all. It is worth knowing when translations were made, especially when they date back to the 19th century (and may be based on pre-critical editions). Another problem in relation to these series is that the identity of the translator is sometimes mistaken. In the case of Clement's *Stromateis* it should be William Wilson (1867), and for Hippolytus' *Refutations* it was J.H. MacMahon (± 1868). Finally it would have been useful to have given a cross-reference to the number in CPG and CPL for each work.

These points, however, are mere quibbles when set alongside the vast amount of accurate and valuable information that this work supplies. The compiler is to be congratulated on his achievement, and it is to be hoped that the remaining volume will be published as soon as possible.

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John M. Dillon, *The Great Tradition: Further Studies in the Development of Platonism and Early Christianity*. Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 599. Ashgate Variorum, Aldershot 1997. xii + 332 pages. ISBN 0-86078-671-4. Price £ 55 (hardback).

I Plato and the Golden Age (1992); II A Platonist *Ars Amatoria* (1994); III Speusippus on Pleasure (1996); IV Reclaiming the Heritage of Moses: Philo's Confrontation with Greek Philosophy (1995); V The Formal Structure of Philo's Allegorical Exegesis (1996); VI "Orthodoxy" and "Eclectism": Middle Platonists and Neo-Pythagoreans (1988); VII Plutarch and the End of History (1997); VIII Logos and Trinity: Patterns of Platonist Influence on Early Christianity (1989); IX *Pleroma* and Noetic Cosmos: A Comparative Study (1992); X The Mind of Plotinus (1988); XI Plotinus, the First Cartesian? (1990); XII Notre perception du monde extérieur selon Plotin et Berkeley (1991); XIII Singing Without an Instrument: Plotinus on Suicide (1994); XIV "A Kind of Warmth": Some Reflections on the Concept of "Grace" in the Neoplatonic Tradition (1995); XV Plotinus and the Chaldaean Oracles (1992); XVI Porphyry's Doctrine of the One (1992); XVII Porphyry and Iamblichus in Proclus: Commentary on the *Parmenides* (1988); XVIII

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Iamblichus and Henads Again (1993); XIX Philosophy and Theology in Proclus: Some Remarks on the "Philosophical" and "Theological" Modes of Exegesis in Proclus' Platonic Commentaries (1991); XX The Neoplatonic Exegesis of the *Statesman* Myth (1995); XXI Damascius on the Ineffable (1996); XXII Some Aspects of Damascius' Treatment of the Concept of *Dynamis* (1996); XXIII The Roots of Reason in John Scotus Eriugena (1992); XXIV Solomon ibn Gabirol's Doctrine of Intelligible Matter (1989).

Patterson, L.G. (Lloyd George), *Methodius of Olympus: divine sovereignty, human freedom, and life in Christ*, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1997. XIII and 261 p. Cloth. ISBN 0-8132-0875-0. Price $59.95/£53.95.

The author of this book is a long-term Methodius specialist. His dissertation at Columbia University (1958) entitled: *The Anti-Origenist Theology of Methodius of Olympus* dealt with the chronology of Methodius' works and its bearing on the development of his thought. This new study aspires to build on those insights, revising them and putting them into a broader perspective. The focus is not only on Methodius as an early critic of Origen or as a precursor of Arianism—traditional interests of studies involving Methodius—but also and primarily on the significance of Methodius himself as an independent representative of late third and early fourth century theology. The author's points of view in this context have already been anticipated in a number of articles on Methodius, Origen, early Arianism, and the Cappadocians; they are listed in a conveniently arranged bibliography at the end of the book.

A general introduction sketches out the figure of Methodius, the history of scholarship on him, his reputation as a critic of Origen—starting from reports in Antiquity by Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius and onwards—, and his theology of asceticism. As an experienced teacher, Patterson builds up his argument step by step, often touching on issues in a preliminary way to prepare his audience for a fuller treatment later on. Because of this technique, the reader knows what direction the author is taking and can be confident that no sudden moves lie ahead. In addition, it permits the author to build his main thesis—that of Methodius' evolution—solidly. In the author's view, Methodius, who was greatly indebted to Origen throughout his career, particularly in matters of scriptural interpretation, was at first rather uncritical in dealing with the great Alexandrian. He then began

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to find problems with some of Origen's ideas, particularly in connection with the preexistence of the soul and the resurrection of the body. Methodius did not always present those ideas in a fair way, but these misrepresentations or misunderstandings are also convenient for modern interpreters since they shed light on Methodius' own theological position, one of the main objectives of the study.

Pamphilus and Eusebius in their joint work in defence of Origen may have been the first to trace out a development in Methodius' thought, expressing their dismay that Methodius, who had followed Origen in the past, now dared to attack him (p. 148; *Apol. pro Orig.* quoted in Jerome, *C. Ruf.* I 11). Eusebius has another allusion to Methodius but is conspicuously silent about him in his great work on the history of the church—unfortunately, since so little is known about Methodius' historical whereabouts. It could be added that Socrates, the historian, who, like Eusebius, was well disposed toward Origen, had the opposite view of Methodius' development, remarking that Methodius at first attacked Origen but later recanted and expressed admiration for the man.... (*HE* VI 13).

Patterson's methodology offers a clear and consistent perspective by using Methodius' shifting position as the primary key to establish a chronology of his works, an enterprise from which other specialists, such as Bonwetsch, apparently had shied away from (p. 201, note 3). Methodius' works themselves contain only a few clues for establishing a chronology (p. 26), and they are quickly overshadowed by other major problems, not the least of which is the complex history of the transmission of his works.

The author goes through all of Methodius' major works in a survey that makes surprisingly good reading. He starts with a dialogue, which originally may have had the title *Maximus*, but is now commonly known by its (presumed) subtitle *De libero arbitrio*. The use of multiple titles was customary to Methodius as can be seen from titles, such as: *Sistelius: On Leprosy; Aglaophon: On the Resurrection; Xeno: On Created Things* (p. 38). Methodius must have thought really hard about his titles, some of which Patterson dubs cumbersome (p. 10), but which sound rather picturesque to this reader. It is not easy to overlook titles such as *On the Water-Leech in "Numbers" and on "The Heavens Declare the Glory of God" (De sanguisuga) or On the Distinction of Foods and on the Heifer in "Leviticus" with Whose Ashes Sinners Are Sprinkled (De cibis)*. Not without reason did Methodius earn the qualification of a writer of a polished and attractive style (see Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 83).

The dialogue *De libero arbitrio* argues against the idea that God is responsible for evil and objects against any form of cosmological dualism. Patterson prefers to translate the title according to its Greek derivation (τὸ αὐτεξούσιον)

as human self-determination rather than in its Latin configuration as liberum arbitrium (p. 35). In this work, Methodius sees evil residing not in God nor in uncreated matter but in human freedom, which is at the basis of human knowledge of the divine (p. 44). Patterson argues that the work is not a covert criticism of Origen—as often has been said—but rather is in agreement with Origen's ideas, particularly with regard to the main issue, that free will and not matter can be seen as the cause of evil (p. 61). In this line of argument, the dialogue is directed against dualistic systems, such as those known from Valentinian sources, but not against Origen.

Patterson then takes up the *Symposium*, Methodius' only complete writing which survives in Greek but is missing from the Slavic tradition. Patterson offers the reader interesting insights through the use of both a broad and detailed approach. Thus he points out that the *Symposium*, which is artfully contrived as a set of discourses by women, deals not only with chastity but with many other aspects of Methodius' theology of salvation as well. Patterson singles out subjects such as Christ and baptism, fate and determinism, and final consummation. Obviously Methodius' indebtedness to Origen in the *Symposium* receives special attention. In this connection he discusses a whole series of worthwhile issues: the role of the scriptures; Origen's treatment of the triad shadow, image and reality; the literal sense of scripture; the meaning of begetting and becoming human; and the fall and restoration of souls. Viewing the relationship with Origen remains an important focus in all subsequent chapters. The author also deals with influences other than Origen that may have shaped Methodius' views—primarily those of Irenaeus and Clement. In general, Methodius was interested in Irenaeus for his broad outline of the history of salvation and Clement for his thoughts on ascetic life within salvational theology (p. 123). Sensibly and consistent with his own objectives, the author observes that Methodius should not be perceived as the sum of his sources (pp. 9 and 121) but as a thinker in his own right, who makes use of sources with independence.

Patterson shows how Methodius progressively changed his attitude toward the great Alexandrian teacher, while continuing to rely on him for scriptural interpretations; these interpretations, however, inevitably carried theological implications that Methodius came to regret and felt obliged to change later on. The dialogue *Aglaophon: On the Resurrection* provides evidence for such a development. In this work Methodius defends the identity of the human body with the resurrected body, and takes on Origen's ideas—as he envisioned them—about the pre-existence and embodiment of the soul and their implication for the resurrection. Patterson explains how Methodius misunderstood the main reasons for Origen's speculations

on the character of embodied existence (p. 185) and explores how Gregory of Nyssa took up Methodius' critique and rearranged the elements into a new structure (pp. 186-196).

The last work in this study is *Xeno: On Created Things*, which is known from fragments preserved in Photius. From these rather cryptic and contaminated fragments it can be learned that Methodius' work touched on the sources of Christian teaching, the nature of Christian life, and the origin and destiny of creation (p. 208). It is also clear that from the outset the *Xeno* focused on Origen's ideas (p. 200). As Patterson explains, Origen's treatment of eternal creation now offered the occasion for Methodius to criticise cosmological dualism, thus overtly identifying dualism—previously viewed as the peril of heretical teaching—with the teachings of Origen himself (p. 211). Patterson also points out that Methodius' reasoning against Origen's position on the eternal creation of the cosmos foreshadowed some of Arius' arguments against the eternal begetting of the Word (p. 218).

Some appendices conclude the study, one on the position of *De lepra* among Methodius' writings, the other on the *Hymn of Thecla* at the end of the *Symposium*.

In the course of reading this rich study, two supplementary observations came to mind. Patterson is justly very cautious about any statement of Methodius as a historical figure (p. 21). Whether he was a bishop or died as a martyr remains unknown, in spite of some modern reconstructions which describe Methodius' role as a martyr in vivid terms (p. 21 and note 9). It is clear from other sources that some exemplary figures were incorrectly characterised as martyrs. Saint Felix of Nola, for example, who was venerated as a confessor, was upgraded by Paulinus in his poetry to a martyr's status. In the case of Felix, it is equally unknown whether he suffered under Decius or later in the Diocletianic persecutions. Patterson points out that a remark by Eusthatius of Antioch may imply that Methodius died a martyr's death (p. 21). Eustathius (*De engastr.* 22) speaks about him as Μεθόδιος ὁ τῆς ἁγίας ἄξιος μνήμης ("Methodius worthy of sacred memory"). This is a hybrid expression: the words ἄξιος μνήμης ("worth remembering)" are standard, but the combination with the adjective ἅγιος makes it more specific. As it turns out, the formula (ὁ) τῆς ἁγίας μνήμης occurs specifically and almost uniquely in the acts of the great councils. It refers to bishops who had died (a natural death) not long before the council was held and had played an important role in the preceding theological and political situation. They were mentioned as exemplary figures on whom one could rely (see the Oecumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon in 431 and 451; *OCE* passim). There is a similar expression (ὁ) τῆς μακαρίας

μνήμης (someone of blessed memory), and also these words show the same pattern; they are applied to a few bishops of high repute such as Athanasius or Cyrillus, but especially to members of the imperial family—above all, Constantine and his sons. Thus the usage of (ὁ) τῆς ἁγίας μνήμης seems to indicate that Methodius was perceived by Eusthatius not so much as a martyr but as an important bishop.

Something can also be said about Patterson's view of the extent of Clement of Alexandria's influence on Methodius. While the references to Clement in the Bonwetsch' edition seem to be sound, they are only few in number compared to those for such authors as Irenaeus, Origen or Plato. It is clear that Methodius had a knowledge of Clement's works or parts thereof. The reference, for example, to the unusual allusion to Odysseus as the Ἰθακήσιος γέρων (old man from Ithaka) in *Protr.* IX 86, 2 (not *Protr.* IX 12, as Patterson incorrectly indicates, p. 40) is indeed echoed in *De libero arbitrio* I 1. The treatment of the Sirens (*De libero arbitrio* I 1-9) also has a Clementine ring to it (see Clement, *Protr.* XII 118-120), although the theme of the Sirens—including a comparison with the prophets—does turn up in Origen as well (see, for example, *CCels.* II 76). Another example brought up by the author is the interpretation of the tabernacle (p. 112); in this case Origen is a more probable source of influence since he offers more abundant material on the subject—a fact that Patterson also acknowledges. He remarks that the connection with Clement has been neglected by scholars (p. 230). This may be true, but more detailed work should be done to define his influence more accurately. At this point, Patterson seems to overstate the case when he repeatedly speaks about Clement as a "habitual source" for Methodius. Some influence is discernible in the case of the thoughts on asceticism and salvation and possibly also in the link between martyrdom and asceticism, but the problem remains that most of the "Clementine issues" mentioned in the book also come up in the works of Origen; the two Alexandrians compete, so to speak, and may be hard to distinguish in this respect.

The book is well produced and well written, though a few flaws remain, the most important of which are misspellings of the Greek and incorrect references; I will list them in a footnote in case of a second edition.[1] This reader also regretted not having access to an *Index locorum*, easy to provide

[1] P. XII l. 19: in of; p. 22, l. 24: puzzling; p. 37, note 4 Autexousio; p. 40, l. 23: *Protr.* IX 12: this should be *Protr.* IX 86, 2 and *Protr.* XII 118-120; p. 131, l. 7: ἀεί; p. 132, l. 1: γεννητοί; p. 134, l. 10-11: πάλαι κυηθείς; p. 180, l. 22: νεορά: this should be νοερά.

in this age of advanced electronics. These few reservations, however, do not alter the very positive experience gained by reading the book. The study is not only very instructive but also enjoyable, and it sheds much light on an important but not widely known author of early Christianity.

23 Common Street
Dedham, MA 02026, USA

ANNEWIES VAN DEN HOEK

Raymond Étaix, *Homéliaires patristiques latins. Recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Moyen-Age et Temps modernes 29). Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1994. XIX, 691 pp.

A l'occasion du départ à la retraite de Raymond Étaix la Faculté de théologie de Lyon a publié une sélection des nombreuses études de ce grand savant dans le domaine de la littérature patristique et médiévale. Raymond Étaix est bien connu pour ses découvertes de textes d'anciens auteurs chrétiens, Chromace d'Aquilée, Césaire d'Arles, Augustin. Ces découvertes sont le fruit d'un travail de dépouillement des fonds anciens des bibliothèques, de l'analyse des manuscrits, de la comparaison des textes trouvés. En l'occurrence, il s'agit de manuscrits qui contiennent, rangés selon le temporal et le sanctoral du calendrier ecclésiastique, les passages bibliques et patristiques que lisaient, comme partie de l'office divin, les communautés religieuses et les chapitres des églises cathédrales.

Le travail de recherche qui consiste à analyser le très grand nombre de ces lectionnaires, homéliaires et sermonnaires médiévaux profite à plus d'un groupe de chercheurs. Sont aidés d'abord les patristiciens, puisque ces collections présentent parfois des textes inconnus ou des branches inconnues de la tradition de tel texte patristique. Les éditions procurées par Raymond Étaix lui-même en font preuve. Grande est aussi l'importance pour le travail des liturgistes, puisque ces manuscrits donnent des informations sur l'ordonnance de l'office conventuel ou capitulaire et sur les coutumes liturgiques locales ou régionales. La science hagiographique est intéressée aux questions de culte des saints et de calendrier. Les médiévistes profiteront des renseignements sur divers aspects de la vie religieuse du temps, sur les relations entre les communautés et sur des problèmes apparentés. A signaler aussi l'intérêt pour les spécialistes de la paléographie.

Le présent travail contient vingt-trois pièces, dont plusieurs ont été recomposées par leur auteur en vue de la nouvelle publication. Deux paraissent

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pour la première fois: un répertoire des homéliaires conservés en France (hors la Bibliothèque Nationale) et une description du contenu du grand lectionnaire de Corbie. Dix autres se rapportent aussi à des collections de manuscrits français, provenant entre autres de Cluny, de l'Abbaye de Saint-Thierry, du Mont Saint-Michel, de Clermont, d'Épinal. Cinq articles traitent d'homiliaires espagnols, originaires de Silos, de Saragosse, de Cordoue et de la région catalane. En quatre études sont présentées des collections italiennes, en provenance de Vérone, de Bénévent, de Novara, du Frioul. Le livre se termine avec deux articles sur des manuscrits d'origine allemande, conservés à Munich et à Strasbourg. Les spécialistes et les bibliothèques et autres institutions scientifiques accueilleront avec gratitude ces beaux instruments de travail préparés par Raymond Étaix.

6522 KD *Nijmegen*, Ubbergseweg 172 A.A.R. Bastiaensen

Pierre-Marie Hombert, *Gloria gratiae. Se glorifier en Dieu, principe et fin de la théologie augustinienne de la grâce* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 148). Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1996. 664 pp.

La présente étude traite de la théologie augustinienne de la grâce en se rapportant aux citations d'Augustin de deux versets de la première lettre de l'apôtre Paul aux Corinthiens: 1 Co 1,31: 'Celui qui se glorifie, qu'il se glorifie dans le Seigneur' et 1 Co 4,7: 'Qui en effet te discerne? Qu'as-tu que tu n'aies reçu? Et si tu l'as reçu, pourquoi te glorifier comme si tu ne l'avais pas reçu?'. La méthode d'examiner un thème capital à l'aide de deux textes pauliniens est justifiée par le résultat: il s'agit en effet de textes importants, qui n'ont cessé de guider la pensée d'Augustin. Le mot-clé des citations est 'se glorifier', *gloriari*. Comment l'homme, en face de Dieu, peut-il se glorifier? Quelles sont les conditions, et quel est l'effet, de la grâce divine? La réponse à ces questions s'étend sur à peu près 600 pages, pages très denses, mais dont la lecture est grandement facilitée par la clarté de l'exposé et la conséquence de l'argumentation: l'auteur prend soin, au risque de se répéter, de marquer clairement les étapes de son raisonnement. Il est clair qu'il possède Augustin: sa maîtrise se révèle, d'ailleurs, par une infinité de citations en traduction française, accompagnées toujours du libellé original.

L'œuvre est divisée en deux parties. La première est une étude chronologique, décrivant l'évolution de la pensée d'Augustin. La conversion, telle

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que nous la décrivent les *Confessions*, est 'l'expérience fondatrice': la lecture de Paul, résumée dans la citation de 1 Co 4,7, est décisive. Quant aux Dialogues de Cassiciacum: tout en se servant du vocabulaire et des thèmes de la philosophie néoplatonicienne, ils présentent une vision chrétienne, en affirmant que le salut de l'homme n'est pas œuvre humaine, mais 'un don venu d'ailleurs'. La prière liminaire des Soliloques est une fervente prière de demande: on y note l'incise *iube . . . atque impera quicquid vis*, annonce de la formule *da quod iubes et iube quod vis*, qui tient une si grande place dans les écrits d'Augustin (l'auteur donne en appendice la liste de tous les emplois). Pierre-Marie Hombert poursuit ses analyses en étudiant les écrits de Rome et de Thagaste et les commentaires bibliques, rédigés par Augustin à Hippone à l'époque de son presbytérat: *De sermone domini in monte*, les premières *Enarrationes in psalmos* et les commentaires des lettres de Paul aux Romains et aux Galates. Dans cette période, Paul, étudié peut-être à l'aide des Règles de Tyconius (qui aurait pu suggérer aussi l'étude des deux versets de 1 Co), est devenu la 'première référence théologique' d'Augustin. Son traité *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* apporte, par rapport à des énoncés antérieurs, la précision que, dans la voie du salut, tout dépend de l'initiative divine: la première démarche aussi, l'acte de foi, est don de Dieu. Dans la lutte avec le donatisme, des débuts de son ministère pastoral, Augustin se base sur les versets de 1 Co pour montrer que grâce et baptême opèrent indépendamment de la dignité et de l'activité de l'homme. En même temps, la prédication à l'occasion des fêtes des martyrs et des vierges souligne que ces saints sont les témoins de la gratuité et de la toute-puissance de la grâce. Dans ce contexte, Augustin qualifie l'Église comme 'la Cité des humbles', 'l'Anti-Babel', demeure de ceux qui ne se fient pas à leurs propres forces, mais s'en remettent à Dieu seul: c'est ainsi que les apôtres, de *piscatores*, sont devenus *imperatores*.

Les années 411-412 voient les débuts de la controverse pélagienne. En *De peccatorum meritis, Epistula ad Honoratum* (*Epist.* 140) et *De spiritu et littera* Augustin réagit aux affirmations de Célestius et de Pélage: il avait appris que ce dernier rejetait la formule *Da quod iubes*. Les thèses pélagiennes mettaient en relief les problèmes concernant la grâce et le libre arbitre de l'homme. Augustin défend la primauté absolue de la grâce, qui, pourtant, ne supprime pas la volonté humaine, mais la libère et lui donne de vouloir pleinement. Devant la difficulté de concilier l'élection gratuite de Dieu et l'effort nécessaire de l'homme, Augustin adopte une attitude pastorale, invitant à une humble prière de louanges en face de l'*altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei*. Les versets pauliniens jouent un rôle important,

résumé par l'auteur en ces mots: '1 Co 4,7 réfutait les prétensions pélagiennes, et 1 Co 1,31 dénonçait leur caractère irréligieux'. La prédication des années suivantes aussi se sert souvent des deux textes pour inviter à l'humilité et à la gratitude, vertus fondamentales de la vie chrétienne. Dans cette période naît la Cité de Dieu. A l'encontre de la Cité terrestre, qui se glorifie en elle-même, la Cité céleste se glorifie dans le Seigneur. Au royaume des anges rebelles, à l'empire romain avec sa *cupido gloriae terrestris*, à l'orgueil des écoles philosophiques fait face la *gloriosissima civitas Dei*, qui est composée des anges et des hommes unis à leur Dieu dans une soumission amoureuse.

Après 318 la controverse pélagienne devient la lutte avec Julien d'Eclane (*Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum, De gratia Christi et de peccato originali, Contra Iulianum, Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*), se compliquant des interrogations des moines d'Adrumète et de Provence: les écrits antipélagiens d'Augustin, en effet, semblaient compromettre le libre arbitre de l'homme et la bonté d'un Dieu qui ne donnerait pas à chacun le don de persévérance (*De gratia et libero arbitrio, De correptione et gratia, De praedestinatione sanctorum, De dono perseverantiae*). Il s'agissait, en fait, des problèmes de la prédestination, qui allaient avoir un si grand retentissement dans les siècles postérieurs, au détriment parfois de la renommée d'Augustin.

Il ne peut être question de suivre toutes les péripéties de la discussion, enregistrées par l'auteur, qui a fouillé l'immense dossier des écrits en question. Relevons quelques points. Aux cinq éloges de Julien des valeurs humaines (la création, le mariage et la sexualité, le libre arbitre, la Loi et les saints de l'Ancien Testament) Augustin oppose sa conviction que, pour obtenir son salut, l'homme ne peut d'aucune manière se prévaloir de ses propres forces: il ne peut que se glorifier en Dieu, à qui reviennent toutes les louanges. Le débat roule aussi sur 1 Co 4,7: 'qu'as-tu que tu n'aies reçu?', texte qui semble exclure la responsabilité du pécheur. Et puis, ne faut-il pas attribuer à l'homme au moins l'*initium fidei*, la première démarche, pour éviter qu'il ne soit prédestiné au péché et à la mort? Augustin répond que l'absolue gratuité de la grâce ne supprime pas la culpabilité du pécheur. Tout est don, effet d'amour, mais d'un amour qui demande d'être payé en retour par une attitude de reconnaissance, d'humilité et de supplication. Il reste, certes, un malaise, provoqué aussi par les énoncés pauliniens, cités par Augustin, sur l'élection de l'homme par Dieu (p.e. Rm. 9,15). Mais, souligne l'auteur, Augustin n'applique pas un raisonnement abstrait: son point de vue est celui d'un spirituel et d'un pasteur, qui, mettant en évidence le côté positif de l'élection divine, proclame

les richesses de la grâce qui guérit l'incapacité radicale de l'homme.

A propos de l'évolution de la pensée augustinienne l'auteur fait remarquer, à bon droit, me semble-t-il, qu'on ne peut pas parler d'un durcissement graduel. Après la précision de l'*Ad Simplicianum* ses idées montrent une cohérence et une continuité remarquables: on ne peut lui reprocher, comme il arrive parfois, de verser dans un pessimisme anti-humain. Il est vrai que les expressions dures et désagréables ne manquent pas. Mais son désir de sauvegarder à tout prix la primauté de la grâce, sa sensibilité à l'insistance de textes comme Rm. 11,6: *alioquin gratia iam non est gratia* ne lui laissent pas de choix. Il n'est pas intéressé, pour autant, à une théorie de l'arbitraire divin: son objectif est de louer et de faire louer la bonté, si incompréhensible soit-elle, de Dieu, 'Père des miséricordes'.

La seconde partie est une réflexion théologique sur les questions soulevées par l'évolution de la pensée augustinienne. L'auteur commence par poser le problème du paradoxe. Étant donné que, dans la vision d'Augustin, plus l'homme s'humilie, plus Dieu est glorifié, il semblerait que la gloire de Dieu exclue la gloire de l'homme. Comment l'homme pourrait-il se glorifier? Augustin ne compromet-il pas la dignité humaine? En une observation liminaire l'auteur rappelle la conviction d'Augustin que Dieu, le Souverain Bien, n'a pas besoin de l'homme. Que celui-ci ait l'existence est un don (l'homme est *habere*, Dieu est *esse*), et ce n'est pas Dieu, mais lui-même qui en profite. Vivre ce don comme un don est donc le véritable amour de soi: celui qui se glorifie, qu'il se glorifie dans le Seigneur.

Le fondement du paradoxe, que Dieu seul doit être glorifié afin que l'homme le soit, est double. Tant dans l'ordre de la création que dans celui de la rédemption l'homme reçoit sa gloire de Dieu. Créature de Dieu, il est un être participant, image de Dieu, de tout temps présent dans le Verbe; une fois créé, il est distinct de Dieu, mais dans tout son être orienté vers lui. Méconnaître cette dépendance totale, refuser orgueilleusement de participer à Dieu et de se 'convertir' vers lui—ou de se laisser 'convertir' par lui—ne peut qu'occasionner la ruine de l'homme. La créature doit se reconnaître créature et vivre dans l'humilité et la louange de Dieu, et ainsi se glorifier en lui.

Dans l'ordre de la rédemption c'est la participation au Christ, Dieu incarné, qui fonde la gloire de l'homme. Augustin a été fasciné, toute sa vie de fidèle durant, par le texte de Phil. 2,6-7 sur le Dieu qui s'est anéanti et a pris condition d'esclave en devenant semblable aux hommes. Cette *humilitas incarnationis*, qui culmina dans la mort sur la croix, est, pour Augustin, proprement salvifique. Pour l'homme la seule voie du salut est

celle qui consiste à s'unir à ce Christ humilié et à s'adonner, avec lui, au Père dans un mouvement d'obéissance filiale. La gloire du Christ ressuscité et monté au ciel sera aussi sa gloire. A la fin, il n'y aura qu'une seule glorification, celle du Christ total, Tête et membres. Ainsi, dans le plan de Dieu, le mystère de la rédemption est le mystère du Christ, qui, prédestiné en tant qu'homme, fait participer les autres hommes à cette prédestination, à condition qu'ils ratifient leur inclusion en lui. En dernière analyse l'ordre de la création et celui de la rédemption coïncident: c'est dans le Verbe que nous sommes créés et sauvés.

Le dernier chapitre de la seconde partie traite des modes de glorification. Il y a la gloire visible de l'Église, instrument terrestre de la grâce de Dieu. Cette gloire est universelle: tous sont appelés à louer ensemble le Seigneur; la position des donatistes, qui veulent restreindre l'opération de la grâce, est intenable. Dans la vie de l'Église la glorification de Dieu se manifeste, d'une part, dans l'action de grâces eucharistique, le *sacrificium laudis* par excellence, et dans les autres pratiques liturgiques, d'autre part, dans la conduite du vrai chrétien, qui, même au sein des épreuves, persévère, aux yeux de tous, dans la louange de Dieu.

Mais 'la gloire de la fille du roi est à l'intérieur' (Ps. 44,14): la valeur de nos actes dépend d'un facteur invisible, l'intention, le témoignage de notre conscience. C'est précisément dans sa conscience, dans l'intimité de son cœur, que la grâce rejoint l'homme. Elle y opère un mouvement de la volonté et lui donne de répondre à l'appel divin par des sentiments, des paroles et des actes d'amour. La grâce, ainsi, devient une expérience personnelle. Dans la description de ce cœur-à-cœur de l'homme avec son Dieu le langage d'Augustin atteint souvent une expressivité merveilleuse.

La parfaite manifestation de la grâce est réservée pour le Dernier Jour, lorsque Dieu sera tout en tous et que la gloire du Christ sera notre gloire. *Omnis homo Adam, omnis homo Christus*: la gloire de l'homme est la gloire du Christ: 'que celui qui se glorifie, se glorifie dans le Seigneur'. Le sens de ce 'que' est final: c'est la volonté de Dieu que l'homme ne s'attribue rien et, dans une attitude de profonde humilité, s'en réfère à Dieu seul pour l'épanouissement de sa vie et la jouissance de la gloire.

Dans la conclusion de son travail, l'auteur demande l'attention pour quelques points d'un intérêt particulier. Il souligne que la théologie augustinienne n'est pas une dogmatique abstraite: elle est une théologie vécue, l'expression de l'expérience spirituelle de l'homme sauvé. Il s'étend aussi longuement sur le grand problème de la théologie augustinienne de la grâce, la question de la *massa damnata*, la multitude innombrable de ceux

qui ne seront pas sauvés. L'idée est choquante et l'auteur ne cherche pas à défendre l'attitude rigoureuse d'Augustin, qui ne tenait pas compte des obstacles de toute sorte qui empêchent si souvent les humains de connaître les dons de Dieu. Dans sa réaction anti-pélagienne il insistait tellement sur la nature viciée de l'homme qu'il ne voyait pas de 'circonstances atténuantes'. Le malaise est grand, encore qu'on ne puisse nier que le ressort profond de la pensée augustinienne n'était pas le besoin de proclamer la justice vengeresse, mais l'amour miséricordieux de Dieu.

Au terme de ce résumé il semble permis de prédire que l'étude de Pierre-Marie Hombert, œuvre de grande allure scientifique, fera date. Elle repose sur une connaissance sans pareil de l'œuvre augustinienne et se meut à l'aise dans l'immense champ de la littérature sur le sujet. D'où les multiples prises de position, toujours solidement étayées, sur des points discutés: contre Alfaric, O'Connell, du Roy à propos du néoplatonisme d'Augustin (p. 39 et 461), contre Zeoli, Flasch, Ranson e.a. à propos de la problématique de la prédestination et de la réprobation (p. 96, 97, 314 et ailleurs). La qualité de ces discussions et de toutes les analyses range l'auteur parmi les grands spécialistes d'Augustin.

Je me permets quelques observations. La première concerne le passage de *De Genesi ad litteram* IV,16,27, cité par l'auteur dans son exposé sur l'indépendance totale, l'autosuffisance de Dieu, qui se fait créateur par un amour gratuit (p. 368-369): *Bona facere si (Deus) non posset, nulla esset potentia; si autem posset nec faceret, magna esset invidentia. Quia ergo est omnipotens et bonus, omnia valde bona fecit* (dans la traduction de *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* 48,316) 'Si Dieu ne pouvait créer des êtres bons, nulle serait sa puissance; s'il le pouvait, mais ne le faisait pas, grande serait sa jalousie. Parce qu'il est donc tout-puissant et bon, il a fait toutes choses très bonnes'. L'énoncé a quelque chose d'énigmatique. Ne risque-t-il pas d'introduire—contre la liberté de Dieu—la nécessité de la création? Augustin se sert ici d'une adaptation du dilemme d'Épicure sur la suppression des maux (cf. Lactance *De ira* 13,20-21): si Dieu ne peut les ôter, il est *inbecillus*; s'il le peut, mais ne le fait pas, il est *invidus* (à l'égard des humains). Mais ce dilemme présuppose l'existence des choses. Augustin a en vue la situation antérieure. Dès lors, si le dilemme est valide, la bonté de Dieu, son absence de jalousie à l'égard des créatures, semble postuler leur existence: à cause de sa bonté Dieu serait obligé de les créer.

La traduction de *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 5,10 (p. 298): *in . . . apostoli . . . intentione, qua contra superbiam humanam loquitur, . . . dona Dei naturalia suspicari . . . absurdum est* (selon *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* 24,492) 'Étant donné

cette intention de l'Apôtre . . . qui est de combattre l'orgueil humain, . . . croire qu'il a en vue les dons naturels de Dieu . . . est une supposition totalement impossible' ne me semble pas tout à fait exacte: le sens n'est-il pas: 'Étant donné cette intention de l'Apôtre . . . qui est de combattre l'orgueil humain, . . . croire que les dons de Dieu sont des dons de la nature . . . est une supposition totalement impossible'?

Aux travaux de Rötzer et Marini sur la liturgie célébrée par Augustin (p. 525) on pourrait ajouter l'article important de M. Klöckener, «Das eucharistische Hochgebet bei Augustinus. Zu Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung», dans A. Zumkeller ed., *Signum pietatis. Festgabe für Petrus Cornelius Mayer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Würzburg 1989, p. 461-495.

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PETER AND THE "TWO WAYS"

BY

ROBERT E. ALDRIDGE

The literary work known as the *Two Ways* was an important document for the early Church. A strong and clear statement of basic Judeo-Christian morality, it long served as an instructional source for new believers and was incorporated into later church manuals and ecclesiastical codes (often as part of the *Didache*). Appearing in Christian use in the first century,[1] it was highly esteemed in the early Church and even stood on the threshold of the New Testament—although it later fell into obscurity. There is evidence that the *Two Ways* was believed by the early Church to have been written by the apostle Peter.

Background

The *Two Ways* is a short work of moral instruction, possibly based on an earlier Jewish model but now extant primarily in Greek and Latin (about 700 words in the Greek). The concept of *two ways* (those of obedience or disobedience to God) is found in the Old Testament, New Testament, apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, Qumranic literature, and apostolic fathers.[2]

Christianity's original name, the Way, may relate to Essene usage of the term.[3] While the circumstances of the *Two Way*'s composition are

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[1] While the *Didache* is often considered to date from the second century, the present paper will demonstrate the apostolic associations of its first component, the *Two Ways*.

[2] Deut. 30:15, Psalm 1:6, Sirach 15:11-17, 2 Enoch (Slavonic) 30:15, Test Asher 1:3-9, Man Disc (1QS) 3:13-4:25, Shep Herm *Mand.* 6.2, Matt. 7:13-14, Gal. 5:16-23, Sifre Deut. 53. There are numerous references to the *two ways* in early Christian literature. Connections with classical literature and philosophy are touched upon in note 62.

[3] S. Vernon McCasland, "The Way", *JBL* 77 (1958), pp. 222-30. For a larger perspective on connections between Essenism and Christian *two ways* literature and theology, see J.-P. Audet, "Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du *Manuel de Discipline*", *Revue biblique*, 59 (1952), 219-38; 60 (1953), 41-82.

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uncertain, its text was incorporated into both the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didache*,[4] the latter being compiled possibly in the first century.

The work survives in three ancient versions: as the opening chapters of the *Didache* (in Greek), as the final chapters of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (in both Greek and Latin versions),[5] and the Latin *Doctrina apostolorum*. All three are thought to derive from a lost Greek original, to which the *Doctrina* is probably quite close textually. No Hebrew or Aramaic prototype is known, although one would seem reasonable. The *Didache* contains a large interpolation in its first chapter and *Barnabas*' material has been re-phrased and somewhat re-arranged.[6]

The *Two Ways* opens with the following words:[7] "There are *two ways* in this world, that of life and that of death, of light and of darkness. Over them are set two angels, one of right, the other of wrong. There is, moreover, a great difference between these two ways. The way of life is this . . ." Then follow the work's two major sections, the "Way of Life" and the "Way of Death", which list good and evil behavior. The "Way of Life" opens with the Great Commandment and the Golden Rule, while the "Way of Death" bears considerable resemblance to the *viddu'i* (confession) recited on Yom Kippur.[8]

The concept of two paths in life and in the world (those of godliness

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[4] Important works on the *Didachè* include J.-P. Audet, *La Didache* (Paris, 1958); Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres* (Paris, 1978); and Kurt Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989; rev. 1993).

[5] The original Latin *Barnabas* did not include the *Two Ways* and ended at chapter 17, the present chapters 18-21 being a later creation. This Latin text probably represents a lost Greek original, of which the current Greek *Barnabas* is a later revision. See Edgar J. Goodspeed, "The Didache, Barnabas and the Doctrina", *Anglican Theological Review* 27 (1945), 228 and 235, and his *History of Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1942), 31-33; see also note 18 below.

[6] For an overview of the *Two Ways*' literary history, see John S. Kloppenborg, "The Transformation of Moral Exhortation in *Didache* 1-5" in Clayton N. Jefford (ed.), *The Didache in Context* (Leiden, 1995), 88-109.

[7] Citing the *Doctrina apostolorum* because of the fullness of its wording. For convenience' sake, the *Didache*'s version of the *Two Ways* (minus the interpolation) will be treated as the common version of antiquity and will be used in citing the *Two Ways* as such.

[8] The *viddu'i rabbah*'s twenty-two items form an acrostic of the Hebrew alphabet. The "Way of Life" contains almost the same list in a different order. Tractate *Shabbath* refers to "men who have fulfilled the Law from Aleph to Tau". The Cabalistic *Yalkut Reubeni* says that "Adam transgressed the whole Law from Aleph to Tau", while "Abraham kept the whole Law from Aleph to Tau". The Essene parallel to the "Way of Death" (Man Disc 4:9-11) also contains twenty-two items.

leading to salvation and of sinfulness leading to destruction) was important in early Christian thought and is expressed in the New Testament, the apostolic fathers, the Clementines, and elsewhere. Most of the relevant phraseology is inherited from Judaism, albeit now infused with new meaning. Matt. 7:13-14 refers to "the broad road that leads to destruction" and "the narrow road that leads to life". Clement of Alexandria says in the *Miscellanies* (v, 5:31) that one of those ways is "narrow and confined" because it is fenced in by God's commandments, while the other is "broad and spacious" to make room for pleasure and wrath. Ignatius' *Magnesians* (5:1-2) proclaims "these two things, that of life and that of death . . . of God and of the world". The *Shepherd of Hermas* (Mand. 6.1) cites the "straight path" and the "crooked path", while *2 Clement*'s references to the "straight path" (7:3) and the "way of righteousness" (5:7) are in the same tradition. The Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* present the *two ways*, and Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* (vi, 3) discusses them in a section which begins with the *Two Ways*' opening words.

Most early Christians, however, were probably more familiar with the *Two Ways* itself, since that little book served for centuries as instructional material for new converts, either by itself or as part of the *Didache*. It was used in the *Didascalia apostolorum* (c. 250-300), re-worked into the *Apostolic Church Order*[9] (c. 300), summarized in the *Syntagma doctrinae* (c. 350-70) and *Fides nicaena* (c. 375), incorporated in expanded form into the *Apostolic Constitutions* (c. 380, as part of the *Didache*), used in fifth century Egyptian works such as the *Life of Shenute*[10] and the *Canons of St. Basil*,[11] outlined in seventh

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[9] Formerly known as the *Apostolic Church Ordinances* and *Apostolic Canons* (not to be confused with the "Apostolic Canons" in *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII). It contains the "Way of Life" divided into short speeches by the Twelve Apostles. The Coptic version (the *Egyptian Church Order*) lacks the final few apostolic speeches. See J.V. Bartlet, *Church-Life and Church-Order during the First Four Centuries, With Special Reference to the Early Eastern Church-Orders* (Oxford, 1943).

[10] Not the Coptic text of *Shenute* currently extant, which may be an abridgment of Abbot Besa's fifth century work, but the Arabic *Life of Shenute the Monk* (of uncertain date) which contains the *Two Ways*. Its rendering resembles the *Doctrina* but is probably based on the lost Greek original. See E. Amélineau, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, 1885-1886* (Paris, 1886), vol. 4 ("Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^{e} et V^{e} siècles"), 289-478; and Umberto Benigni, "Didache copticâ. *Duarum viarum* recensio coptica monastica, Shenudii homiliis attributa, per arabicam versionem superstes", *Bessarione* 3 (1898), 311-329.

[11] The *Canons*, comprising 105 or 106 items, survives in Arabic and partially in Coptic, apparently deriving from a lost Greek original composed outside of Egypt. Canon two

century tracts by Nestorian missionaries in China[12] and an eighth century sermon by St. Boniface,[13] and translated (sometimes as part of the *Didache*) into Coptic, Ge'ez, Syriac, Arabic, Georgian[14] and other languages. The *Two Ways* was thus a widely used and enduring document of the early Church.

As part of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Two Ways* almost entered the New Testament. Clement of Alexandria accepted *Barnabas* as Scripture and discussed it as such in his (lost) *Outlines*. Origen called *Barnabas* a "catholic epistle". The *Codex Sinaiticus* included it after the New Testament (along with the *Shepherd of Hermas*), while the *Codex Claromontanus* placed it at the end of the catholic epistles (with a mark indicating non-canonicality).[15] As part of the *Didache*, the *Two Ways* was regarded as Scripture by many early churchmen—as were the writings of several apostolic fathers—and was quoted as such by Clement of Alexandria and others.[16] Rufinus of Aquileia

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(in Arabic) speaks of *two ways*, good and evil. See W.E. Crum, "The Coptic Version of the Canons of St. Basil", *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* 26 (1904), 57-62; and Wilhelm Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900), 233ff. (German translation of the *Canons*).

[12] The "Book of the Messiah" contains a thirty-one verse digest (in Chinese) of the Didachean version of the *Two Ways*, while the "Discourse on Almsgiving" contains repeated references to the *two ways* (the "heaven way" and the "hell way"). See Joan H. Walker, "An Argument from the Chinese for the Antiochene Origin of the *Didache*", *Studia Patristica* 8 (1966), 44-50.

[13] St. Boniface's "De abrenuntiatione in baptismate" tailors its summary of the *Two Ways-Didache* to the needs of the German converts for whom it was intended, and was extensively drawn from by Boniface in his other sermons. See the present writer's "Lost Ending of the *Didache*" in *Vigiliae Christianae* 53 (1999), 1-15 notes 20 and 22.

[14] The Old Georgian version of the *Didache* (discovered in the 1920s) generally agrees with the Greek, but received little attention for many years because the single manuscript from which it was copied (by a Georgian student) disappeared before the transcription could be verified. Textual variants are given in G. Peradse, "Die *Lehre der zwölf Apostel* in der georgischen Überlieferung", *ZNW* 31 (1932), 111-116.

[15] *Claromontanus* was written in the sixth century, but is believed to represent the Alexandrine canon of c. 300 AD.

[16] These church writers are usually said to quote the *Didache*, but may have actually used the earlier *Two Ways* treatise. Pseudo-Cyprian, for example, quotes a *Two Ways* verse in *Dice-players*, which he cites as from the *Doctrinis apostolorum* and lists among quotations from Paul. Optatus of Milevis implies Scriptural status for a *Two Ways* verse (to be considered in detail further on) which is clearly from the treatise rather than the *Didache*. And Clement of Alexandria's citation of "My son, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft" (*Did.* 3:5) as Scripture in the *Miscellanies* (i, 20) may also be from the *Two Ways* treatise. Interestingly, the two so-called "*Didache*" fragments among the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*—xv. 1782, 1922—are both actually from the *Two Ways*.

cited the *Two Ways* as one of two works supplementing the New Testament, as Athanasius had so cited the *Didache.*

After the fifth century, however, the *Two Ways* disappeared, losing ground to newer catechetical materials on the one hand, and retreating with the *Didache* and *Barnabas* on the other. The latter were being listed as apocryphal works in early medieval canonical catalogues such as the Gelasian Decree, the *List of Sixty Canonical Books*, and the *Stichometry of Nicephorus.* By the Middle Ages it had become a lost work and would remain so for a thousand years.

In the nineteenth century several manuscript discoveries brought the *Two Ways* to light. The *Codex Sinaiticus*, recovered by Tischendorf mostly in 1859 and published in 1862, contained the missing opening chapters of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, bringing the entire work into greater notice. The Jerusalem Manuscript, discovered by Bryennios in 1873, contained both the complete *Barnabas* and the *Didache.* The latter was published in 1883 with great acclaim, and the *Two Ways*—which had been gaining recognition since the 1840s as common material between *Barnabas* and the *Apostolic Church Order*—was now accorded considerable importance. A Latin fragment of the *Two Ways* (the *Doctrina apostolorum*) was recognized by Gebhardt in 1884 in published material derived from the monastery at Melk, Austria,[17] and the entire *Doctrina* was published by Joseph Schlecht in 1900 from an eleventh century Latin manuscript.

Much scholarly study of these works ensued, especially regarding the *Didache.* That work was widely considered to date from the first century, and its study of prime importance for understanding apostolic Christianity. Scholarly opinion regarding the *Two Ways*—studied primarily to shed light on the origin of the *Didache*—inclined for several decades towards its composition by the Barnabist,[18] although some argued for derivation from a

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[17] Otto Gebhardt, "Ein übersehenes Fragment der Διδαχή in alter lateinischer Übersetzung", appendix in Adolf Harnack, *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel* (Leipzig, 1884), 275-86. Gebhardt found the *Two Ways* fragment in Martin Kropff's *Bibliotheca Mellicensis* (1747).

[18] The major studies supporting this position were John A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* (London, 1920) and J. Muilenburg, *The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Marburg, 1929). The present writer, however, accepts Goodspeed's hypothesis on the *Two Ways*' later addition to Greek *Barnabas* (see note 5) and further believes that *Barnabas*' reviser harmonized those two sections, since *Barnabas*' *Two Ways* differs considerably from other *Two Ways* versions while having substantial stylistic and vocabulary harmony with the rest of revised *Barnabas.* The earlier Latin *Barnabas* supports this. Its text survives in a ninth or tenth century codex from the Abbey of Corbie (near Amiens) which has been in St. Petersburg since the

Jewish source.[19] Nevertheless, an intriguing statement about the *Two Ways* made by an early churchman (and remembered briefly in the foregoing period of scholarly interest) has not been given its due. This connects the *Two Ways* with the apostle Peter.

Rufinus' Iudicium Petri

About 404, Rufinus of Aquileia wrote his *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, which he based on Eastern models.[20] In the *Commentary*, Rufinus delineates

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1790s. This codex was used to supply the first four and a half chapters of Migne's edition of *Barnabas* (*PG* 2), since that was published a decade before Tischendorf's recovery of *Barnabas'* complete text. The Greek version of those chapters contains several of the examples which Robinson cites as evidence of unity between *Barnabas' Two Ways* and the rest of that work (*op. cit.*, p. 7): the "Evil One" (2:9), the "Black One" (4:9), and the "Evil Ruler" (4:13). All are lacking in the Latin, presumably having been added by the Greek reviser.

Thus Lat. *Barn.* 4:9 (*resistamus omni iniquitati, et odio habeamus eam*) is enlarged by *Barnabas'* reviser with an additional clause including the "Black One". Lat. *Barn.* 4:13 (*et nequam accipiens potestatem nostram, suscitet et excludat a regno Domini*) is re-written with "Evil Ruler" as its subject. There is a minor problem with Lat. *Barn.* 2:9 (*ut ne quando habeat introitum in nobis, et evertat nos a vita nostra*) in that the subject is either lacking or unstated in the relevant clause. This appears to be *contrarius* ("the Accuser") from the opening sentence of that paragraph, which the scribe has erroneously given as *quando* (!), either mishearing the lector or misunderstanding an abbreviation in the exemplar, such as *cont̄r.* If the latter, he might have been influenced by the preceding *ne* to interpret this as *ne quando* ("never"). Whatever the origins of Lat. *Barn.* 2:9's difficulty, the Greek reviser either changed *contrarius* to the "Evil One" or outright added "Evil One" into the clause. Thus characteristic agreements between Greek *Barnabas'* first portion and its *Two Ways* appendix are products of later revision rather than features of the original composition.

[19] Perhaps a moral catechism for Gentile converts (God-fearers), possibly related to the *Hilkot Gerim* ("Rules Regarding Proselytes") referred to in rabbinical literature (*Ruth Rubba* i. 7 and 16). Charles Taylor posited a Jewish *Vorlage* for the *Two Ways* in *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge, 1886). Goodspeed, however, argues the *Two Ways* originated not as a Jewish document, but as a Jewish Christian tract outlining rules for Christian living, to which other materials were later added to form the *Didache*. He speculates that the earlier tract was called the *Teaching of the Apostles*, which title was retained by its later form, the *Didache* proper (*Hist. Early Chr. Lit.*, p. 159).

[20] Tyrannius Rufinus (c. 345-410) was an important church literary figure of late imperial times, whose Latin translations preserved many early Christian writings from being lost. Most of his later work was done at Aquileia (near modern Venice). His *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum* is sometimes dated a few years later. A very readable account of Rufinus' life may be found in Rev. William H. Fremantle's "Prolegomena on the Life and Works of Rufinus" in Schaff and Wace's *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*

the canon of Christian Scripture, following the lists of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. lect.* 4.35-36) and especially that of Athanasius of Alexandria (*Ep. fest.* 39), whose New Testament list is accepted to this day. Rufinus was baptized and instructed in the monastery at Aquileia which had been founded by Athanasius, and later studied in Alexandria where Athanasius had been patriarch. Athanasius' influence was great at both places. Rufinus states that his list of books is the traditional canon "as we have received [it] from the records of the fathers".

Rufinus goes on to say that in addition to their canonical works, both Old and New Testaments have sets of "ecclesiastical" books. Such works for the Old Testament consist of the additional books of the LXX (later recognized as deuterocanonical), while those for the New Testament consist of the *Shepherd of Hermas* and "the little book which is called the *Two Ways* or *Peter's Judgment*".[21] Rufinus' citation of *Peter's Judgment* as an alternative title for the *Two Ways* suggests possible Petrine authorship of the *Two Ways*!

Nor is Rufinus the only ancient church writer to refer to this work. In his *Church History*, completed about 325, Eusebius lists dozens of religious writings unacknowledged by the Church and includes four ascribed to Peter: the *Acts of Peter*, the *Gospel according to Peter*, the *Preaching of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In his collection of Christian biographies *De viris illustribus*, written about 394, Jerome repeats these four *libri falsi* and adds a fifth: *Judgment*. Rufinus' assertion is thus partially supported by Jerome (although his famous feud with Rufinus clouds the matter).[22]

(second series), vol. 3, 405-13. See also Francis X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345-411)—His Life and Works* (Washington, 1945); Maurice Villain, "Rufin d'Aquilée, Commentateur du Symbole des Apôtres", *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 31 (1944), 129-156; and C.P.H. Bammel, "The Last Ten Years of Rufinus' Life and the Date of his Move South from Aquileia", *JTS*, N.S. 28 (1977), 372-429.

[21] *Op. cit.*, chapter 36: "In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur *Pastoris* sive *Hermae*, et is qui appellatur *Duae viae* vel *Iudicium secundum Petrum*" (or *Iudicium Petri*, as given in some manuscripts). Whether Rufinus used *vel* to mean *and* or *or* will be examined further on in this article.

[22] While the reasons for Jerome's citation of *Judgment* are not clear, his famous feud with Rufinus (largely played out literarily) almost certainly played a role. Jerome's words were written about 394 and Rufinus' in 404, but the two men were certainly very much aware of each other's views (their close acquaintance extending back to the 360s) and often expressed countervailing opinions. Jerome's charge of *Judgment*'s spuriousness, for example, appeared on the first page of *De viris illustribus*. Rufinus, in turn, defended *Judgment* heavily by placing it on the edge of Scripture. Quite possibly each party

Half a millennium later, the Carolingian bishop Ado of Vienne, whose noted martyrology appeared in 858, carefully catalogued Peter's writings in a supplement to that work, the *Libellus de festivitatibus sanctorum apostolorum.*[23] In the category of repudiated works, he repeats Jerome's list almost word for word, ending with *Judgment*—possibly the last reference to that work before modern times. The evidence from antiquity now ends momentarily.

Nineteenth Century Speculation

Modern awareness of the *Two Ways* and the *Didache* came about in stages.[24] In 1698 the Oxford scholar Johann Grabe speculated that Rufinus' *Iudicium Petri* might have resulted from his misreading a Greek abbreviation for the *Preaching of Peter*, taking κρμα (Κήρυγμα) as κρῖμα.[25] A decade later, however, J.A. Fabricius correctly connected Rufinus' *Duae viae vel Iudicium Petri* with the *duae viae* in *Barnabas* and the *Apostolic Constitutions.*[26]

In 1843 Bickell published the *Apostolic Church Order*, also noting similarity with *Barnabas* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and questioning whether this might be the *Teachings of the Apostles* mentioned by Eusebius and others, since the *Order* was divided into speeches by each of the apostles. Further connections between these works were noted in Tattam's 1848 edition of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Lagarde's 1856 edition of the *Egyptian Church Order.* Some of the preceding materials derived from works in the Clementine tradition of the Ancient Eastern Churches and the *Church Order* literary family then being recognized was regarded accordingly by many.

An article in the *Christian Remembrancer* in 1854 marshaled quotational evidence from Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Lactantius and others to

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advanced a half-truth offensive to the other. Rufinus' reputation was later tainted with the charge of promoting Eastern heresy (the Gelasian Decree, for example, confirmed all Jerome's censures of Rufinus) and Rufinus' statement on *Judgment* was therefore long ignored.

[23] Given in Migne, *PL* 123, col. 181. Ado also states there that "[Peter] wrote two epistles which are called catholic, the second of which is denied by many as being his, because of stylistic dissonance with the first [epistle]; but the Gospel of Mark, who was his listener and interpreter, is also said to be his".

[24] Regarding pre-1883 investigation of the *Two Ways* and the *Didache*, see Roswell Hitchcock and Francis Brown, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (New York, 1885), lxv-lxviii; Harnack, *Lehre*, 193-225; and Krawutzcky, *loc. cit.* below.

[25] Grabius, *Spicilegium SS. Patrum*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1698), 56.

[26] Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1703-19), vol. 2, 802.

prove the identity of these works not only with the *Teaching*, but also with Rufinus' *Duae Viae vel Iudicium Petri.*[27] Tischendorf's publication of *Codex Sinaiticus* in 1862 brought new attention to *Barnabas*, since it is placed there at the end of the New Testament. In 1864 Pitra published a new edition of the *Egyptian Church Order* (as part of a larger collection) which underscored the antiquity of that work.

In 1866 Hilgenfeld published his *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*, in which he not only identified Rufinus' *Two Ways* (or *Iudicium Petri*) with the *Egyptian Church Order*, but also declared the direct dependence of the *Apostolic Constitutions*' material upon this document, which he placed in the second century. In that same work, he boldly published what he called *Iudicium Petri*'s text (!), appropriating for the purpose material from the *Egyptian Church Order.*[28] Hilgenfeld connected that title with either the divine judgment in 2 Peter or the "Judgment of Hercules" in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (II, 1, 21; referred to in Justin Martyr's *Second Apology*, ch. 11), which featured separate destinations for the virtuous and the non-virtuous. Others suggested that *Judgment*'s title derived from the "judgment" pronounced by Peter at the end of the *Church Order.*[29]

In 1882 Adam Krawutzcky, who had previously written *Petrinische Studien* (1872-3), published a brilliant reconstruction of the *Two Ways* based on *Barnabas*, the *Church Order*, and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which he also entitled *Iudicium Petri.*[30] The accuracy of his reconstruction would be demonstrated with Bryennios' publication of the *Didache* in December of the following year (1883). This created a sensation at the end of the nineteenth century (now almost forgotten) comparable to that of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the twentieth.[31] The *Didache* was widely hailed as the first Christian writing after the New Testament (!) and an immense literature on it sprang up almost overnight.

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[27] "The Apostolical Constitutions", *Christian Remembrancer* 27 (London, April 1854), 253-309. Pages 271-72 note *The Teachings of the Apostles* referred to by Eusebius and Athanasius and the *Two Ways or Judgment of Peter* in Rufinus' commentary; page 289 speculates whether the *Duae viae* is the same as the *Apostolic Church Order.*

[28] Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum* (Leipzig, 1866), fasc. IV, 93-106.

[29] The "judgment" was actually a pronouncement against alteration of the given teaching, similar to that given at the end of John's Revelation (22:18-19).

[30] "Über das altkirchliche Unterrichtsbuch: Die Zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus", *Theologische Quartalschrift* (Tübingen) 1882, III, 359-445; "Iudicium Petri" 433-445.

[31] See Philip Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual* (New York, 1885), 10-12.

In 1884, amid the flood of *Didache* studies, Gebhardt proposed the identification of Rufinus' *Iudicium Petri* with the new *Two Ways* version from the *Didache*, and examined the entire *Two Ways* literary family to this end.[32] He collaborated for some time in this area with Adolf Harnack (the most prominent liberal Christian scholar of the German Empire), but neither of them was ever able to produce significant supporting evidence.[33] At length the suggestions of Gebhardt, Harnack and others, though widely discussed in scholarly circles at the time, languished and were forgotten.

Further Consideration of Rufinus' Statement

There are several other points to be considered. First, the translation of Rufinus' words as "the *Two Ways* or *Peter's Judgment*" has not been uncontested since *vel*, meaning or in Classical Latin, can also mean *and* in Late Latin. Some scholars therefore feel that Rufinus' meaning is not clear, while others declare that the two titles refer to different works. Meinrad Stenzel quotes Fontanini's pronouncement on this point ("Particula *vel* pro *et* stilo medii aevi usurpatur") and cites Rufinus' rendering a phrase in *Hist. eccl.* 3.3 as "Praedicatio vel Revelatio", where καί stood in the Greek. Rufinus' use of *vel* is significant and will be addressed shortly.[34]

Next, the canonical list of Rufinus is usually compared with that of Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, whose festal letter of 367 is the earliest extant evidence of the completion of the New Testament canon. Athanasius lists the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Didache* (as well as the "Septuagintal plus") as works supplemental to the Scriptures, saying that although these works are "not defined as canonical, the feeling of the fathers is that they may be read by those who seek greater learning and instruction in godliness." Rufinus refers to the corresponding books in his list—the "Septuagintal plus", the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Two Ways/Peter's Judgment*—as "ecclesiastical" books (rather than canonical) "to be read in the churches, but not to be considered as authoritative in deciding matters of faith."

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[32] Gebhardt, *loc. cit.*

[33] See Harnack's *Lehre*, 21-24, and his conclusions in *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, pt. 1, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1893), 28-29.

[34] M. Stenzel, "Der Bibelcanon des Rufin von Aquileja", *Biblica* 23 (1942), 59-60. See also J.N.D. Kelly, *Rufinus: A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, ACW 20 (London and Westminster, Md., 1955), 141 n. 236.

Rufinus' citation of the *Two Ways/Peter's Judgment* is thus congruent with that of the *Didache* by Athanasius, occupying the same place in the canonical list and containing partially the same material. Nevertheless, some commentators have proposed that Rufinus' enumeration of the *Two Ways/Peter's Judgment* introduces a variation in the New Testament extra-canonical corpus, either by replacing the *Didache* with this other book (or books), or by increasing the number of that corpus from two to three. It has also been also argued that, while Peter is named with *Judgment*, there is no basis for considering him as the *Two Ways*' author since he is not mentioned in it anywhere, and that the *Two Ways* and *Judgment* must therefore be separate works.

There is a better explanation. Rufinus spent twenty-five years in Egypt and Palestine studying early Christian literature, combing important collections in Alexandria, Caesarea and Jerusalem, and discoursing with learned men from distant Christian communities. He led a monastic community on the Mount of Olives devoted to copying manuscripts and personally translated many works.[35] He was famed in his own lifetime for his knowledge of early Christian literature,[36] and his return to Italy was likened by friend Macarius to a ship entering port (though laden with a different sort of "riches from the Orient"). Rufinus was thus very learned in Christian literature. Far from being mistaken or contrary about which books constituted the New Testament and its approved supplements, Rufinus' words must be taken as scholarly pronouncement on the matter. In listing *Peter's Judgment*, he is in fact confirming the *Two Ways*, the *Didache*'s opening section.

Why only the opening section of the *Didache*? One possible explanation is cultural. The *Didache* is a Greek work and there is little evidence that any of it except the *Two Ways* was ever extant in Latin. Latin readers' access to *Didache* material would thus have been limited to those versions of the *Two Ways* current in Latin. This citation by Rufinus, whose major

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[35] Unfortunately, his willingness to also translate works deemed heretical (such as those of Origen), thereby increasing public awareness or them, caused many church authorities to regard him with suspicion. Pope Anastasius, for example, said that he had never heard of Origen or his writings before Rufinus' translations resurrected him. By the Middle Ages he was himself regarded almost as a heretic, and many of his translations were therefore not re-copied and have been lost.

[36] Palladius says in his *Historia Lausiaca* that "no man has ever been known of greater learning" (ch. 118; Migne, *PG* 34). Palladius spent several years of his youth in Rufinus' monastic community on the Mount of Olives. He speaks highly (and lengthily) of Rufinus in the *Lausiaca*, the first history of monasticism.

activity was the translation of Greek religious literature into Latin, may thus have been a matter of cultural equivalency in the area of literature.

Whether for this or for some other reason, Rufinus chose to omit the *Didache*'s opening section, the *Two Ways*, which he additionally defined as *Peter's Judgment* (perhaps to annoy Jerome). There may have been a more practical reason, however, for there was a problem with using the words *two ways* as that piece's title. This was that it was not uncommon in antiquity to refer to a work by some of its opening words (a practice remembered today in papal encyclicals), especially when those words were appropriate. To ensure that his readers did not thereby understand him to refer to the entire *Didache*, Rufinus further defined this section by noting that it was the piece also known as *Peter's Judgment.* Thus Rufinus' words: "libellus . . . qui appellatur *Duae viae* vel *Iudicium Petri.*"

A related explanation involves the possibility that the *Teaching of the Apostles*[37] was the *Two Ways*' original name (see note 19). If this were so, Rufinus may have wanted to designate the *Two Ways* in such a way that it would not be confused with the later *Didache.* Or perhaps Athanasius' "*Didache*" was in fact the *Two Ways* (!)[38] and Rufinus' second identification of the work served another purpose—or none at all.

There exists one more possibility—the most likely one. While Rufinus uses *vel* in both its Classical and Late Latin senses, he does not normally use it to introduce alternative titles or descriptives. For that he regularly

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[37] This was the name for that work commonly used in the early Church. The Jerusalem Codex, however, gives its title as *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (followed by title-terminal punctuation) and cites *The Teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles* as a second title (given at the beginning of the text proper). See notes 5 and 8 in the present writer's "Lost Ending of the *Didache*", cited above.

Note also the acceptability of either *Teaching* or *The Teaching* in rendering that work's title, in accordance with Greek grammatical rules by which anarthrous nouns may be definite at the beginnings of titles and of certain copulative clauses (and learned by the present writer for debating modern unitarians regarding the meaning of John 1:1).

[38] Such a hypothesis might also be based on the facts that apparently only the *Two Ways* was considered to be Scripture (see note 16) and that the number of stichoi assigned to the *Didache* by Nicephorus seems insufficient. (Calculations based on the number of stichoi listed for the Gospels and Acts indicate a work which only extended as far as chapter 11. But stichometric evidence is rather uncertain.) If, however, this hypothesis is correct, the question arises how and when chapters 7-16 came to be considered integral to the *Didache* (which is attested by the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the Old Georgian version). Perhaps the longer *Didache* arose in Syria and became common thereabouts, while the shorter original work was known elsewhere.

uses *seu*,[39] and his use of *vel* here is apparently unique. Yet he also did not choose a word clearly meaning *and*. The likely explanation is that the *Two Ways* and *Peter's Judgment* are not alternate titles for the same work but separate works which greatly overlap, one being an expansion of the other. Rufinus' use of *vel* with those titles may express this close interrelation: not identical, but not separate either.

A Quotation from the Two Ways

There is more evidence than Rufinus' statement that the *Two Ways* was once considered to have been written by Peter. Sometime in the 360s, Optatus the African, Bishop of Milevis,[40] wrote a letter to the Donatists (formally addressed to their leader, Bishop Parmenianus, and in response to his recent writing) urging a reconciliation of that faction with the Catholic Church.[41] The Donatists had opposed re-admitting to the Church *traditores* (those who had handed over sacred books during the Diocletian persecution) and now maintained their own clergy and prelacy.

In the letter, Optatus states that the apostle Peter says in his epistle, "Do not judge your brothers with partiality."[42] This quotation is not found in either of the two canonical Petrine epistles, nor is it attributed to Peter elsewhere in the New Testament. Adolf Harnack speculates that this quotation may be a combination of James 2:1 and 4:11,[43] wrongly attributed by Optatus to Peter.[44] Other commentators have noted the 1 Peter parallels

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[39] Examples from his translation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* (Migne, *PG* 20) include *De vita contemplativa* seu *De supplicibus* (2.17 and 2.18); *De vita sapientis* . . . seu *De legibus non scriptis* (2.18); *De monarchia* seu *Quod Deus non sit conditor malorum* (5.20); and *Ecclesiastica regula* seu *Adversus eos qui* . . . (6.13).

[40] Milevis (mod. Mila; about 30 km. west of ancient Cirta) was the ecclesiastic center of Numidia (coastal Algeria) and the site of African church councils in 402 and 416. Optatus was bishop there during the reigns of the emperors Valentinian (364-75) and Valens (364-78).

[41] A number of related historical documents were later appended to this letter (probably by Optatus himself) to form the treatise *De schismate donatistarum* (also known as *Contra Parmenianum donatistam*).

[42] *De schism. donat.* I, 5: "Cum in epistula Petri apostoli legerimus: Nolite per opinionem iudicare fratres vestros", cited from Carolus Ziwsa, *S. Optati Milevitani Libri VII* (Vienna, 1893), 7.

[43] James 2:1 "My brothers, show no partiality . . ."; 4:11 "Do not speak evil of one another, brothers. Whoever speaks evil of a brother or judges a brother . . ." (All Scriptural quotations in the present writing are taken from the New American Bible.)

[44] *Op. cit.*, pt. 1, vol. 2, 788 n. 66. Harnack also notes there (unwillingly) the possibility

in the verses immediately preceding 4:11 as the possible reason for Optatus' (supposed) error.

In fact, the *Two Ways* states "Do not accuse with partiality anyone of a wrongdoing" (*Ep. Barn.*) and "Judge justly; do not accuse with partiality [anyone] of a wrongdoing" (*Did.*).[45] This is undoubtedly the source of Optatus' quotation—despite minor differences in wording. Optatus is not loose in this quotation in the usual manner of ancient writers, but purposely alters its wording to suit his needs in making certain points to the Donatists.

These differences in wording require some explanation. First, Optatus uses "to judge" (*iudicare*) in place of "to accuse of a wrongdoing" (ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώματι), thus possibly softening the matter by omitting reference to wrongdoing and certainly bringing to mind other Scriptural admonitions (such as Matt. 7:1-2, Rom. 2:1, 1 Cor. 4:5 and Wisd. 12:22).

Second, the phrase 'with partiality' renders the words λαβεῖν πρόσωπον. This means to show preference or to judge according to appearances, and refers to both personal favoritism and the making of social, economic or other distinctions. The Scriptures frequently state that God is not partial and warn humans against this behavior.[46] Optatus alters this to *per opinionem*, which expresses partiality in the area of opinion or attitude. Thus Optatus asks the Donatists not to judge the Catholic party in the light of previously held convictions, but to give fair consideration instead.

Third, the direct object is changed from "anyone" to "your brothers". Optatus may have been influenced here by the verse after the next in *Barnabas*, which reads "you shall not bear a grudge against your brother", or

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that this quotation derives from the *Preaching of Peter*, and attempts to explain away a variant reading in Homily VII of Origen's *Jesu Nave* possibly alluding to three Petrine epistles ("Petrus etiam tribus epistolarum suarum personat tubis" in the *Codex Gemeticensis*; given as "ex tribus" in Migne, *PG* 12, col. 857 n. 93).

[45] *Ep. Barn.* 19.4: "Οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι." *Didache* 4.3b: "Κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν."

The standard Latin rendering of this verse in *Barnabas* is "non accipies personam ad lapsum arguendum" (in which "accusing [someone] of a wrongdoing" changes to "reproving [someone] for lapsing", perhaps a Christian falling from the path). No Latin rendering of the *Didache* is extant. The corresponding verse in the *Doctrina apostolorum* is "iudica iuste, sciens quod tu iudicaberis, non deprimes quemquam in casu suo" ("judge justly, knowing that you will be judged; you shall not take advantage of anyone in his misfortune"). This however, while clearly related to the verse in the *Didache*, lacks the clause under consideration.

[46] In the New Testament, for example, Acts 10:34, Romans 2:11, James 2:9, 1 Peter 1:17 and elsewhere.

by the reference to a co-religionist as "your brother" several verses further on in the *Didache*. In any event, it is likely that these words were meant to remind the Donatists that the Catholics are their Christian brethren (or perhaps that all men are brothers), to whom fair consideration is due regarding alleged wrongdoings.

Finally, Optatus calls this writing an *epistula* of Peter, which it was not in the sense of a personal letter or general missive. (Rufinus refers to it more correctly as a *libellus*.) This may have been an attempt to associate the work with the two canonical epistles of Peter and thus to impute Scriptural authority to the commandment in question. Such association would also serve to distinguish the quotation's source from apocryphal writings such as the *Acta Petri, Evangelium secundum Petrum*, etc., which were generally recognized as inventions or forgeries.

This quotation was clearly crafted by Optatus himself, as is shown by its almost perfect tailoring to his needs, and not taken from an existing Latin version.[47] And, of course, it was not taken from *Barnabas* or the *Didache*, for in that case Optatus would not have cited the writing as Peter's. But while the form of this quotation in Optatus reflects his aim in using it, there can be little doubt that it is, in fact, the *Two Ways* from which he is quoting and which he attributes to Peter.

It is to be additionally noted that the *Two Ways*' reference to impartial judgment is also reflected in 1 Peter, where verse 1:17 says "the Lord judges impartially"[48] and 2:23 refers similarly to "the One Who judges justly". While the New Testament makes numerous references to God's impartial judgment—which must have been a common saying of the early Church—its first recorded expression was by Peter (Act 10:34, "God is no respecter of persons") and no doubt found place in his sermons.

It should be noted still further that Franz von Funk also found some verses in Optatus' Donatist work which he identified as quotations from the *Didache* (which in fact are both from the *Two Ways*).[49] The first of these is the divine commandment "do not make schism"[50] (*Did.* 4:3a, the first

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[47] The closest, that of *Barnabas*, was unsuitable since its use of "reprove for lapsing" would have implied fault on the Catholic side.

[48] Gk. ἀπροσωπολήμπτως (Vulg. "sine acceptione personarum").

[49] See "Die *Didache* in der afrikanischen Kirche", *Theologische Quartalschrift* 76 (1894), 601-604.

[50] *De schism. donat.* I, 21 (Ziwsa, *op. cit.*, p. 23): "Denique inter cetera praecepta etiam haec tria iussio divina prohibuit: non occides, non ibis post deos alienos, et in capitibus mandatorum: *non facies scisma.*"

half of the verse considered above). While this commandment is also found in 1 Cor. 1:10 (worded differently), it is given by Optatus exactly as it appears in the *Two Ways*. Note also that a quotation from the *Two Ways* could only be a commandment from God if that work were accorded Scriptural status—which in turn implies apostolic authorship.

The second such verse found by Dr. Funk is the commandment "thou shalt love certain ones above your own soul" (*Two Ways* 2:7b).[51] The *Gesta apud Zenophilum* ("Proceedings before Zenophilus"), one of the historical documents Optatus appended to his work, recounts the trial of a Donatist bishop before Roman authorities. A letter quoted in *Zenophilum* (from a certain Sabinus) speaks of a friendship "according to the will of God, Who has said, *Some I love above my soul*".[52] This quotes the *Two Ways* exactly and even attributes the quotation to God's will (although the ultimate reference here may be to Jer. 31:3 rather than the immediate source, *Two Ways* 2:7b).

Elsewhere in *Zenophilum* are two other verses (not noted by Funk) which were possibly influenced by the *Two Ways*. A letter from a certain Bishop Purpurius exhorts church elders to "seek good remedy [in mediating disputes] . . . lest unexpectedly, when you deal with partiality, you come into judgment yourself; pronounce a fair settlement between the parties based on justice and your own conscience". This may again reflect *Two Ways* 4:3b (although it is closer to the *Doctrina* parallel). Finally, a letter from a certain Fortis speaks of not being "led astray from the way of truth", perhaps recalling the *Two Ways*' final line (6:1).[53]

Although the appended writings (Liber VII) are presented as historical documents, Optatus certainly re-wrote them in better literary style and may be responsible for their *Two Ways* material.[54] These several examples demonstrate that Optatus used the *Two Ways* repeatedly in his Donatist work and thus further support the *Two Ways* as the source of the quotation which he attributes to "the epistle of Peter".

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[51] The *Two Ways*' verse numeration used here is taken from the *Didache*.

[52] "[T]amen secundum Dei voluntatem, qui dixit: *quosdam diligo super animam meam*" (Ziwsa, *op. cit.*, 192). See also K. Niederwimmer, *op. cit.*, 23 and 137 n. 27 regarding the verses recognized by Dr. Funk.

[53] Judge with partiality: *bonum quaerite remedium . . . ne subito, cum personam accipitis, in iudicio veniatis; iustum iudicium inter partes iudicate secundum gravitatem vestram et iustitiam.* Lead astray: *a via veritatis avertere.*

[54] Regarding Optatus' connection with his work's appendix, Jean-Louis Maier says "Le traité d'Optat parut en deux étapes: vers 366, l'évêque en publia six livres; vers

A Tradition about Peter's Preaching

There is other evidence connecting Peter with the *Two Ways*. Peter appears in Acts as the first Christian preacher. Eusebius says that "Peter is held to have preached to the Jews in the Diaspora in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia".[55] He is called "the apostle of the circumcised" in Gal. 2:7. Papias says that "Peter was accustomed to teach as occasion required, and not as though he were making a compilation of the dominical oracles" (that is, not merely reciting Jesus' sayings).[56] What do we know of this preaching by Peter? A tradition of Peter preaching a sermon on the *two ways* is preserved in the pseudo-Clementines (written in the early or mid fourth century).[57] Chapters 6-8 of *Homily* VII contain the following passage:

> Next, when Peter entered Sidon, the people set before him many sick persons carried out in cots. But he said to them, "Do not think that I—a mortal man also capable of being afflicted by many ailments—can send any of your sick ones back home cured. I am not hesitant, however, to show you the means by which you may save yourselves . . ."[58]
>
> "These good and evil deeds I knowingly declare to you as *two ways*. Those strolling down the one will perish, while those trekking the other (being led by God) will be rescued. For *the way of those who will perish* is wide and smooth—and will be utterly and effortlessly destroyed. *The way of those who will be saved*, however, is narrow and difficult—but will finally save those braving its difficulties. Before these *two ways* stand *Unbelief* and *Faith*. Setting out into Unbelief are those who prefer pleasures, on account of which (doing what is displeasing to

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385, une seconde édition, revue et augmentée (par l'auteur seul?), comporta un septième livre" (*Le Dossier dit Donatisme* 1, Berlin, 1987, p. 12). The authenticity of the appendix—i.e. whether Optatus forged its contents—was the subject of scholarly dispute c. 1890-1930. For an overview of the question and its literature, see Sven Blomgren, *Eine Echtheitsfrage bei Optatus von Mileve* (Stockholm, 1959).

[55] *Hist. eccl.* 3.2 (apparently based on 1 Peter 1:1).

[56] In Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15), quoting from Papias' *Interpretations of the Dominical Sayings*, written about 140 AD.

[57] The terms *Clementines* and *pseudo-Clementines* are used synonymously hereafter in reference to the supposed works of Clement of Rome, pope at the end of the first century. These works, which had almost disappeared, were disseminated widely in the Latin West through Rufinus' translations. Rufinus "catholicized" the texts, expunging most of their Ebionite and Gnostic doctrinal content. Rufinus' connection with the Clementines is treated in Murphy, *op. cit.*, 112-16 and 195-201.

[58] 53 words are omitted here from the Greek text, discussing God's purposes in good and evil.

> God and not concerning themselves with the soul's welfare) they have forgotten *Judgment Day* and do not care to seek after that which is useful . . ."[59]
>
> Next, this is the holy conduct defined by [Peter]: To worship Him alone, and to believe the one Prophet of Truth;[60] and to be washed in repayment of sins, and thus by the purest immersion in saving water to be reborn to God; not to partake of the offering table of pagan divinities (including meats sacrificed to idols, corpses, things strangled, things caught by a beast, and blood); not to live impurely; to wash after the conjugal bed; indeed, for women also to observe the law of cleanliness; to exercise moderation in all things; to do good; not to do injustice; to look forward to eternal life from God Almighty; [and] to obtain this through unceasing utterances and prayers.

This address contains several elements in common with the *Two Ways*: the theme of *two ways*, attendant angels, a conduct code for believers, and (perhaps) reference to the coming judgment. These merit some attention.

First, the theme of the *two ways* is prominent. The phrase is used three times: twice exactly and once in the amplified form of *the way of those who will perish* and *the way of those who will be saved.* This third expression depicts the *ways* as roads to be traveled upon, the one a broad and smooth highway easy to coast down, the other a rough and narrow trail laden with difficulties. This is similar to Matthew 7:13-14, but not identical, as Matthew additionally depicts two gates and quantifies the travelers on those paths.[61] However, a closely related form of this saying appears in Philo and there are classical parallels.[62]

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[59] 95 words are omitted here from the Greek text, discussing God's rationale in judging human intents and actions.

[60] This interesting statement is usually taken as evidence of Arian influence in the *Homilies.* In fact, however, there is possible Petrine support for such proto-unitarianism. Peter's claim for Jesus in Acts 10:38 (the center of an extremely early creedal statement) is the weakest in the New Testament. Compare also Peter's statement in Acts 2:22.

[61] Given here for convenience' sake: "Enter through the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the road broad that leads to destruction, and those who enter through it are many. How narrow the gate and constricted the road that leads to life. And those who find it are few."

[62] Philo says in the *Special Laws* (IV, 108 and 112): "For the way of life is twofold, one branch leading to vice, the other to virtue and we must turn away from the one and never forsake the other . . . For the road that leads to pleasure is downhill and very easy, with the result that one does not walk but is dragged along; the other which leads to self-control is uphill, toilsome no doubt but profitable exceedingly. The one carries us away, forced lower and lower as it drives us down its steep incline, till it flings us off on to the level ground at its foot; the other leads heavenwards the immortal [ones] who have not fainted on the way and have had the strength to endure the roughness of the hard ascent" (Loeb Classics translation).

Second, the figures of *Unbelief* and *Faith* which stand before those two paths correspond to the attendant angels in the *Two Ways* versions. *Barnabas* says "For on the one are stationed the light-giving angels of God, on the other the angels of Satan". The *Doctrina* says "Over them are set two angels, one of right, the other of wrong."[63] Attendant angels are absent from the *Didache*.[64] While it is possible that *Faith* and *Unbelief* are abstractions rather than angels, a conceptual parallel exists nonetheless.

Third, the Sidonian address ends with a conduct code for believers. This code does not closely parallel the "Way of Life" in the *Two Ways*, and may (or may not) be a revision of the "Way of Life" into a statement on faith and morals reflecting the shift from the first century to the fourth. Nevertheless, there is a clear functional parallel with the "Way of Life". The *Homilies*' lost ancestor, the *Preaching of Peter*, might be illuminating

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The sayings about the *two ways* in Matthew, the *Homilies* and Philo (which are probably related) play upon the double-meaning of "way" to present analogies between morality and land travel. Philo's works on the Jewish law were written for Gentiles (c. 30 AD) and sought, among other things, to demonstrate deeper meaning underlying the seemingly arbitrary details of Jewish custom and ritual. Since he often used for that purpose information, arguments and examples already familiar to his readers, this saying may have been quite common at that time and not original to Jesus' teaching. The *Homilies*' use of it stands between Matt. 7:13 and Philo's secular version.

Note also that Philo's moral expansion of this saying was likely influenced by Hesiod's *Works and Days*, vv. 287-292 (on virtue and vice), a passage often referred to by Plato and cited in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (II, 1, 20). There it forms part of the introduction to the apology of Prodicus (quite famous in antiquity), as does the previously mentioned "Judgment of Hercules", which immediately follows it. See Niederwimmer, *op. cit.*, 84 n. 6; Alois Rzach, *Hesiodi Carmina* (Leipzig, 1913[3]; repr. Stuttgart, 1967), 70; and Martin L. West, *Hesiod, Days and Works* (Oxford, 1978), 229 nn. 287-92. (The *two ways*, however, mentioned in *Gorgias* 524a and *Aeneid* 6.540-3 do not represent pathways in this life but post-death routes to the classical afterworlds, Elysium and Tartarus. The Egyptian funerary text *Book of Two Ways*, from the El Bersha coffins, is likewise a postmortal guide.)

[63] The Shepherd also speaks of two angels (one of right, one of evil) which accompany each person (Mand. 6:7-18; immediately after citing the *two ways*). The Doctrine of Pairs discourse in the Clementine *Recognitions* (discussed below) mentions such angels immediately after treating the *two ways*.

[64] See Niederwimmer, *op. cit.*, 88. That this is not merely a deficiency of the Jerusalem Manuscript is attested by the absence of attendant angels from the *Didache* expansion in Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in which the only other omission from the *Two Ways*' first chapter is the nonscriptural portion of the *interpolatio evangelica*.

Note also the presence of angel or spirit guides in the Essene treatment of the *two ways* (1QS 3.13-4.26) and in related Zoroastrian and Manichean cosmology. The *al-Fihrist* reports that Mani's teaching began, "Two beings existed at the beginning of the world, the one Light, the other Darkness".

at this point, and note that the corresponding requirements given in Acts 15:20 and 29[65] are introduced and justified by Peter (15:11-15).

The preceding three elements are clearly parallel to the *Two Ways*. The Sidonian address also treats, immediately after the *two ways*, the coming judgment. While the theme of judgment appears in the extant *Two Ways* versions only in *Barnabas*' conclusion[66] (which was almost certainly written by *Barnabas*' reviser), it must have played an important role in Peter's handling of that material—enough to warrant its use as the title cited by Rufinus: *Peter's Judgment*. And note also the passage on coming judgment near the end of 2 Peter, which may be related to its treatment in *Judgment*.[67]

A second, briefer reference to the *two ways* occurs in chapter 2 of *Homily* XX. There Peter has been asked by one his attendants, Sophonias, to explain the nature of evil. His lengthy response begins as follows: "Listen, therefore to the truth of the harmony in regard to the evil one. God appointed two kingdoms and established two ages . . . He created man with free-will, possessing the capacity of inclining to whatever actions he wishes . . . Wherefore also *two ways* were laid before him [i.e. man]—*those of obedience and disobedience to law*[68]—and two kingdoms have been established . . ." Here, again, the *two ways* are shown to be part of Peter's teaching (although the discourse in which it occurs is fictitious). Perhaps significantly, both here and in *Homily* VII the *two ways* are introduced near the beginning of those teaching discourses, possibly remembering Peter's use of the *two ways* as a frequent starting point for his preaching.

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[65] Acts 15:29 requires abstention "from meat sacrificed to idols, from blood, from meats of strangled animals, and from unlawful marriage".

[66] *Barnabas* 21: "And be ye taught of God, seeking diligently what the Lord requireth of you, and act that ye may be found in the day of judgment."

[67] Note tangentially, regarding possible endings to the *Two Ways*, that several scholars have suggested that the *Didache*'s last chapter may have originally appeared as the conclusion of the *Two Ways* section which begins the *Didache*. (See Rordorf and Tuilier, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-83.) Thus *Didache* 16:1's words "watch over your life, do not let your lamps go out" are taken to refer to the *way of life* and to continue the exhortation found in *Did.* 6:1.

The present writer, however, feels it is unlikely that Peter used in his *two ways* preaching apocalyptic material similar to that found in *Didache* 16, since there is little trace of such teaching in either the canonical Petrine epistles or the Petrine material in the Clementines. The depiction of divine judgment and wrath with which Peter presumably followed up his *two ways* preaching was surely closer to 2 Peter 3 than to *Didache* 16. The "fiery testing" of *Didache* 16:5 may reflect the same persecution(s) remembered in 1 Peter 4:12, but there is no literary connection.

[68] This probably means the Torah, as God's law for mankind, and would thus be another instance of Ebionite influence in the *Homilies*.

The Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions

Elsewhere in the Clementines, the *two ways* are cited in the *Recognitions*, a Christian novel from the early fourth century.[69] In Book VIII, the "Dialogue with the Old Man" is begun by Peter and continued by several of his converts (Clement and his brothers), with Peter in attendance throughout. The dialogue contains several discourses on subjects of concern to Greek philosophy, each of which is addressed by the brother knowledgeable on that particular school of philosophy. One discourse (centered in section 53) describes a great division throughout the world, everything being either true or false, good or evil, etc. (i.e. having an opposite). This doctrine of pairs is compatible with Stoicism and Skepticism,[70] and may also reflect Gnostic or Manichean teaching.[71]

In section 54, Clement's brother Aquila[72] speaks of the *two ways* as part of this division (*in mundo . . . duae istae . . . viae*).[73] He then urges the Old Man, "Flee the *way of unbelief* (*infidelitatis viam*) lest it lead you to the Prince who rejoices in men's evil deeds. Follow instead the *way of faith* (*fidei viam*) that you may arrive at the King Who rejoices in men's good deeds." Immediately after this (in section 55), Aquila addresses the role of angels,

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[69] An overview of the *Recognitions*' content and significance is given in Oscar Cullmann, *Le Problème Littéraire et Historique du Roman Pseudo-Clémentin* (Paris, 1930).

[70] Dualism was most well-developed in Greek philosophy by Heraclitus of Ephesus. His central teaching, the doctrine of the unity of opposites, held that all things are composed of opposites and therefore subject to internal tension and continuous change. Heraclitean-derived concepts on unity and harmony were central to Stoic thought (through Cleanthes' teaching on *tonos*) and influenced later Pyrrhonic Skeptics such as Aenesidemus. Regarding Heraclitus' unity of opposites, see G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge, 1957), 189-96; and W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1962), 435-46. Regarding his influence on the Skepticism of Aenesidemus, see Giovanni Reale, *A History of Ancient Philosophy* (New York, 1990), vol. 4 ("The Schools of the Imperial Age"), 119-122.

[71] The extreme dualism of Mani requires no comment. For an overview of Gnostic dualism, see Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis* (1987 edition), 59-67; and A.H. Armstrong, "Dualism: Platonic, Gnostic and Christian", in Richard T. Wallis (ed.), *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism* (New York, 1992), 33-54. Note also the Gnostic syzygies or eonal pairs of opposites, to which Georg Strecker devotes a chapter in *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen* (Berlin, 1958). Although these are often not true opposites, they were treated as such in early Christian apologetics.

[72] Aquila is the brother knowledgeable about Pyrrhonism (VIII 7). Nevertheless, his statement on dualism is Christian rather than Skeptic.

[73] The phrase *in mundo* is actually part of the preceding sentence. The *Doctrina* describes this division as being *in saeculo* ("in this age").

stating that God and His government look after those inclined to good, while He has delivered over to the fallen angels those inclined to evil.[74] *Recognitions* thus gives the *two ways* as those of *faith* and *unbelief* (which terms in Homily VII name the figures set over those paths) and attendant angels also appear.[75]

Somewhat more thinly, *Recognitions* VII also mentions (in section 56, only a few lines beyond the preceding material) the relationship between knowledge and moral responsibility, and then proceeds to the Golden Rule (also stated in the *Two Ways*). In the Sidonian sermon, the same matter is discussed but a few lines after *judgment* and as part of its discussion (omitted from the above extract). This, however, may reflect development within the Clementine tradition rather than the original content of *Peter's Judgment.* Nothing more of the *two ways* is given in the dialogue, which is primarily concerned with reconciling Christian teaching with Greek philosophy and reduces the *two ways* to little more than an example of the doctrine of pairs. Nevertheless, this dialogue gives further evidence of the tradition of the *two ways* as Petrine teaching.

The importance of these passages in the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* lies in the fact that the pseudo-Clementines form part of a literary chain extending back to the late apostolic age, preserving traditions about Peter.[76] The *Homilies*, chronicling Peter's missionary activity, contained much material from the early third century *Travels of Peter* (now lost).[77] This work in turn

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[74] Note a parallel to this in section 23 of *Poimandres*, the first treatise in the *Corpus Hermeticum* (sections 20-23 of *Poimandres* outline two opposing types of human behavior—corresponding to the world's division into light and darkness—and their opposite afterworlds): "But I [Poimandres] am distant from those who are foolish, evil, wicked, envious, greedy, murderers, and impious. I give them over to the avenging demon . . ." Quoted from Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* (New York, 1987), 457. Layton comments that the role of the avenging demon is "a traditional Greek theme associated with postmortal judgment in the underworld".

[75] There are also minor parallels here with the Sidonian sermon in that both accounts refer to the *two ways* as those of *faith* and *unbelief*, and both speak of God's personal attendance to those traveling on the *way of faith.*

[76] The origin of the Clementines is discussed in H. Waitz, "Die Pseudoklementinen und ihre Quellenschriften", *ZNW* 28 (1929), 241-72; *idem*, "Die Lösung des pseudoklementinen Problems?", *ZKG* 59 (1940), 304-341; and Bernhard Rehm, "Zur Entstehung der pseudoclementinischen Schriften", *ZNW* 37 (1938), 77-184.

[77] The Gelasian Decree even refers to the *Homilies* in a manner recalling the *Travels of Peter*, describing it as "the travelogue in the name of the apostle Peter, called [the work] of St. Clement".

was based upon the *Preaching of Peter*, probably written at the opening of the second century (and also now lost).[78] Both the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* seem also to have drawn upon the *Acts of Peter*, which chronicled Peter's contest with Simon Magus, a prominent theme in both Clementines.[79] The *Homilies*' account of Peter's *two ways* sermon at Sidon thus may derive from very early in the Church's history, and not impossibly from a generation which had known Peter. While the philosophical discourses in *Recognitions* VIII and *Homily* XX are certainly fictitious, they too confirm the tradition associating Peter with *two ways* teaching. Thus the Clementines preserve memory of Peter's homiletic and apologetic use of the *Two Ways*.

The Two Ways *in Peter's Canonical Epistles*

Finally, Peter's canonical epistles express the concept of the *two ways* and associate the *way of death* with judgment day. Both epistles record Peter's teaching and thus the issue of immediate authorship is largely irrelevant.[80]

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[78] See the studies by Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri kritisch untersucht* (Leipzig, 1893), and Joseph N. Reagan, *The Preaching of Peter* (Chicago, 1923). The *Preaching* was often quoted by the early fathers and was considered as Scripture by some. Nevertheless, a certain amount of common material existed between the *Preaching* and the Ebionite *Gospel of the Hebrews*, and both the *Preaching* and the *Travels* were later considered Ebionite. The present writer suspects the *Preachings of Peter* may be a title variation rather than a separate work, just as the *Didache* is called both the *Teaching* and the *Teachings* [*of the Apostles*].

[79] Possible relationship between the *Acts* and the Clementines is considered in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Philadelphia, 1965), vol. 2, 252-63.

[80] It should be noted that 2 Peter probably was not written by the apostle himself, but produced later to preserve his teachings (possibly building upon a genuine remain of some sort). Several of the references to judgment day and fleshly desires occur in the large block of material which it holds in common with Jude (roughly 2 Peter 2:1-3:3 and Jude 4-18; "False Teachers"). The present writer does not offer an opinion here regarding the origin of this material. If, however, the passage in 2 Peter was based on Jude or a common source, it was surely employed because of its faithful expression of Petrine teaching (as presented elsewhere in the canonical epistles), so that the Petrinity of its themes is intentional.

Indeed, the final carnality-judgment day pairing in 2 Peter clearly demonstrates this. The common material ends with "scoffers . . . living according to their own desires" (v. 3:3). Yet the illustration continues past there and climaxes with judgment day in v. 3:7 (written by 2 Peter's author), ignoring the supposed break in material. This demonstrates that thematic pairing as genuinely Petrine (whether 2 Peter's author wrote the

Recalling the *two ways*, 2 Pet. 2:15 states "Abandoning *the straight road*,[81] they have gone astray, following *the road of Balaam*, the son of Bosor, who loved payment for wrongdoing." The *Shepherd of Hermas* also calls the *way of life* the "*straight path*" (Mand. 6.1), while its "*road of Balaam*" represents the *way of death*.[82] The *way of life* is referred to as "*the way of righteousness*" in 2 Pet. 2:21, while 2 Pet. 2:1-2 says that "there will be false teachers among you. . . . Many will follow their licentious ways, and because of them the *way of truth* will be reviled".

The reference to "false teachers" in the preceding verse recalls the final words of the *Two Ways* (*Did.* 6:1), "See that no one leads you astray from the *way of this teaching*, for such a person teaches you apart from God". Note the reference to "going astray" from the right path in both 2 Pet. 2:15 and *Did.* 6:1.[83] (2 Peter 2:15's "payment for wrongdoing" mirrors the "reward of righteousness" in the "Way of Death".[84] This is coincidental, however, since the phrase in 2 Peter is from the Balaam tradition and occurs in 2:15-16 as part of a series of sayings from that tradition.)

Peter's portrayal of the *way of death* centers around sexual desires. 1 Pet. 2:11 states, "Beloved, I urge you as aliens and sojourners to *abstain from fleshly desires* that wage war against the soul." 1 Pet. 4:2-3 says, "[do not] spend what remains of one's life in the flesh on human desires . . . [such as] living in debauchery, evil desires . . . [and] orgies". 2 Pet. 1:4 blames such desires as the cause of "the corruption that is in this world", and verse 2:10 promises special punishment for their extreme abusers. (Paul teaches similarly. The "works of the flesh" in Gal. 5:19-21—clearly parallel to the *way of death*—derive from the fleshly desires in verse 17 of that passage.)

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entire passage or merely completed the final thoughts of a passage borrowed from elsewhere) and may also serve as an argument for the priority of 2 Peter to Jude. (Another interpretation of this common material, however, will be presented shortly hereafter.)

[81] Perhaps recalling Mark 1:3 (and its parallels), "Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight His paths."

[82] Balaam's disobedience to God, recounted in Numbers 22-24, became a Jewish proverb and in later Jewish tradition he became Moses' supreme opponent and the epitome of evil. The Talmud often attaches the epithet *rasha'* ("the wicked one") to his name, and Aboth 5:19 contrasts him and his followers (who have the evil eye) with those of Abraham. Elsewhere in the Talmud, his name is explained as *bala' am* ("he swallowed a nation"). See also Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. 6 (Philadelphia, 1928), 124-35, notes 723, 727, 734, 747, 771 and 785; and the article on "Balaam" in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1902 edition).

[83] Noted in Niederwimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n. 2.

[84] *Ibid.*, 150 n. 19. 2 Peter 2:15 μισθὸν ἀδικίας; *Did.* 5:2 μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης.

The "False Teachers" section of 2 Peter contains two prominent segments (not found in Jude) concerning sexual sins: 2:13-14 and 2:18-22. Also lacking in Jude is the phrase "son of Bosor" (v. 2:15). This is given as "son of Beor" in the Old Testament, and is a pun on the Hebrew *basor* ("flesh") alluding to the role of sensuality in Balaam's error.[85] The *Didache*'s interpolation also contains an injunction against fleshly desires very similar to that of 1 Pet. 2:11, of which it is usually said to be a quotation.

The canonical Petrine epistles contain seven references to fleshly desires, including in conjunction with all four citations of judgment day.[86] Those four passages all strongly denounce sinful living (*the way of death*) and each climaxes with severe warning concerning the coming judgment. The Sidonian sermon also addresses judgment day immediately after the *way of death* (Unbelief), and this must have been the way Peter preached his *two ways* sermon. *Peter's Judgment* (whoever its author) likely progressed in the same way, possibly concluding with a prediction of final judgment and divine wrath similar to that in 2 Peter 3.

Early Medieval Evidence

A final piece of evidence linking Peter with the *Two Ways* comes from the early Middle Ages. In 1900 Josef Schlecht, then assistant professor at the Catholic university at Freising (near Munich), published a Latin version of the *Two Ways* (the *Doctrina apostolorum*) from an eleventh century manuscript formerly in a Freising monastic library.[87] Freising's monasteries were secularized in 1803 and the manuscript, *Frisingensis 64*, was transferred to the state library at Munich, where it is now called *Monacensis lat. 6264*.

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[85] See Richard J. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, WBC 50 (Waco, Tex., 1983), 267-8; and Charles Bigg, *The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, Int'l Crit. Comm. (New York, 1901), 283-4. The use of such scorn-names was also common practice among the ancient rabbis and in the Talmud. Jewish traditions of Balaam's fleshly sins are considered in notes 747 and 785 in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*

2 Peter's casual use of "the son of Bosor" (an earthy pun which works only in Hebrew) may be further evidence that the epistle originated with a Galilean preacher such as Peter rather than a cultivated Greek from Asia Minor (said to be the source of 2 Peter's grandiloquent literary style). 2 Peter may have been re-written by an educated Greek in the second century from a more humble authentic writing by Peter or a sermon of his recollected by one of his hearers.

[86] 1 Peter 4:3-5, 15-17; 2 Peter 2:7-10 and 3:3-7 cite both fleshly desires and judgment day, while 2 Peter 1:4, 2:2 and 2:18 cite fleshly desires alone.

[87] *Doctrina XII apostolorum* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder), 1900. An expanded edition appeared in 1901, subtitled *Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der katholischen Kirche.*

Schlecht's work also included a sermon of St. Boniface found in the same manuscript. In 738 Boniface, "the apostle of the Germans", created Bavaria's four dioceses, including Freising. Boniface greatly revered Peter. The church which he built at Geismar in 722, after destroying the "Thunder Oak", was dedicated to Peter. He later wrote to an English abbess, entreating her to furnish him with "the epistles of my master, the apostle St. Peter, ornamented with gold lettering . . . since I desire to have in my presence the words of him who has always directed me greatly in this journey."[88] And there are, of course, numerous references to Peter in Boniface's letters and sermons (albeit few quotations from his epistles).

The sermon from the Freising manuscript (Sermo 15 in Migne) summarizes the *Didache* and opens with a version of the "Way of Death" specially prepared for contemporary German conditions. In the manuscript the sermon is entitled *Admonitio s. Petri sive praedicatio sancti Bonifatii ep. de abrenuntiatione in baptismate* ("The Warning of St. Peter or the Preaching of St. Boniface the Bishop on Baptismal Renunciation"),[89] remembering the "Way of Death" as a teaching of Peter. Thus memory of Peter's association with the *Two Ways* survived into the early Middle Ages.

Judgment's *Literary Relations*

Literary relations may exist between *Judgment*—presumably composed within living memory of Peter's ministry, i.e. in the last quarter of the first century—and two writings from the second century. These will necessarily be presented in generalities and possibilities since it is difficult to assess the influence of a work whose text has not survived and whose scope is only roughly surmisable. 2 Peter (whose thematic affinity with the *two ways* has already been demonstrated) merits further attention regarding the text of its third chapter. It has already been observed (in note 85) that 2 Peter may have been constructed upon a genuine Petrine fragment of some sort, whether a humbler surviving letter of the apostle or a sermon recollected by one of his hearers. It may also be that 2 Peter is a collection of smaller units woven together to form a fuller work.

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[88] Epistle 19 in Migne, *PL* 89, col. 712.

[89] See Schlecht, *op. cit.* (1901, 124-26; and Rordorf and Tuilier, *op. cit.*, 203-205. Note that the version of Boniface's sermon found in Migne (*PL* 89, col. 870) is entitled there *Ammonitio sive praedictio sancti Bonifacii Episcopi de Abrenuntiatione in Baptismate*, omitting reference to Peter.

Two larger units are obvious ("False Teachers" in 2:1-3:3 and "The Day of Judgment and of Destruction of the Godless" in 3:5-3:13) and smaller attributions or borrowings may also be present in the epistle's introduction and conclusion. These units may have been of varying apostolic tradition: "False Teachers" may have been of unspecified apostolic attribution (and was also presented as Jude's), but "The Day" is clearly Petrine in theme. It is unlikely that 2 Peter's "Day" represents *Judgment*'s material exactly. Comparison of 2 Peter's "False Teachers" with the simpler version of that passage in Jude reveals several types of additions and alterations made by the compositor, including relevant additions on fleshly sins and addictive behavior. *Barnabas*' reviser similarly overlaid his union of that earlier epistle and the *Two Ways* with revisions and additions.[90] "The Day" would likewise represent *Judgment*'s material only generally.

Possible relationship may also exist with *Peter's Revelation*, apparently written between 125 and 150 AD.[91] The *Revelation*, the first Christian writing to present a detailed description of the afterworld, is usually thought to have been inspired by *John's Revelation*. The work is primarily concerned with depicting hell, many of whose horrible punishments were borrowed from the Orphic and Pythagorean religions, but also relates Christ's return, the last judgment, and the reward of the faithful, for which it drew on earlier Christian sources. The *Revelation* is sometimes said to have influenced 2 Peter regarding the world's final destruction by fire, but *Judgment* may have been the actual source for both the *Revelation* and 2 Peter. *Judgment* may also have influenced the *Revelation*'s attribution to Peter, since it had previously connected Peter with teaching about final events. Although *Peter's Revelation* was eventually excluded from the canon, it played a major role in shaping Christian conceptions of hell and the end of the world. Significant underlying credit for this, however, is likely due to *Peter's Judgment*, whose influence on early Christian literature and thought has been forgotten.

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[90] This is not to say that 2 Peter's compositor's contributions to the epistle were uninspired or un-Petrine. In 1:16-21 he appeals to Peter's eyewitness to Jesus' Sonhood and states in round-about fashion that the epistle contains no "cleverly devised myths" nor "matter[s] of personal interpretation", but is a "prophetic message" written through "the holy Spirit . . . under the influence of God" to serve as "a lamp . . . in a dark place".

[91] For a short overview of the *Revelation*, see Robinson, *Hist. Early Chr. Lit.*, 52-56. For fuller treatment, see M.R. James, "The Recovery of the Apocalypse of Peter", *Church Quarterly Review* 80 (1915), 1-16; and Edgar Hennecke, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.

The Decline of the Two Ways *and its Petrine Tradition*

Nevertheless, the *Two Ways* and its Petrine tradition fell from later church tradition. There are several possible reasons for this. First among these is the likelihood that the later church hierarchy regarded the *Didache* with aversion. The *Didache* is (in its middle sections) a primitive church manual which, by the fourth century, had lost much of its earlier relevance. Its simple eucharistic prayers contrast with elaborate later ritual. Its instructions for the Eucharist reverse the order of bread and wine universally used by the later Church[92] and invest different meanings to those elements.[93] It does not recognize the organization of the later Church. Priests are absent from the *Didache* (whose instructions for the Eucharist do not include them) and bishops are elected by the laity.[94] Perhaps equally important, its aversion to money-seeking religious leaders would have been distasteful to a church then growing wealthy.[95] As the Church grew, that little book must have created many problems.

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[92] Although Luke 22:17-19 agrees with the *Didache* (chap. 9) in listing the wine before the bread, the Matthean order (bread before wine) has been universally used by the later church. The fact that the *Didache* is the only existing ancient church manual to place the wine before the bread has been taken as evidence for its composition at a very early point in the church's existence.

[93] In the *Didache* the Eucharist is a full thanksgiving meal ("and after you have had enough") dedicated only to God the Father ("our Father"). Thanks is given for those things made known by Jesus, but there is no mention of His sacrificial death and resurrection. Instead, the wine remembers "the holy vine of David" and the broken bread symbolizes the scattered Church which will be brought together in God's kingdom. Regarding the development of the Eucharist beyond the practice given in the *Didache*, see L. Ligier, "The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: From the Last Supper to Eucharist", *Studia Liturgica* 9 (1973), 161-85; and J.W. Riggs, "From Gracious Table to Sacramental Elements: The Tradition-History of Didache 9 and 10", *Second Century* 4 (1984), 83-104.

[94] Possible explanations for the absence of priests are surveyed in Clayton Jefford, "Presbyters in the Community of the *Didache*", *Studia Patristica* 21 (1989), 122-28. André Tuilier attempts to prove continuity between the *Didache* and later practice in "La Doctrine des Apôtres et la hiérarchie dans l'église primitive", *Studia Patristica* 18 (1989, pt. 3), 229-62. See also G. Jay, "From Presbyter-Bishops to Bishops and Presbyters", *Second Century* 1 (1981), 125-62.

[95] *Didache* 11-13 absolutely prohibits itinerant clergy from financial gain (even going so far as to declare those seeking money as "false apostles") and implies financial moderation for regular church leaders. Remembrance of Paul's voluntarily unpaid ministry and of the earliest Church's experiment in communal property might have raised further doubts in the minds of many. The *Apostolic Constitutions* eliminates two-thirds of chapters 11-12, including all teaching on Christian economic and employment arrangements, except two statements supporting tithing and clerical compensation.

In his *History of the Church* (circa 325), Eusebius gives a list of rejected writings (νόθοι), including the *Shepherd, Barnabas*, and the *Didache*.[96] These were not dangerous heretical writings, but orthodox Christian works which had been quoted as Scripture by church fathers in the past, but were no longer accepted as inspired. Four decades later, Athanasius, in delineating the New Testament, cites the *Shepherd* and the *Didache* as outside the canon, but valuable for religious instruction. Likewise Rufinus for the *Shepherd* and the *Two Ways* yet another forty years later.

Another reason for the decline of the *Two Ways* and *Didache* involved the appearance of new catechetical materials in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, such as those of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine.[97] Jerome says that in his day the *Shepherd of Hermas* (which he calls "a useful work") was "still read to the people in Greek churches but forgotten in Latin lands"—possibly indicating liturgical use.[98] If the *Two Ways-Didache* had also been so read in church, this likely ceased after the introduction of newer catechetical materials in the late fourth century—and popular awareness of those works consequently diminished.

At this time also, a large body of church literature came to be considered apocrypha. The term originally referred to works which were kept secret because they contained esoteric knowledge too sacred or profound for the uninitiated. Later the term came to be applied also to works of questionable origin or secondary value. In this regard, the authenticity of many apostolopatristic writings came to be questioned and the *Didache*'s apostolicity also doubted—that work often being referred to in the fourth century as the *Teaching(s) said to be of the Apostles*. Finally the word came to mean false, spurious or heretical.

The sixth-century Gelasian Decree[99] distinguishes several types of rejected literature and lists in its lowest class, that of works "damned for eternity"

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[96] *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.

[97] Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus* remained the standard for several centuries, especially the questions at the end of the work, Sermons 212-215. (The familiar oral method of instruction, however, first appears in the Carolingian *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*, perhaps from the eighth century.)

[98] *Vir. ill.*, chap. 10.

[99] The Gelasian Decree (named after Pope Gelasius, 492-496, but apparently written early in the next century) is more than a canonical catalogue: it is a detailed pronouncement on the catholicity of most existing Christian literature and concludes with an exhaustive, chronological list of heretics. The major study of the Decree is that of Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (Leipzig, 1912).

(*in aeternum damnatum*), the Clementine *Homilies* (which heads the list!),[100] the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Apostolic Church Order*[101] (the *Two Ways* divided into short speeches by the Twelve Apostles). The *Didache* and *Barnabas* are not mentioned in the Decree (their status perhaps still being sensitive) but works related to them are condemned. The *Pontifical Record*, the first set of papal biographies, was compiled in the seventh century from earlier martyrologies and other sources (including Jerome).[102] That work says that Peter "wrote two epistles which are called catholic and the Gospel of Mark . . ." There is no mention of *Judgment* or of any other spurious work of Peter. In the ninth century, however, Ado of Vienne's *De festivitatibus ss. apostolorum* remembers Jerome's condemnation of *Judgment* and other works falsely ascribed to Peter.

In the Greek Church, the *List of Sixty Canonical Books*[103] (written before the seventh century) cites as apocrypha the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Travels and Teachings of the Apostles* (probably the *Didache* and various apostolic histories, including the *Travels of Peter*).[104] The ninth-century *Stichometry of Nicephorus*[105] cites as apocrypha the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Didache*, and the *Travels of Peter*,[106] and lists the *Epistle of Barnabas* as a doubted work. The last known copy of the *Didache* (and of *Barnabas*) was made in 1056, apparently for archival purposes. The last known references to the *Didache* were by the Byzantine chronicler Zonaras (c. 1120) and the Greek monk Blastares (c. 1335).

The decline of the *Two Ways* and *Didache* thus began in clerical aversion

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[100] This is because the rejected works are grouped hierarchically according to their reputed authorship (with those associated with Peter given first) rather than for any preeminent damnability of that work.

[101] Called the *Canones apostolorum* in the Decree.

[102] Some scholars feel that one version of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Felician Epitome (which extends from Peter to Felix II), dates from the early sixth century and may be the original series of that work. Others contend that the Epitome actually dates from the seventh century, as do the other early versions of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

[103] The *List of Sixty Canonical Books* is a Greek catalogue which was in use for several centuries. It includes in its apocrypha list several supposedly apostolic works which were once popular. While the oldest known copy of the *List* is from the seventh century, the work is clearly older.

[104] The *Stichometry of Nicephorus*, for example, lists apocryphal travelogues for Peter, John and Thomas.

[105] The *Stichometry of Nicephorus*, written circa 825 by the Greek patriarch (or by a Pseudo-Nicephorus), cites as doubted or apocryphal works primarily those writings by apostolic fathers which were often treated as canonical in the first few centuries.

[106] Cited as the *Doctrina apostolorum* and *Itinerarium Petri* (which also may be interpreted as the Latin *Two Ways* and the Clementine *Homilies*).

and decreased popular use and concluded in official church rejection and disappearance from history (and may also involve other causes not considered here). The *Two Ways* and *Didache* did not disappear immediately—their catechetical instruction was remembered well into Carolingian times in the sermons of German missionaries such as St. Boniface of Mainz and St. Severin of Noricum—but neither work emerged from the Dark Ages.

Conclusion

The foregoing literary evidence clearly demonstrates a tradition in the early Church connecting Peter with the *Two Ways*. The pseudo-Clementines portray Peter teaching the *two ways* and preserve important elements of that teaching. Optatus identifies "Peter's epistle" as the source of a quotation which is in fact from the *Two Ways*. Rufinus attests *Peter's Judgment* as another name for the *Two Ways*, which Jerome and Ado of Vienne also partially witness. An early medieval sermon on the *Two Ways-Didache* is titled after Peter. And both the *Two Ways* treatise and *two ways* material in the pseudo-Clementines have significant ties with the canonical Petrine epistles. This evidence is geographically, temporally, linguistically and sectarianly diverse and indicates a widespread and enduring tradition of early origin.

Clearly, Peter did not write the *Two Ways*. That work is of manifestly Jewish rather than Christian character, despite its preservation only in Christian sources. Those Christian sources further present the *Two Ways* anonymously rather than as the work of Peter, despite their composition close to Peter's lifetime. It appears that earlier Christian memory is of Peter sermonizing a powerful moral treatise, while later tradition may depict him as writing that work.

A rather speculative hypothesis squaring the diverse facts might run as follows: The *Two Ways* treatise probably appeared in the late Second Temple period, possibly in a Diaspora community which was involved with Gentile converts (God-fearers). Apostolic Christianity inherited and commonly employed *two ways* teaching, to which Jesus had referred in the Sermon on the Mount. Peter often preached a sermon on the *two ways* which included strong warning of approaching divine judgment. This preaching was remembered in the *Travels of Peter* and the Clementines and echoed in the canonical epistles. The *Two Ways* treatise must have been widely used in the early Church, and its opening words quite familiar to most Christians.

At an early date there appeared under Peter's name a version of the

Two Ways which highlighted judgment day. This was probably entitled Κρῖμα Πέτρου or Κρῖμα κατὰ Πέτρον, since it was known in Latin as *Iudicium Petri* or *Iudicium secundum Petrum.* This would have opened with the *Two Ways* (perhaps as given in the *Doctrina*), and concluded with a warning of the judgment and wrath to come. Material from this work may have appeared in second century works such as *Peter's Revelation* and 2 Peter. *Judgment* may not have been clearly distinguished in popular reference from the earlier *Two Ways*, of which it was an expansion. Popular association of Peter with the Church's first moral statement outside Scripture, the *Two Ways*, surely contributed to his stature in church tradition,[107] and likely helped substantiate the *Didache*'s apostolicity in popular opinion.

By the fourth century, however, the *Two Ways-Didache*, outdated and troublesome, came under suspicion and declined in use. It was finally rejected altogether and (almost) disappeared. This ambitious hypothesis exceeds the evidence presented and is proposed to stimulate thought and further investigation. An alternative explanation might posit that the tradition connecting Peter with the *Two Ways* was not current in the universal Church but local to Syria-Palestine: Rufinus knew of it because of his specialization in the Christian literature of that area; the Clementines *were* that local literature; Jerome condemns it as unrecognized (unknown?) in the universal Church; and Optatus' statement may be that of an over-educated bishop. Indeed, Peter's *two ways* may have been an Ebionite tradition. But such objections do not explain the cross-connections present in the larger historical framework.

Although "Peter's *two ways*" endured for several centuries as a minor tradition of the Church, both the *Two Ways* and its Petrine tradition later disappeared—and Christianity lost a precious bit of its heritage. The recovery of the *Didache* and *Two Ways* a hundred years ago shed important light on the apostolic age and restored important pieces of religious literature to the Church.[108] May the present re-appearance of the tradition of "Peter's *Two Ways*" likewise contribute to better understanding of the early Church and (perhaps) restore part of our religious heritage!

P.O. Box 9126, *Morristown*, NJ 07963-9126

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[107] Peter's proclamation of final judgment in *Iudicium Petri* may have also supported the legend of him as heaven's gate-keeper (based on Matt. 16:19).

[108] The new Catholic catechism, for example, references the *Didache* regarding abortion. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Mission Hills, Calif., 1994), 547 n. 74.

CONSTANTINOPOLITAN WOMEN IN CHRYSOSTOM'S CIRCLE*

BY

WENDY MAYER

Introduction

The subject of John's relationship with women and of the role of the women who surrounded him at Constantinople is an enduring one, not least because of the immortalisation of the deaconess Olympias as the partner in John's most intimate relationship and of the empress Eudoxia and the powerful socialites Eugraphia, Castricia and Marsa as his most bitter and enduring enemies. The focus upon them in the literature can be attributed to the polarisation between the two sets of women in the *Dialogue* of Palladius and the emphasis which each receives in the sources in general. There were other, less well-documented women, however, with whom John associated at Constantinople and it is to these women that I wish to turn. Perhaps if we examine the picture from their angle, we will recover a more rounded view of the role that women played in his life and in the life of the church of Constantinople.

This is not to say that the question of John's relations with women has not previously been studied from perspectives other than that of his intimacy with Olympias and the alleged hostility which he engendered in Eudoxia and her intimates. In the early 1990s Catherine Broc, a French scholar, produced a brief study on the role of the women in the church of Constantinople on the basis of Chrysostom's correspondence,[1] in which she analyses the proportion and the character and content of the letters which he addressed to women during the course of his exile. This study does much to broaden the picture. In 1991, again with regard to John's correspondence, Roland Delmaire published a lengthy article in which he

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[1] Summarised in C. Broc, Le rôle des femmes dans l'Église de Constantinople d'après la correspondance de Jean Chrysostome, *Studia Patristica* 27 (1993) 150-4.

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not only revises the chronology of the letters from exile, but analyses the status of their recipients and presents a detailed analysis of their prosopography.[2] This work provides important detail concerning all of the correspondents and persons mentioned in the letters, including the women. In a third article in which the friends and enemies of Chrysostom are examined, Wolfgang Liebeschuetz spends a significant number of pages considering the various roles played by senatorial women.[3] A fourth article, in which Elizabeth Clark examines the female friends of Jerome and Chrysostom, at one point diverges briefly from its focus on Olympias to discuss several of John's female correspondents, few of them, however, from Constantinople. The digression simply concludes, on the basis of the few sources examined, that the immediate circle of his female friends was wealthy.[4] Other discussions are much briefer, if also useful. In his often cited article on Palladius of Helenopolis, E.D. Hunt devotes two pages to discussing the women whom Palladius mentions in Chapter 41 of the *Lausiac History*, speculating on their relationship to women of the same name among Chrysostom's correspondents.[5] In his biography of Chrysostom, Baur usefully lists a modest number of women in addition to Olympias—some deaconesses, some correspondents. He does little to flesh out the picture, however.[6] Unfortunately, in proportion to the preponderance of literature on Olympias and Eudoxia,[7] these few works do little to redress the imbalance.

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[2] Les "lettres d'exil" de Jean Chrysostome. études de chronologie et de prosopographie, *Recherches Augustiniennes* 25 (1991) 71-180.

[3] Friends and Enemies of John Chrysostom, in A. Moffatt (ed.), *Maistor, Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, Byzantina Australiensia 5 (Canberra 1984) 85-111, especially 101-9.

[4] E.A. Clark, Friendship Between the Sexes: Classical Theory and Christian Practice, in *ead., Jerome, Chrysostom and Friends. Essays and Translations*, Studies in Women and Religion 2 (New York-Toronto 1979) 35-105, especially 69-70. Although, as we shall see, this conclusion is justified, Clark reaches it on the basis of only a small portion of the available evidence.

[5] Palladius of Helenopolis: A party and its supporters in the church of the late fourth century, *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1973) 476-7.

[6] C. Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (Engl. trans., Westminster, Maryland, 1960) II 101, 312-15, 368, 377-9. The references to women other than Eudoxia and her intimates and Olympias by J.N.D. Kelly in *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London 1995), on the other hand, are fleeting. See *ibid.*, 248, 261-2, 264.

[7] On Olympias: H. Dacier, *S. Jean Chrysostome et la femme chrétienne au IV^e siècle de l'Église grecque* (Paris 1907) 119-264; B.H. Vandenberghe, *St. John Chrysostom and St. Olympias* (London 1959); Baur, *Chrysostom and His Time*, II 98-101, 294-5, 374-7; Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 111-14, 122-3, 248-71; P. Rousseau, 'Learned Women' and the Development of

In addition, useful and significant as these studies are, they focus on limited bodies of evidence, such as the letters, or restricted groups of women, such as the deaconesses attached to the Great Church or John's female correspondents. Not one attempts to map out the evidence in full. What I intend to do in this paper, then, is to provide a basis against which we can test the prevailing notions about John and his relations with women at Constantinople by constructing as complete and as balanced a picture as possible of the women with whom he came into contact. To do this, I build upon the work of Clark, Liebeschuetz, Broc and Delmaire by examining in greater detail the information yielded by the letters and other sources and by incorporating the slight evidence contained in the sermons. In relation to these data I explore, where relevant, the evidence which has long been assembled for Olympias and Eudoxia and her associates. I then probe the whole to see what information it can yield about the role that each of these women played within Constantinopolitan society during the years 398-407, the limits of John's episcopate and exile.

The Women

There are a surprising number of players in the drama, when the evidence is carefully considered. Olympias, Eudoxia, Eugraphia, Castricia and Marsa—all women from the top echelon of society; the latter intimately involved with the imperial court—are simply the better known characters. In their case, however, notoriety should not necessarily be equated with degree of importance and it is wise to question whether their influence upon John's life was as significant as the sources suggest. So that the evidence can be presented without prejudice these women will be discussed only after a number of the other characters have been introduced.

Again, rather than begin with John's female correspondents, since these too have been to some extent already explored, I will start by enumerating the women who are identified in the subsidiary sources. If we turn first to the monastery which Olympias founded at some point during the episcopate of Nectarius, John's predecessor, we are reminded that the

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a Christian Culture in Late Antiquity, *Symbolæ Osloenses* 70 (1995) 116-47. On Eudoxia and intimates: Baur, *Chrysostom and His Time*, II 32-8, 157-290 *passim*, 354-8; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, The Fall of John Chrysostom, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 29 (1985) 1-31; Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 110, 128ff. Liebeschuetz strives to show that the role which Eudoxia and Eugraphia played in Chrysostom's downfall is a lesser one than that which is suggested by the sources.

nucleus, some fifty women, were involuntarily enrolled from her own household. These fifty women were her *cubiculariae* or chambermaids.[8] At some point they were joined by three sisters—Elisanthia, Martyria and Palladia—all relatives of Olympias who, it is claimed, also became attracted to the ascetic life. These women were sufficiently wealthy to have in their possession property which they were obliged to cede to the monastery on their entrance.[9] A niece, Olympia, also joined along with "many other women" from senatorial families.[10] All of these women—Olympias' female relatives and those of senatorial background—entered along with a group enigmatically termed "all the rest", which implies that they brought with them a large section of their households, that is their female servants and relatives, much as Olympias had herself done when she founded the institution. We also hear of another female relative and spiritual sister, Marina, to whom Olympias handed control of the monastery in 405 on her departure from Constantinople.[11] In total the number of women, after these accretions, is said to have reached approximately two hundred and fifty.[12] The property itself abutted the Great Church at Constantinople, to which the *episkopeion* was also adjacent, and had its own private passage which fed directly into the church's narthex.[13] Thus we find John during the years 398-mid 404 living not just next door to Olympias,[14] but in close proximity to a composite household in which there resided some ten to twenty women with a vast amount of wealth at their disposal. Their status suggests that, were they so interested, they would have been in a position to continue to wield considerable influence in Constantinopolitan society, even after their entry into Olympias' community.

Their connection with John is more intimate than mere proximity, however. We are told that the three sisters, Palladia, Elisanthia and Martyria were ordained by him as deaconesses,[15] which implies on his part some form of prior instruction and ongoing supervision.[16] John was in any case

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[8] *Vita Olymp.* 6 (SC 13bis,418 7-9).

[9] *Vita Olymp.* 6 (SC 13bis,418 9-16).

[10] *Vita Olymp.* 6 (SC 13bis,418 17-19).

[11] *Vita Olymp.* 10 (SC 13bis,426 12-18).

[12] *Vita Olymp.* 6 (SC 13bis,420 22-27).

[13] *Vita Olymp.* 6 (SC 13bis,418 1-7).

[14] John's residence and the monastery are said to be separated by a wall: *Vita Olymp.* 8 (SC 13bis,422 16-17).

[15] *Vita Olymp.* 7 (SC 13bis,420 6-9).

[16] There is some dispute about the precise nature of their duties, which seem to have

in constant contact with the inmates of the monastery, being in fact the only male allowed on the premises for the purpose of instructing the women.[17] The presence of the passageway between the monastery and the Great Church likewise suggests that the mistresses at least, if not their servants, attended services on occasion and were amongst his audiences as he preached. Thus we find John in frequent converse with a number of women of status similar to Olympias' own, some of whom, like Olympias, were also technically under his direct authority. What is more difficult to determine is the degree to which the chambermaids and other servants who were perforce obliged to follow their mistresses into a life of chastity were encountered by him during his frequent visits to the establishment. One thing is certain. Their numbers were significant and, whether John came into direct contact with them or not, they are likely to have played a de facto role in his life, even if he paid little attention to them. The financial support that Olympias organised for him daily, for instance, was sent across to the *episkopeion*,[18] probably by means of one of them.[19]

Other women came within John's regular ambit. Sozomen devotes a section of his *Ecclesiastical History* to a Nicarete who was an enthusiastic supporter of John and among those harassed and persecuted for their refusal to commune with Arsacius, John's successor.[20] Sozomen informs us that she came from a noted family among the nobility, originally from Bithynia. A large portion of her patrimony had been confiscated unjustly (no details are supplied), but she nonetheless used what she had left to minister to the poor who were in addition to their poverty in ill health, curing many who were not helped by conventional medicine. She is said to have resisted repeated attempts by John to ordain her as a deaconess or as a catechist of virgins. She was in her later years at the time that John was sent into exile. Several characteristics are noteworthy. Again

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been confined to the monastery itself rather than the Great Church. See A.-M. Malingrey, SC 13bis,421 n. 5.

[17] *Vita Olymp.* 8 (SC 13bis,422 5-9).

[18] *Vita Olymp.* 8 (SC 13bis,422 12-16).

[19] Nicephorus Callistus, HE 13.24 (PG 146,1012) suggests that Olympias was also involved in taking care of John's laundry and meals. If true, this would occasion a greater volume of traffic between the two establishments. Broc, Le rôle des femmes, 151, goes so far as to suggest that it may have been for this same reason that the elderly deaconess and ascetic Sabiniana felt compelled to travel from Antioch to stay with John when he was in exile at Cucusus.

[20] Soz., HE 8.23 (GCS NF 4,380 16-381 7).

Nicarete is a woman who, despite her subsequent relative impoverishment, belongs to the upper echelons of Constantinopolitan society. She is active in charitable work, particularly with the poor and sick, which she funds from her own resources. The fact that she has suffered a major injustice at the hands of the state is a feature that we will see recur in several of John's closest supporters. That John moved to regulate and therefore control her charitable activities by trying to get her to submit to ordination is not untypical of his response towards ascetic individuals in general. As bishop, he seems to have been suspicious of this sector of local society and to have been uncomfortable when they acted in a way that was independent of the church's authority.[21] While Sozomen does not tell us whether Nicarete belonged to this category, the fact that John considered her eligible for ordination to the office of deaconess is strongly suggestive of it.[22] What we find in Nicarete, then, is an aristocratic woman some years older than John who is devoted to him and of whose day-to-day activities he is evidently aware. The alleged repeated attempts to persuade her to align her welfare activities more closely with those of the church suggest at the very least periodic, if not close, contact.

Another cluster of women who receive mention appear to have been directly involved with John in his ecclesiastical work. Among them are several deaconesses. Palladius tells us that as John prepared to leave Constantinople for exile he first spoke to the assembled bishops in the *episkopeion* and then moved to the *baptisterion*, where he summoned Olympias, Pentadia and Procla, all of them deaconesses, as well as Silvina, the widow of Nebridius.[23] After addressing them and advising them not to dispute the election of his successor, he nods to one of the presbyters and asks him to escort the weeping women from the *baptisterion*, lest they stir up the crowd. The identity of two of these women can be confirmed with reasonable certainty. It is widely agreed that Pentadia is most probably the widow of the

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[21] Soz., HE 8.9 (GCS NF 4,362 7-20).

[22] Pentadia and Olympias, two of the deaconesses whom John farewells as he prepares for exile (Palladius, *Dial.* 10), are both widows who had espoused a life of chastity by refusing to take on a second marriage. For a discussion of the complex relationship between virginity, widowhood and the office of deaconess at this period see S. Elm, *'Virgins of God'. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 1994) 164-83. In light of this discussion John's attitude and behaviour can be seen to conform to a broad movement within the eastern churches at this period.

[23] *Dial.* 10 (SC 341,206 34-207 67). Baur, *Chrysostom and His Time*, II 101, assumes that Silvina was also ordained, even though the text does not make this clear.

Magister equitum et peditum, Timasius, who was tried on a charge of treason through the machinations of Eutropius and died in 396 in exile.[24] The abrupt downfall of this same Timasius is exploited in 400 by the homilist Asterius of Amasea in an exemplum which includes among other cases that of Eutropius himself,[25] implying that Timasius likewise enjoyed considerable power and influence.[26] From Sozomen we learn that Pentadia was curiously also a target in Eutropius' enmity towards Timasius, as suggested by the fact that she felt it necessary to seek asylum in the Great Church, while Eutropius is said to have in some way caused her asylum to be invalidated.[27] If Eutropius' behaviour ran true to form in this instance and he moved swiftly to appropriate the confiscated property of Timasius, the difficulties which Pentadia experienced in the aftermath of her husband's exile could explain her decision to receive ordination and her subsequent tenacious loyalty to the church and its bishop against the state. That Pentadia herself was of noble background is perhaps suggested by Zosimus' mention of a son, Syagrius,[28] making it possible that she was related to either Flavius Afranius Syagrius or Flavius Syagrius, both of whom led highly distinguished careers in the West at about this time.[29] Silvina likewise appears to have been of elevated status with broad connections. Palladius informs us that she was the widow of Nebridius, which confirms her identity as the Salvina to whom Jerome addresses a letter on the topic of widowhood.[30] The letter gives a clear picture of her background and lifestyle, or at least the lifestyle that Jerome expects of someone in her position. She is youthful,[31] aristocratic,[32] literate[33] and wealthy.[34]

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[24] PLRE, I 914-5 s.v. Flavius Timasius, I 687 s.v. Pentadia. Cf. Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 153.

[25] *Hom.* 4 (C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea. Homilies I-XIV. Text, Introduction and Notes* [Leiden 1970] 43 16-20).

[26] Timasius appears in a similar list of recent disastrous falls from power of high imperial officials in Jerome, *Ep.* 66.16 (CSEL 54,570 1-11).

[27] HE 8.7 (GCS NF 4,359 20-6). Socrates, HE 6.5 (GCS NF 1,316 21-317 1) suggests that it was shortly after this event that Eutropius was successful in having the law which granted asylum restricted.

[28] *Hist. nova*, V.9.7 (F. Paschoud, *Zosime. Histoire nouvelle* [Paris 1986] III.1 17).

[29] PLRE, I 861-2 s.v. Syagrius 1, Flavius Afranius Syagrius 2, Flavius Syagrius 3.

[30] *Ep.* 79 (CSEL 55,87-101). Cf. *Ep.* 120.1.15 (CSEL 55,479 6-9).

[31] *Ep.* 79.1 (CSEL 55,88 4-5).

[32] *Ep.* 79.2 (CSEL 55,88 20).

[33] *Ep.* 79.9 (CSEL 55,97 25-98 1).

[34] *Ep.* 79.7-9 (CSEL 55,94-9).

She has been left with two young sons.[35] As the nephew of the empress Flacilla, her husband had been raised in the palace and educated alongside the sons of the emperor Theodosius.[36] At the time of correspondence, Silvina herself is still associated with the imperial household.[37] In a letter addressed to another widow, Geruchia, Jerome mentions that Silvina is the daughter of the Numidian leader Gildo,[38] implying that she has significant connections to the aristocracy in Africa and throughout the empire in the West. Of the third woman, Procla, we at present know nothing,[39] but in Olympias we observe a further widow whose status is comparable to that of Pentadia and Silvina and who likewise has a broad network of property and connections. In her case, they encompass Thrace, Galatia, Cappadocia and Bithynia.[40] Since Palladius tells us that after John's departure certain deaconesses of the church who were from consular families were brought publicly before Optatus the urban prefect and threatened with massive fines if they did not commune with John's successor Arsacius,[41] and given the status of the other three women with whom she is associated, there are strong grounds for suspecting that Procla is herself a declared virgin or widow from a family with important connections and that she belongs to the upper echelons of Constantinopolitan society.[42]

The implications of the presence of these particular women and of John's desire to speak to them in private are considerable. In the first instance, three of the four are very high fliers indeed with connections to the palace, the top levels of local society and the nobility in a range of provinces beyond Constantinople. Two at least have considerable wealth at their disposal and three are ordained to ministries within the church. The fact that John chooses to speak with them as well as the bishops prior to his depar-

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[35] *Ep.* 79.4 and 7 (CSEL 55,91 15-16; 94 11).

[36] *Ep.* 79.2 and 5 (CSEL 55,88 18-20; 92 19-20). See also PLRE, I 620 s.v. Nebridius 3.

[37] *Ep.* 79.1 (CSEL 55,87 5-9).

[38] *Ep.* 123.17 (CSEL 56/1,95 9-11). Before turning against the Western government in 397 Gildo held the office of *comes et magister utriusque militiae per africam*: PLRE, I 395-6 s.v. Gildo.

[39] It has been suggested that she may be the Amprucla to whom John addresses several letters in exile. See Baur, *Chysostom and His Time*, II 377; Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 107. While Delmaire finds the identification plausible, there is no direct evidence which links the two and it seems better to exercise caution in this instance.

[40] PLRE, I 642-3 s.v. Olympias 2. Liebeschuetz, Friends and Enemies, 108, points out that Olympias, Pentadia and Silvina all had connections also with the West.

[41] *Dial.* 3 (SC 341,80 108-13).

[42] The suspicion that she belongs to the nobility is voiced in PLRE, II 914 s.v. Procla.

ture and to commend them to submit to the authority of his successor implies not only that John has worked closely with the four in the past, but that all four are intimately involved in the work of the church. It perhaps also suggests that they answer directly to the bishop, rather than operating under the supervision of a deacon or presbyter as might otherwise be supposed. The speech which Palladius places in John's mouth concerning the innocence of his inevitable successor is perhaps intended to hint also that their loyalties are strongly attached as much to John's person as his position, since Pentadia and Olympias both subsequently and flagrantly ignore this levelheaded advice. What is most significant, however, is the fact that John considers it prudent to have a presbyter carefully lead the weeping women from the premises, in order to prevent them stirring up the crowd. Their appearance in public is unlikely to have proved a provocation unless all four were intimately associated with the bishop in the mind of the population.

It should be mentioned at this point that in one of the sermons which he preached at Constantinople John highlights the status of the bishop at the court and in aristocratic society. Those in the highest levels of civil office, he says, are not honoured as highly as the leader of the church and it is the bishop who is greeted first if he enters the palace. Whether among women, whether in the houses of the nobility, no other is honoured above him.[43] It is perhaps significant that entering the palace, being in the company of women and visiting the houses of the great are considered characteristic of the social circles within which the bishop operates. When coupled with a second passage, in which John makes it clear that women tend to be among the more faithful members of his congregation and that some of these same women have become disaffected and are now the prime instigators in a movement against him,[44] one begins to gain an impression that at Constantinople John had direct contact and was more intimate with a greater number of women of the upper classes than has hitherto been supposed. In the latter homily he instructs the women in the audience to tell those who are disaffected to express their hostility physically by beating him and spitting at him whenever they meet him in public,[45] suggesting

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[43] *In Acta apost. hom.* 3 (PG 60,41 6-10).

[44] *In Eph. hom.* 11 (PG 62,87 28-88 35). For confirmation of the Constantinopolitan provenance of this homily see W. Mayer, *The Provenance of the Homilies of St John Chrysostom. Towards a new assessment of where he preached what*, Doctoral Diss., University of Queensland 1996, 345-51.

[45] *In Eph. hom.* 11 (PG 62,87 32-7).

that such opportunities readily arose. The charge brought against John at the Synod of the Oak that he met with women one on one without any other person present lends weight to this general suspicion.[46] Another piece of evidence which adds support is the way in which Palladius highlights the fact that the wives of prominent men were among those arrested after the baptizands gathered outside the city on the day after Easter in 404.[47]

So far we have examined only women who worked alongside John and were favourable to his cause. We have observed that the majority of them, whether by birth or marriage, come from influential families with considerable wealth or former wealth. Several of them—Nicarete and Pentadia, to whom we can now add Olympias—had directly suffered injustices in relation to the property under their administration at the hands of the civil authorities. In the case of Nicarete, a large portion of her patrimony had been confiscated unjustly. In Pentadia's case, her husband had been convicted on a trumped up charge of treason, with all of the attendant consequences for her private life. She herself had been persecuted at the hands of Eutropius. In the case of Olympias, her refusal to marry for a second time to a relative of the emperor Theodosius had seen her vast property and financial holdings peremptorily placed under the control of the urban prefect Clementinus until such time as she should attain her thirtieth year. She was harassed by Clementinus and it was only on the intervention of Theodosius that she regained control.[48] Silvina may also have been scarred by her own and her family's experiences. Married forcibly by the emperor Theodosius to his wife's nephew as a means of ensuring her father's loyalty, she was later obliged to watch the state confiscate and take control of her father's vast estates.[49] None of these women had any great reason to love civil authority and it may be that the devotion which all four exhibited towards John, the local representative of ecclesiastical power, had its basis partly in these experiences.

With the partial exception of Eudoxia, who in some respects represents a special case, these same trends are to be observed when we turn to the women who are characterised in the sources as John's enemies. Eugraphia

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[46] Charge 15 (SC 342,104 36-37): "Οτι δέχεται γυναῖκας μονοπρόσμονα πάντας ἐκβάλλων ἔξω.

[47] *Dial.* 10 (SC 341,202 4-204 12).

[48] *Vita Olymp.* 4-5 (SC 13bis,412-414).

[49] Jerome, *Ep.* 79.2 (CSEL 55,88 20-1); *CTh* VII.8.7 and 9, IX 42.16 and 19 (dated between 399-405).

and Marsa were widows. Along with Castricia, they had considerable wealth at their disposal and all three operated at the same elevated level of society.[50] Marsa had been married to Promotus, a distinguished military commander and consul who had worked closely with the emperor Theodosius. After Promotus' death late in 391, their two sons were raised with Theodosius' own children.[51] Castricia was the wife of Saturninus, an ex-consul who had had a distinguished career and was in his later years active at the court and influential with the emperor. In 396 he had acted as one of the two judges who had condemned and exiled Pentadia's husband, Timasius, and had himself fallen foul of local politics in 400 when the Gothic general Gainas demanded that he be exiled along with the consul Aurelianus and the *comes* John.[52] Of Eugraphia's background we know nothing beyond the fact that she was widowed, wealthy and aristocratic. The only additional detail that Palladius supplies is that she was instrumental in providing hospitality for the bishops Theophilus, Severian, Antiochus and Acacius, all of whom were hostile to John.[53]

Again, what we find when we examine the lives of the women who were active against John is that all three were able to operate relatively independently by virtue of their status, wealth and widowhood. In the case of Castricia, although she was not a widow in the initial years of John's episcopate (Saturninus being alive for at least three years after John's arrival at Constantinople), by the time that John had been tried and sent definitively into exile her husband had been dead, and she had therefore been a widow, for perhaps one or two years. Not only were all three women from among the nobility and therefore well connected in general, but, as we observed with Silvina, who worked closely with John, so among his alleged enemies two, Castricia and Marsa, likewise had intimate connections with the imperial household. Again, just as we observed that several of John's devoted supporters had suffered personal experiences that were likely to have encouraged them to hold civil authority in suspicion and may have been instrumental in their attachment to Chrysostom, so in the person of Castricia we find the opposite to be true. John was actively involved in

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[50] Palladius, *Dial.* 4 (SC 341,94 89-94). Although Castricia is described here as a widow, her husband (Saturninus) was still alive in 400/1, when he was exiled at the demands of Gainas.

[51] PLRE, I 750-1 s.v. Flavius Promotus.

[52] PLRE, I 807-9 s.v. Flavius Saturninus 10.

[53] *Dial.* 8 (SC 341,162 76-9).

the negotiations with Gainas which failed to result in Saturninus, Aurelianus and John being released, and which rather saw all three humiliated and sent into exile. John himself thought that he had done well to have the original demand for their execution transmuted to exile, in that he had saved their lives,[54] but it is unlikely that Castricia would have considered that alternative much of an improvement. With regard to Eugraphia and Marsa, however, the information with which we are provided needs to be placed in perspective. Despite the seething hostility of which Palladius accuses Eugraphia and his statement that it was she who provided hospitality for Theophilus of Alexandria and his allies, it must be pointed out that Olympias, considered to be John's most devoted supporter, likewise provided hospitality and even funds for John's enemies, the bishops Epiphanius of Salamis, Severian of Gabala, Antiochus of Ptolemais and Acacius of Beroea and indeed any other bishop who asked her for assistance.[55] Olympias' behaviour in this respect suggests that, despite their affiliations, wealthy Christian widows of her class operated independently of ecclesiastical politics and interests. Caution also needs to be exercised in the case of Marsa. At some point Marsa's own or her husband's attitude towards the church and John's promotion of the orthodox Gothic community at Constantinople must have been favourable, since we find John in exile writing to a community of Gothic monks living on "the estate of Promotus",[56] implying that one or the other had been instrumental in donating the estate or its use for that purpose. While this does not compromise Palladius' implication that her attitude towards John shifted from positive to negative, it does caution us to keep in mind the possibility that her opinion fluctuated—that is, that even after she became annoyed with John she was not unremittingly hostile towards him.

The trend towards contact between John and women who are exclusively of the upper classes is confirmed when we turn to his female correspondents and the women who receive mention in his letters. Although Olympias is the recipient of the greatest number of letters addressed to an

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[54] Homily *Cum Saturninus et Aurelianus* (PG 52,413 2 a.i.-415 11); Liebeschuetz, Friends and Enemies, 97-9.

[55] *Vita Olymp.* 14 (SC 13bis,436 9-438 27).

[56] *Ep.* 207 (PG 52,726-7). Baur, *Chrysostom and His Time*, II 189, identifies Marsa as a Goth, which may suggest that she was the motivating force behind the donation. That the monks are not Arians is made clear by the contents of the letter. John thanks them for ensuring that the Church of the Goths continues to operate undisturbed.

individual among the existing correspondence,[57] John also wrote with reasonable frequency to other women at Constantinople.[58] Theodora is one such person. Although only two letters addressed to her survive,[59] he says in one that he has sent her four or five letters to her one reply,[60] implying a greater frequency of correspondence with her than indicated by the existing letters and suggesting that he is particularly anxious to maintain contact with her. The reason for his anxiety is made clear in this same letter, which he writes early in his exile, just after he has arrived at Caesarea.[61] He asks her not to cease reproaching his supporters, who are numerous and powerful, for being unsuccessful at having his place of exile changed to somewhere that is more comfortable and closer to Constantinople.[62] In particular, he finishes the letter by saying that he will not bother her about the rest, lest he become annoying to her[63]—a clear indicator that he has been imploring her to perform various significant favours for him in the previous letters. The manner in which he writes is particularly obsequious and careful, implying that her status is considerable. The details about the wretchedness of his journey to Caesarea, of a kind that he usually reserves for the women with whom he is more intimate,[64] may in this case simply be furnished in an attempt to impress upon her how urgently he needs her to exert her influence upon those at Constantinople who are in a position to have his situation changed. The contents of the letter and the manner in which he writes confirm that Theodora is a woman of elevated status who has the connections to exert positive influence upon John's other powerful supporters.[65] This does not mean that Theodora

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[57] *Ep.* 1-17 (SC 13bis,106-388). In her edition Anne-Marie Malingrey arranges the letters chronologically, arriving at a different order from that in which they are printed in PG. All references are to the letter number assigned in SC, with the PG number provided in square brackets—e.g., *Ep.* 1 [11].

[58] The deaconess Amprucla, a noble woman who receives a minimum of three letters (*Ep.* 96, 103, 191), is not considered here because of the doubt concerning her place of residence. See Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 107. Despite Delmaire's belief that she is a westerner living in Constantinople, the manner in which John discusses the difficulties of communication with her may suggest that she lives elsewhere.

[59] *Ep.* 117, 120.

[60] *Ep.* 120 (PG 52,675 9-11).

[61] Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 161, dates *Ep.* 120 to early or mid-August 404.

[62] *Ep.* 120 (PG 52,674 2 a.i.-675 3).

[63] *Ep.* 120 (PG 52,675 19-21).

[64] *Ep.* 120 (PG 52,674 4-25 a.i.). Cf. *Ep.* 9 [14] (SC 13bis,222 2.a).

[65] Hunt, Palladius of Helenopolis, 477, suggests that Theodora is the woman of the

did actually respond to John's pleas or that she is necessarily a close ally, but the manner in which he chides and counsels her in the second letter for dismissing a certain Eustathius from her household suggests that John did consider her to fall directly under his pastoral care.[66]

A number of other women are also addressed or receive mention. Severina and Romula are the joint recipients of a number of letters. In the single letter that survives John chides them for not having written for a long time even though he himself writes to them frequently.[67] Although the letter is brief and tells us little about their status, it does indicate that they have contact with the presbyter Sallustius, one of John's clergy,[68] to whom, he says, they could easily have entrusted a letter. He also writes a number of letters to a Euthalia, whom Delmaire likewise situates at Constantinople.[69] While only two of these survive,[70] in one he complains that he receives fewer letters than he sends her.[71] The letters are brief and somewhat stereotyped, conveying little information about the recipient. What is clear, however, is that she is a supporter, that John considers continued contact with her useful and that she belongs, if not to the senatorial class, at least to the second rank.[72] The women who receive mention in the correspondence, but to whom no letter is addressed, belong more clearly to the upper classes. In a letter to Olympias John tells her that a certain Arabius has sent him a letter and chides her for not sending one by the same means herself, seeing that Olympias is a close friend of Arabius' wife.[73] In his reply to Arabius John indicates not only that Arabius is a close supporter, but that he is of high status and owns property in Sebaste. Now that John knows he is not going to Sebaste but to Cucusus, he asks that Arabius write on his behalf to any friends that he might have at that destination.[74]

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same name mentioned by Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, 41 (C. Butler, Texts and Studies 6 [Cambridge 1898] 128 16-19): the wealthy wife of a tribune; but as Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 161, points out, the name was common and there is no reason to accept the identification.

[66] *Ep.* 117 (PG 52,672-3).

[67] *Ep.* 219 (PG 52,731-2).

[68] Cf. *Ep.* 203, 210, 212.

[69] Les "lettres d'exil", 127.

[70] *Ep.* 32, 178.

[71] *Ep.* 32 (PG 52,628 5-6 a.i.).

[72] *Ep.* 178 (PG 52,713). Regarding John's employment of the term of address τιμιωτάτη see Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 96-7.

[73] *Ep.* 5 [8] (SC 13bis,120 20-122 23).

[74] *Ep.* 121 (PG 52,675-6).

The status of her husband and her connection with Olympias places the wife of Arabius within the innermost circle at Constantinople. In another letter to Olympias John tells her that a certain Syncletium has sent him the medication that he needs for his vomiting and stomach problems, and asks if Olympias can arrange to have the medication prepared once again by the *comes* Theophilus and sent to him.[75] Syncletium's initiative in procuring and sending the drug in the first instance suggests personal knowledge of John's persistent health problems and, if Theophilus is not only a *comes* but an *archiatros* as Martindale suggests,[76] her procurement of the drug from this source would support the suspicion that she is wealthy and belongs to the nobility.[77] A certain Onesicratia, to whom John writes a letter of consolation on the death of her daughter, is also from among the aristocracy.[78]

Three letters addressed to the deaconess and aristocrat Pentadia also survive,[79] which help us to flesh out the extent of her influence and of her involvement in events at Constantinople. One of these provides significant information about Pentadia herself. A second enables us to gain insight into John's view of her and to assess her importance to his efforts on behalf of the church and his own rehabilitation. The third is of less use, since it conveys little more than John's anxiety at her, at that time, lengthy silence.[80] In the first letter John responds at considerable length to a letter in which Pentadia details the events which have taken place at Constantinople subsequent to his departure.[81] This enables us to learn that she has been subject to considerable harassment. She has been dragged into court and from court into prison. At the trial false witnesses were introduced and male

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[75] *Ep.* 17 [4] (SC 13bis,370 26-40).

[76] PLRE, II 1108 s.v. Theophilus 2.

[77] John calls her: τῆς κυρίας μου τῆς κοσμιωτάτης Συγκλητίου (SC 13bis,370 27-8).

[78] *Ep.* 192 (PG 52,719). He refers to her εὐγένεια and addresses her as: τῆς σῆς κοσμιότητος. There is nothing in the letter to indicate whether she resides at Constantinople or elsewhere, but the manner in which he addresses her and her situation indicates some familiarity.

[79] *Ep.* 94, 104, 185.

[80] *Ep.* 185 (PG 52,716). He does say that her fame has spread everywhere, which may add weight to the suspicion that her activities on behalf of the church at Constantinople both before and after John's exile were more independent and high-profile than is considered usual for a deaconess.

[81] *Ep.* 94 (PG 52,657-9). At one and a half columns in PG the letter is one of the longest written to either a male or female outside of his correspondence with Olympias. Letters of this length are reserved for his closest supporters. Cf. *Ep.* 107 (to Castus, Valerius, Diophantes and Cyriacus, presbyters of Antioch).

associates were tortured in front of her to try to frighten her into changing her testimony. The charge on which she was tried is arson.[82] Since we know that Olympias was treated in a similar manner,[83] the fact that not just one but both were targeted by the civil authorities in an attempt to control the unrest caused by his departure, even though there was insufficient evidence to convict, supports the suspicion that Pentadia's importance to John was equivalent to that of Olympias and confirms that Pentadia was seen to be extremely close to him and significant to his network of allies at Constantinople. The close of the letter, in which he asks her to send him news of herself, her entire blessed household and her relatives, also implies a greater than usual degree of respect.[84] The second letter, in which John is at pains to dissuade her from leaving Constantinople in order to come stay with him, suggests that she is a linchpin in his efforts at rehabilitation. Her presence there is clearly vital to him and he works hard both to convince her that the city would fall apart without her and to point out how deleterious it would be to her health for her to travel.[85] While he may well have been concerned for her physical well-being, one cannot help being suspicious of his motives, since in the case of another elderly deaconess who endures the rigours of travel to meet him in Cucusus he seems not to have objected and simply expresses amazement at the woman's fortitude.[86] Pentadia also receives mention in a letter addressed to Olympias.[87] There John discusses the current situation of Heracleides, who had been consecrated bishop of Ephesus by him in 400/1 and had been charged with Origenism at the Synod of the Oak, arrested and imprisoned.[88] In the letter John suggests to Olympias that Heracleides could regain his freedom if he was willing to tender his resignation and tells her

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[82] *Ep.* 94 (PG 52,658 27-46).

[83] Soz., HE 8.24 (GCS NF 4,382 1-21).

[84] *Ep.* 94 (PG 52,659 3-7). The usual closing formula asks the correspondent to send information περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου. In certain instances he adds: καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου παντός (e.g., *Ep.* 21, 46, 75, 96) which, according to Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 107 s.v. Amprucla and 153 s.v. Pentadia, is an indicator that the recipient is a member of the nobility. This is the only surviving instance, however, in which the person, their household and their relatives are mentioned together and one of only a few in which the household is described as εὐλογημένον (cf. *Ep.* 217, addressed to Valentinus, a high-ranking official: Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 169-71).

[85] *Ep.* 104 (PG 52,663 35-53).

[86] *Ep.* 6 [13] (SC 13bis,130 53-63).

[87] *Ep.* 9 [14] (SC 13bis,234 46-51).

[88] See Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 132, where all of the relevant sources are listed.

that, while for his own part he can do little, he has urged Pentadia to make every effort to find a solution to the situation. This information suggests two things: that Olympias herself has a keen personal interest in the affairs of John's colleagues and supporters; and that Pentadia is active in politicking behind the scenes at Constantinople. Again this supports the suspicion that Pentadia's status within the Constantinopolitan church and in John's life is on a par with that of Olympias, since the letters addressed to Olympias reveal that she too is actively involved in attempting to remedy John's situation and that of his allies.[89]

We should perhaps ask at this point whether John's contact with such women was unique to Constantinople. Was it only his position as bishop and the presence of the court that created the environment in which such contact flourished? This leads us to inquire whether as a presbyter in the city of Antioch his association with women of the upper classes was, by comparison, limited. In answer to this question, John's letters from exile indicate that various presbyters and deacons were constant intermediaries between himself and particular women and, in certain cases, lived for periods of time within their households.[90] Moreover, in the latter part of the fourth century the see of Antioch, along with those of Alexandria and Constantinople, was still of considerable status among the churches of the East,[91] and the leading citizens of Antioch themselves had close connections with and sought favours from the members of the élite at Constantinople.[92] Given the city's status and these connections with the capital, it is not improbable that relations between the élite women of Antioch and their bishop were similar to those that we have observed. If we then assume,

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[89] *Ep.* 6 [13] (SC 13bis,130 70-80); *Ep.* 9 [14] (SC 13bis,236 1-240 53).

[90] *Ep.* 76 (John has kept the presbyter with him but will send him back if Chalcidia needs him); *Ep.* 219 (the presbyter Sallustius could have brought a letter to John from Severina and Romula); *Ep.* 43 (Theodotus the deacon is currently in Bassiana's household); *Ep.* 44 (John writes to Theodotus saying that he knows Carteria is no longer there, but to make sure that the letter reaches her).

[91] *CTh* XVI, 4, 6 (18 Nov. 404), subsequent to the accession of Arsacius and Porphyrius to the sees of John and Flavian respectively, requires communion with not just the new bishop of Constantinople and the bishop of Alexandria, but with the new bishop of Antioch also. Two decades earlier, at the second ecumenical council of 381 held in Constantinople, it was Meletius bishop of Antioch who chaired the council, rather than the local Nicene bishop, Gregory of Nazianzus.

[92] P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^{e} siècle après J.-C.*, Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique LXII (Paris 1955) 167-77.

along with Kelly, that at Antioch John became increasingly close to bishop Flavian over the twelve years of his presbyterate,[93] then it is not impossible that Flavian employed him for tasks beyond that of preaching or that John accompanied Flavian on private visits and was involved by him in pastoral activities which concerned women. In any case, the fact that John's elderly aunt Sabiniana,[94] a much respected deaconess and ascetic, insisted on travelling from Antioch to join him in exile at Cucusus,[95] indicates that John had had close contact with at least one woman of similar ecclesiastical status and character to Olympias prior to his arrival at Constantinople. In addition, the correspondence which he conducts in exile with Adolia, Carteria, Asyncritia, Chalcidia and Bassiana, all Antiochene women of some wealth and status, reveals a long-standing relationship between each of them and himself and confirms the suspicion that he had close contact with women of the nobility at Antioch also.[96] The attentions of Carteria, in particular, can be said in some ways to rival those of Olympias. She sends him medication, which she herself has prepared,[97] and another gift, which may have been monetary.[98] John himself is at greater than usual pains to assure her that in refusing the gift he holds her in no lesser esteem: it is simply that he has no need for it at present. These few glimpses lead us to suspect that when he arrived at Constantinople in late 397 John was not without experience of the kind of wealthy, aristocratic women whom he was to encounter nor was he unfamiliar with the roles that he was to observe them play within the Constantinopolitan church and society.[99]

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[93] *Golden Mouth*, 100-3.

[94] The identity of the Sabiniana mentioned here and the aunt mentioned by Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 41, is widely assumed. See Baur, *Chrysostom and His Time*, II 350; A.-M. Malingrey, SC13^{bis},130 n. 1; Hunt, Palladius of Helenopolis, 476; Broc, Le rôle des femmes, 151; Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 258.

[95] See n. 85 above.

[96] *Ep.* 33, 52, 133, 179, 231 (Adolia); *Ep.* 18, 34, 227, 232 (Carteria); *Ep.* 29, 60 (Chalcidia and Asyncritia); *Ep.* 39, 76, 98, 105 (Chalcidia); *Ep.* 40, 77, 99, 106 (Asyncritia); *Ep.* 43 (Bassiana). Carteria also receives mention in *Ep.* 44, addressed to Theodotus the deacon.

[97] *Ep.* 34 (PG 52,629 5-15 a.i.).

[98] *Ep.* 232 (PG 52,738-9).

[99] In light of this finding the view of R. Brändle, Johannes Chrysostomus, RAC 18 (1997) 474 that John was most vehement in his strictures against women in his Antiochene homilies, but that he modified his point of view at Constantinople, where a number of women, Olympias in particular, became important to him, should be treated with caution.

Their Role—A brief consideration

It is not surprising in the end to learn that the circle of women among whom John moved at Constantinople was comprised almost exclusively of members of the senatorial class and of the "new aristocracy". After all, this finding only serves to support Ramsay MacMullen's assertion that the audience of John and of other preachers of late antiquity was generally comprised exclusively of rich élite men and women.[100] It is perhaps a little more surprising to learn that the women with whom he maintained contact at Antioch were likewise from the upper echelons of Antiochene society. This is especially the case when we consider that John himself most probably came from a family of moderate means, even though his father had had a successful career in the civil service.[101] On the other hand, this circumstance becomes less surprising, if we speculate that as a presbyter he came into contact with these women as a result of his preaching and pastoral duties. Neat as these solutions may be, they have foundation only if MacMullen's diagnosis that it is only the rich and aristocratic who have the leisure to attend worship is in itself correct.[102]

It is in any case clear that several questions need to be addressed to the evidence before we can determine precisely how the detailed account of the women in John's life that we have constructed is to be interpreted. For instance: what is the significance of the almostly uniformly elevated status of these women and why did John associate with them? Clearly the answer is not to be found only in his episcopal role and his own elevated social status at Constantinople. In another vein: how are we to view the actions of Eudoxia in relation to John over the term of his episcopate? The empress has been described variously as "credulous", "hasty", "lacking

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[100] The preacher's audience (AD 350-400), *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 40 (1989) 507; *id., Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven-London 1997) 7-10.

[101] A.H.M. Jones, St. John Chrysostom's Parentage and Education, *Harvard Theological Review* 46 (1953) 171-3.

[102] That MacMullen's diagnosis is overly pessimistic, both with regard to the socio-economic status of the audience and with regard to the number of women who attended, can be demonstrated through a careful reading of Chrysostom's sermons. For evidence of artisans, soldiers and tradespeople see, e.g., *De poen. hom.* 3 (PG 49,291 31-3 a.i.), *In kalendas* (PG 48,957 37-8), *De baptismo Christi* (PG 49,365 5-14); regarding the attendance of women: *In Matt. hom.* 73/74 (PG 58,677 4-24), *In Eph. hom.* 11 (PG 62,87 28-30); *In Heb. hom.* 15 (PG 63,122 38-46).

in character", "easily influenced",[103] "intelligent, vivacious and strong-willed",[104] "impulsive but shrewd" and "superstitious".[105] Do these alleged characteristics really provide an adequate explanation of her fluctuating attitude and, at times, apparently inconsistent behaviour? From the opposite perspective: how are we to assess John's attitude and behaviour towards Eudoxia over this same period? To turn to another point of view: how are we to interpret the interaction which took place between various of these women and the numerous bishops, clergy and ascetics who visited the capital? And yet another question: why do the sources promote Olympias so prominently, if, as we suspect, Pentadia was just as conspicuously involved in Constantinopolitan society and in ecclesiastical affairs at Constantinople? Can this failure be attributed to a less favourable public profile due to a number of factors—for instance, a marked discrepancy in wealth or perhaps a less sympathetic personality? Last, but not least: can we determine whether John had any contact at all with women outside of these circles? These are not the only questions that can be asked of the assembled body of evidence, but they are sufficient to demonstrate the broad range of perspectives from which the Constantinopolitan women who moved in John's circle have yet to be examined adequately.

The key to some of these questions perhaps lies in an observation made by Liebeschuetz: that in the late fourth century wealthy senatorial women provided an entrée into Constantinopolitan politics and an avenue for access to the emperor that was otherwise denied to the usually lesser-ranked clergy.[106] He argues that, in addition to their useful familial and marital connections, the wealth and hospitality that these women could place at the disposal of bishops provided the means for them to travel to the capital and stay for as long as it took to publicise their views and influence people.[107] This phenomenon is readily observed for the period in question. The bishops and monks who arrive at Constantinople seeking to influence the emperor during the period of John's tenure are not infrequently reliant upon such women for hospitality and financial support in cases where they

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[103] Baur, *Chrysostom and His Time*, II 32-4. He appears to base his assessment on Zosimus, *Hist. nova* V.24.2 (Paschoud, III.36 7-10), who says that she was arrogant and under the control of avaricious eunuchs and her female courtiers.

[104] Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 110.

[105] Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 186.

[106] Friends and Enemies, 103. On the almost uniformly curial status of bishops at this period see F.D. Gilliard, Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century, *Harvard Theological Review* 77 (1984) 153-75.

[107] Liebeschuetz, *loc. cit.*

themselves either refuse the hospitality of the *episkopeion* or cannot be housed by John for political reasons. Thus we find not only Eugraphia providing hospitality for John's enemies, who by this time are refusing to stay with him, but Olympias providing hospitality, finance and other services for a long list of bishops throughout the episcopates of both John and his predecessor.[108] Eudoxia herself provides a safe haven for John on his return from the first exile at her suburban estate called Marianai.[109] In terms of support other than direct hospitality, when John finds it politically inexpedient to provide hospitality himself for the Tall Brothers, it is various women who ensure that the monks are fed and that at least some of their day-to-day expenses are met when he houses them in a *xenon* attached to the Church of the Resurrection (St Anastasia).[110] When John is unable to provide useful access to the emperor, we find cases in which bishops and monks bypass him and seek direct audience with Eudoxia in their bid to influence the emperor.[111] In another instance it is possible that a visiting bishop sought a personal audience with the empress in the hope of persuading her to exert her influence against John.[112] On a different occasion the supporters of Severian of Gabala persuade Eudoxia to use her influence with John himself in order to have Severian recalled from Cappadocia.[113] In this last case we see not a bishop working through an aristocratic woman to influence the decision-making of the emperor, but one bishop exploiting the services of a high-ranking woman to influence a second higher-ranking bishop. This evidence does not mean that wealthy senatorial women were the only medium through which bishops and ascetics could gain access and have influence, but it does suggest that by the late fourth century they had become an important and integral part of the system.[114]

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[108] *Vita Olymp.* 14 (SC 13bis,436 9-438 25); Palladius, *Dial.* 17 (SC 341,348 195-205).

[109] Socrates, HE 6.16 (GCS NF 1,339 3-5); Soz., HE 8.18 (GCS NF 4,374 1-4).

[110] Palladius, *Dial.* 7 (SC 341,150 87-91).

[111] The Tall Brothers: Palladius, *Dial.* 8 (SC 341,156 9-158 2); Soz., HE 8.13 (GCS NF 4,366 28-367 7). For discussion on the reliability of Mark the Deacon's account concerning a probable successful interview between Porphyrius of Gaza and Eudoxia at this period see Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 168-9.

[112] Epiphanius of Salamis: Soz., HE 8.15 (GCS NF 4,369 10-16). Sozomen suggests that Eudoxia initiated the interview, but this interpretation of events is open to question.

[113] Socrates, HE 6.11 (GCS NF 1,332 41-333 10); Soz., HE 8.10 (GCS NF 4,363 20-5).

[114] For a fifth century example of how women are an essential part of episcopal networks for influence at court see P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity. Towards a Christian Empire* (Wisconsin 1992) 16.

Several aspects of John's own association with such women can be explained by both this circumstance and a second to which Liebeschuetz also alludes. He argues that one of the motivations for the hostility towards John among the male aristocracy at Constantinople was John's success in mobilising the property of wealthy women into the service of the church. Such behaviour, he points out, had a direct and deleterious effect upon the ambitions of families who hoped to build up great senatorial fortunes.[115] Wealthy senatorial women thus not only supplied important connections at court and among the "new aristocracy", but they also constituted a valuable economic resource for the clergy.[116] Most importantly, the financial and material resources that they provided appear to have been largely independent of the obligations and agenda that necessarily accompanied more established forms of patronage. This independence would have been particularly valuable to a bishop whose own family was unnoteworthy and whose own private income was negligible. Viewed in this light the degree to which we see John calling upon or accepting the political and financial assistance of women of this level is not surprising. On the political side, as we have already seen, John clearly felt that the networks which Theodora, Olympias and Pentadia commanded were vital to his attempts at rehabilitation. From a financial point of view, as Liebeschuetz himself points out, not only did Olympias donate substantial quantities of property and gold to the Constantinopolitan church but she also took responsibility for John's day-to-day expenses.[117] As both the *Life of Olympias* and Sozomen inform us, Olympias, among others, continued to bankroll not just John but also his companions for the duration of his exile.[118] The Antiochene noblewoman Carteria, as suggested above, may have been one of the other contributors to whom the sources allude. During the period of his episcopate and exile, then, a large portion of his personal operating income seems to have come from private female donors. It is interesting to ask why he chose to accept and operate on the basis of such funds when, as it appears, other wealthy private individuals were obligated to contribute to his salary.[119]

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[115] Friends and Enemies, 101.

[116] Friends and Enemies, 102-3.

[117] Friends and Enemies, 104. See *Vita Olymp.* 5, 8 (SC 13bis,414-18; 422 12-16); Palladius, *Dial.* 17-18 (SC 341,348 206-350 5).

[118] *Vita Olymp.* 8 (SC 13bis,422 17-21); Soz., HE 8.27 (GCS NF 4,388 15-20).

[119] *Ep.* 217 (PG 52,731 22-3). Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 170, speculates that the Valentinus to whom the letter is addressed was promoted to *magister militiae per Orientem* shortly before this letter was sent.

That John considered such support not just useful but desirable and that he considered the role that women at this level could play in ecclesiastical matters to be significant is suggested by the advice which he gives in the latter part of his exile to Italica, a high-ranking member of the Roman aristocracy.[120] If it has never before occurred to her to use her connections on behalf of John and the churches in the East, John is determined to put the idea before her. Although within society, he writes, the roles of men and women are clearly defined and distinguished, when it comes to the struggles on behalf of the church and orthodoxy it is possible—even appropriate—for women to do whatever is within their capacity.[121] That he believes that what Italica is capable of achieving is considerable is suggested both by his approach in the first instance and by his anticipation that the influence which she is able to exert will be brought to bear not just through others, but in person.[122]

A final observation which can be made is that the agenda by which these women operated were not always consonant with those of the males who sought their favours. Olympias clearly irritates John when she persists initially in distributing her largesse in ways which *he* perceives to be indiscriminate;[123] while the empress Eudoxia must have caused Theophilus and his supporters considerable annoyance when she listened favourably to the petitions of the Tall Brothers. This indicates that women at this level were not simply a passive medium for male interests within both church and society but that their wealth and status, while exploitable, also afforded them a degree of independence which allowed them to choose how they might use the resources and networks at their disposal. Those choices were clearly not always in accord with the political agenda or affiliations of the male cleric who was seeking their assistance. The actions of Olympias, Pentadia, Eudoxia and the other aristocratic women whom we have met have yet to be assessed in any systematic way from this perspective. Such an assessment has the potential to contribute much to the picture. For instance, in the case of Eudoxia, if we look beyond the characterisations both ancient and modern which view her as volatile and easily led, there is a hint that insecurity and a desire for approval may have been her main

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[120] *Ep.* 170. Delmaire, Les "lettres d'exil", 136-7, links her to the Anicii, an influential senatorial family; but see P. Brown, Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy, *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961) 5-6, who counsels caution.

[121] *Ep.* 170 (PG 52,709 4 a.i.-710 8).

[122] *Ep.* 170 (PG 52,710 12-15).

[123] Soz., HE 8.9 (GCS NF 4,361 21-362 6).

motivations. Assessing her actions in the light of a self-interested desire to maintain a positive public image may well do much to reconcile her otherwise conflicting behaviour. Whether this proves to be the case or not, the degree of power and influence which such women could exercise in ecclesiastical circles, the forces which motivated each woman's actions and the extent to which each operated independently of official ecclesiastical structures and directives deserve their own investigations.

Australian Catholic University
P.O. Box 247 *Everton Park* Qld 4053 Australia

CHRISTIAN DEIFICATION AND THE EARLY *TESTIMONIA*

BY

MARK D. NISPEL

It is a curiosity to note the large place occupied by the concept of salvation as deification in the theology of the Greek fathers and at the same time how little attention western scholarship has given to this idea.[1] Even modern scientific treatments of the development of doctrine have largely passed over this topic with little concern.[2] But the neglect of the concept of deification in western scholarship accurately reflects the historically small role that the idea of deification played in Latin theology. For the Augustinian west appears to have been willing to do no more than make use of the catch-word phrases of the East such as the well-known Athanasian phrase, "He became man, that we might become god."[3] But for Athanasius himself, deification is a regular and unquestioned description of salvation as redemption from guilt and mortality.[4] Moreover, this concept of deification

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[1] This article is a reworking of my thesis written for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Nebraska. Citation of Latin works follows the method of *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 AD* (Oxford, 1949). Greek works are cited according to the conventions adopted in G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961-8), xi-xlv. Abbreviations used for editions cited are:

ANF *Ante Nicene Fathers, The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, Grand Rapids, MI.

CCSL *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, Turnhout.

CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien.

SC *Sources Chrétiennes*. Paris.

[2] For example Harnack takes note of its widespread existence in the early authors but praises Augustine for bringing it to an end. Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. Neil Buchanan, (Translated from the third edition of the *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. NY: Dover Publications, 1961), 3:165 n. 2. An exception to this is Jaroslav Pelikan's *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971) and *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974).

[3] *Inc.* 54.11f.

[4] Athanasius viewed the fall of Genesis 1 as consisting of two parts. The first is the

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is closely related to the Bishop of Alexandria's theology of Christ and the incarnation.[5] So much so, that he used the description of salvation as "becoming god" as a logical proof for the divine nature of Christ.[6]

The little attention that Christian deification has received from western scholarship has generally been in the form of works concerning the theology of specific fathers such as Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, or Cyril of Alexandria.[7] These, on the other hand, are written against a backdrop of more general works that outline the broad Roman or Greek concepts of deification that were part of the Hellenistic milieu in which the early fathers dwelt.[8] But little concern has been given to the specific question of the origin of this important part of the theology of the east and the assumption that it was simply in some way absorbed from the culture of Late Antiquity seems generally to dominate. However, this author contends that it is demonstrable that the origin of this concept among the early fathers is largely to be found in the church's Christological use of Psalm 82 in the east and west as early as the late first century. This can be demonstrated by observing that Psalm 82:1, 6-7 were regularly used as Christological proof texts in the early collections of *testimonia* against the Jews, and further, that the use of these texts required that all believers in some way be considered "gods."

The description of salvation as deification is at first glance an unlikely

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guilt incurred by the disobedience to the divine command. The second part of the fall was the curse of God set upon man that "you will surely die." Salvation then is redemption from both guilt and mortality: "Repentance gives no exemption from the consequences of nature, but merely looses sins. If, therefore, there had been only sin and not its consequence of corruption, repentance would have been very well. But if, since transgression had overtaken them, men were now prisoners to natural corruption, and they had been deprived of the grace of being in the image, what else should have happened?" *inc.* 7.

[5] Thus "the crucial fact of the Incarnation, for Athanasius, is that the Logos united to Himself the flesh of mankind, thereby raising it up to his level, that of godhood." Keith Edward Norman, *Deification: The Content of Athanasian Soteriology* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1980), 98.

[6] *Ar.* 1.38f.

[7] Several works of this type are: Charles T. Rines, *The Concept of Deification in Clement of Alexandria* (1964). Keith Edward Norman, *Deification: The Content of Athanasian Soteriology*, (Ph.D. Dissertation. Duke University, 1980). Laurence Rand, *Flesh and Spirit: A Study of Eucharistic Deification in Cyril of Alexandria*, (Berkeley, 1983).

[8] For example: Gross, Jules. *La Divinisation du chrétien d'après les pères grecs*, (Paris, 1938).

development in early Christian theology. In the case of worshiping the pagan gods or honoring deified rulers, the earliest Christian authors explicitly and vehemently reject the idea of any creature being considered a god as this was contrary to the church's monotheistic confession. Pagan deification is roundly decried as deriving from the serpent's temptation of Adam and Eve in Paradise that "you will be like gods", which event is even pinpointed as the original source of pagan polytheism. In addition to disobedience, it was the belief in other gods and the desire that Adam and Eve "themselves could become gods" which burdened "the soul of man like a disease."[9] This activity of the early fathers reflects their conflict with the surrounding culture. On account of this refusal to venerate the gods and worship the emperor, the church in places suffered persecution.[10] And the rejection of such pagan ideas of deification earned the early Christians the label "atheists" (ἄθεοι).[11] Clement of Alexandria simply follows the tradition before him when he completely rejects the pagan deification of the heavens, of people, of passions, and of bodily shapes and calls it all "the manufacturing of gods."[12] The idea and language of deification, therefore, would seem unlikely to find a positive use in Christian doctrine. Nevertheless, a well-known and deeply traditional description of salvation as deification in the early fourth century is explainable as a natural development of the church's theological use of Psalm 82 in the late first and early second centuries.

The use of Psalm 82 as a proof text for deification in the later fathers of the East is well known. Verses 1 and 6-7 of the Psalm should be quoted here:

> [1]God stands in the congregation of gods; he judges among the gods.
> [6]I said, You are gods; and are all sons of the most High.
> [7]But you die like men, and fall like one of the princes.

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[9] Just. *coh. Gr.* 21. ἵνα οἱ ἄνθρωποι . . . ἑαυτοὺς δύνασθαι γενέσθαι θεοὺς πιστεύσωσι·

[10] Pliny, writing to emperor Trajan in c. 113 AD, reported that he was dealing with those accused of being Christians by demanding they worship the image of the emperor with wine and incense. See P.R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State & Christian Church. A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535.* (London: 1966), 2. In the document *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, written in the mid-second century, it is stated that the oath, "Caesar is Lord" (Κύριος Καῖσαρ) was demanded of the Christians, who were thereafter to offer incense and to denounce Christ. (c. 8). Notice this was directly antithetical to the early confession of the church: Κύριος Ἰησοῦς.

[11] *M. Polyc.* 9. See also Joseph J. Walsh, "On Christian Atheism", *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991): 255-277.

[12] Clem. *prot.* 26.6. θεῶν περιποιητικός.

Verse 6 of this Psalm is quoted time and again in the later fathers of the East as showing the ultimate goal of salvation as "becoming god." This use of Psalm 82 has been ignored by scholarship as little more than a late attempt at biblical justification for a traditional doctrine with no real biblical foundation. But a more careful examination of the use of this idea of "becoming god" in the earliest fathers indicates otherwise. As has often been pointed out, technical deification terminology such as θεοποιέω, θειάζω, ἐκθειάζω, ἐκθειέω is not used before Clement of Alexandria to refer to Christian deification, though it is well attested afterwards.[13] And significantly, the terminology of believers being "deified" is unknown among the Latin fathers, as far as I am aware, until considerably later. This is true even though these terms find no lack of use in the early authors for the purpose of rejecting pagan deification of creatures in place of worshiping the creator. However, the less technical phrase of "becoming god" to describe salvation occurs in many of the earliest authors such as Justin, Irenaeus, Theophilus, Tertullian, Cyprian and Clement of Alexandria. When these occurrences are examined, it becomes apparent that a high percentage of them are related to the use of Psalm 82 as a traditional Christological proof text, which was found by these authors in their collections of *testimonia* against the Jews.

Early Christian Testimonia

The existence of early Christian collections of *testimonia*, consisting of collections of Old Testament quotations organized according to themes for the purpose of providing answers to questions of controversy with the Jews, has been postulated since the late 19th century. Harnack referred to Hatch's *Essays in Biblical Greek* where such collections were suggested, saying, "Hatch has taken up again the hypothesis of earlier scholars, that there were very probably in the first and second centuries systematized extracts from the Old Testament. The hypothesis is not yet quite established, but yet is hardly to be rejected."[14] Scholars of this century have established the validity of this theory. In 1916, Rendel Harris published his two-volume study,

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[13] The apparent exception to this statement is one occurrence in Justin Martyr. In the context of rejecting the deification of the emperors "who die" and live immoral lives that he goes on to claim that "those only are deified who have lived near to God in holiness and virtue." Just. *1 apol.* 21. (ANF I, 170).

[14] Harnack. *History of Dogma*, 1:175.

Testimonies, which thoroughly discussed the evidence for these collections of Old Testament quotations.[15] Even if at points he goes too far, Harris was able to demonstrate the antiquity of such collections, claiming that there were even very early collections, which served as sources for the authors of the New Testament.[16] More recently, Jean Daniélou has shown that the earliest Latin Christian authors too made use of such *testimonia*.[17]

These scholars have identified many pieces of these collections through comparisons of Old Testament quotations in the second and third century fathers. From this data it has been concluded that the main characteristics of these primitive books were: the organization of Old Testament prophecies interpreted in a specifically Christological/Christian fashion under titles consisting of brief explanations or even questions; a large freedom in quoting a biblical text even to the point of altering it from the known Hebrew and Greek LXX; the compounding of more than one quotation from multiple authors into one quotation with only one author cited; and the occasional use of Christian *agrapha* or non scriptural texts quoted as scripture.[18] These primitive collections consisted, therefore, of Old Testament proof texts interpreted and gathered together according to the *analogia fidei*. And such collections likely were used for catechetical training as well as for writing polemics. It is for this reason that, although the quality and integrity of quotations is often questionable, the early fathers clung to these collections so closely and used them so often.[19]

Many of the themes or issues treated by the *testimonia* were Christological in nature. And several of these dealt with proofs of the church's confession of Jesus' divinity. The theme in the early *testimonia* under which Psalm 82 appeared was probably titled by the phrase "That Jesus is God". It would appear that later development of the collections led to geographical

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[15] Harris, *Testimonies* (Cambridge, 1916).

[16] "We shall, then, say that the *Testimony Book* is one of the earliest Christian documents, and that the earliest books of the New Testament must be interpreted in the light of such a document as we have shown, by so many considerations, to exist." Harris, *Testimonies*, 1:25.

[17] Jean Daniélou, *The Origins of Latin Christianity* (The Westminister Press, 1977).

[18] Harris, 1:55-56. Also see Daniélou, 275.

[19] The classic case is Psalm 95 and Justin Martyr's accusation that the Jews had removed "from the wood" from verse 10. Justin claims that it originally read "the Lord reigned from the wood" rather than just "the LORD reigns" as present Hebrew and Greek texts have it. This verse, as Justin records it, was a favorite among the early fathers. Apparently it was inserted in this corrupted form into the *testimonia* and used unquestioned for several generations.

differences in the use of Psalm 82 in order to provide the proof required by the catechetical title.

Latin Africa's Testimonia *and Psalm 82*

In Africa, Tertullian and Cyprian apparently followed a tradition that used the Psalm in a manner analogous to John 10. This traditional argument was concerned to show that the title "*deus*" itself could be ascribed to Jesus. And, apparently, one way to do this was to demonstrate that the title had been ascribed to various individuals who were mere mortals and then to argue that it was, therefore, much more appropriate in the case of Jesus who was the Son of God. Psalm 82:1, 6-7 demonstrated such a designation of mortals and thus provided justification for the application of the title "God" to Christ.[20]

Harris has taken note of the Christological use of Psalm 82 in John 10:32-36 where an exchange is recorded between the Jews and Jesus as the later was about to be stoned.[21] This passage reads:

> [32]Jesus answered them: "I have shown you many good deeds from the Father. On account of which of these do you stone me?"
>
> [33]The Jews answered: "It is not on account of any good deed that we stone you but on account of blasphemy, because you, being a man, make yourself God."
>
> [34]Jesus answered them: "Is it not written in your law that 'I said, You are gods.'"
>
> [35]If he called them gods to whom the word of God came, and the scripture can not be broken,
>
> [36]do you say to me, whom the Father appointed and sent into the world, "You blaspheme," because I said, "I am the Son of God"?

The use of Psalm 82:6 in this text to justify the application of the title "Son of God" to Jesus is curious. Yet Tertullian made use of this verse in precisely the same manner in order to show that the title "God" is appropriately applied to Christ. In *Adversus Praxeam*, 13, he argues that scripture demonstrates there are a plurality of persons in the godhead, contrary to the heretical ideas of his opponent. As part of his argument, Tertullian took advantage of a traditional Christological proof:

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[20] Compare this to the use of Exodus 7:1: "And the LORD said unto Moses, 'See, I have made you a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron your brother will be your prophet.'" cf. Novatian, *De Trinitate*, 20.7-8.

[21] Harris, 2:72-74.

Quodsi ex illis es qui tunc dominum non sustinebant dei se filium ostendentem, ne eum deum crederent, recordare tu cum illis scriptum esse: ego dixi, vos dii estis, et filii altissimi, et: stetit deus in ecclesia deorum, ut si homines, per fidem filios dei factos, deos scriptura pronuntiare non timuit, scias illam multo magis vero et unico dei filio id dei nomen iure contulisse.[22]

If, indeed, you follow those who did not at the time endure the Lord when showing Himself to be the Son of God, so that they would not believe him to be God, then (I ask you) call to mind along with them the passage where it is written, "I have said, You are gods, and you are children of the Most High;" and again, "God stands in the congregation of gods;" in order that, if the scripture has not been afraid to designate as gods human beings, who have become sons of God by faith, you may be sure that the same scripture has with greater propriety conferred the name of the Lord on the true and one-only Son of God.

Here the Christological use of the psalm is at the forefront. The scripture calls righteous men "gods", the argument goes, therefore how much more so should the Son of God receive the title "God." The requirement, as it were, of this argument, as also in the Gospel, is the minor premise that righteous men or believers are called "gods." But Tertullian says nothing of what this might mean.

The Psalm is next used in the west in Cyprian's work *Ad Quirinum.* This work in particular has been recognized as forming "a most important element in the history of *testimonia*. . . . (It) marks the culmination of a process which began with the first generation of Christians."[23] The second book of this work consists of messianic prophecies, which are explicitly gathered under headings to which they apply. The quotations and categories follow primitive patterns found in earlier authors to such an extent that Daniélou traced some of them to the earliest days of Christianity. Chapter six of the second book is headed by the title: "*Quod Deus Christus*". Among the quotations which follow and apply to this title, the following *testimonium* and comment appears:

Item in Psalmo LXXXI: Deus stetit in synagoga deorum in medio autem deos discernens. Et iterum illic: Ego dixi: dii estis et filii altissimi omnes, vos autem sicut homines moriemini. Quod si iusti qui fuerint et praeceptis divinis obtemperaverint, dii dici possunt, quanto magis Christus Deus Dei Filius?[24]

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[22] *Prax.* 13. (CSEL 47:248). Compare also *Marc.* 1,7, where an interesting contrary conclusion from Psalm 82 is put into Marcion's mouth by Tertullian. There Marcion is made to argue that since mere humans are called "gods" the name is ambiguous when applied to greater beings, namely, Marcion's Creator God.

[23] Daniélou. 288.

[24] Cypr. *Quir.* 2.6. (CCSL 3, 38).

> Also in the eighty-first Psalm: "God stood in the congregation of gods, and judging gods in the midst." And again in the same place: "I have said, You are gods; and you are all the children of the Highest: but you will die like men." But if they who have been righteous, and have obeyed the divine precepts, may be called gods, how much more is Christ, the Son of God, God!

Thus the two African authors made use of precisely the same logical conclusion drawn from Psalm 82 in order to justify the application of the title "*Deus*" to Christ, the Son of God. Yet Cyprian does not appear to be dependent upon Tertullian's text, since the forms of the scriptural quotations are quite different, as are the words which express the conclusion. It can be cautiously concluded, therefore, that this use of Psalm 82 appeared in traditional African sources of *testimonia* and that this Christological argument was indicated there. Further, the Psalm continued to perform this function well into the third century. And although this argument required the minor premise that believers are called "gods" in the Psalm, neither Tertullian nor Cyprian was concerned about explaining such a detail. This was not the case, however, among the Greek fathers.

The Early Greek Authors and Psalm 82

Justin's *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* is another work which draws heavily from the early Christian *testimonia* in order to present a defense of the Christian faith against the Jews. In chapter 55 of the work, Trypho responds to Justin's previous assertion that Jesus was not a mere man but God by asking: "show us that the Spirit of prophecy admits another God besides the Maker of all things." Justin then promises to fulfill this request and proceeds to present chapter after chapter of argument and counter argument to this end. He does not complete his task until chapter 124. Just previous, at the end of chapter 123, Justin claimed that Christians, who are "from Christ, who begot us unto God, like Jacob, and Israel, and Judah, and Joseph, and David, are called and are the true sons of God". This, it is said, disturbed Justin's audience. So Justin finishes off his Christological presentation with an exposition of Psalm 82, saying:

> And when I saw that they were perturbed because I said that we are the sons of God, I anticipated their questioning, and said, "Listen, sirs, how the Holy Ghost speaks of this people, saying that they are all sons of the Highest; and how this very Christ will be present in their assembly, rendering judgment to all men."[25]

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[25] Just. *dial.* 124.

Justin then proceeds to quote the psalm. But here the use of Psalm 82 is different from Tertullian and Cyprian. The text is still used to demonstrate the divinity of Christ but, instead of following the logic of John 10 concerning the title "God", the text "God standing in the assembly of the gods" is applied directly to Christ. Then, after quoting Psalm 82:1-7, Justin continues in a new direction by explaining the phrase "you will die like men" as referring to the downfall of Adam, Eve, and the serpent in the garden. Perhaps there were other competing explanations of this phrase known to Justin because he allows that his explanation is not certain, concluding as follows:

> let the interpretation of the Psalm be held just as you wish, yet thereby it is demonstrated that all men are deemed worthy of becoming gods, and of having power to become sons of the Highest.

Thus Justin concluded his long Christological argument with a text he claimed refers to Christ as "God". But he also attempted to provide an explanation of other parts of the Psalm, especially the phrase, "you will die like men." Ultimately, Justin concluded that the "sons of god" are also worthy of becoming "gods." And this is apparently what he referred to in his first Apology when he states that that "those only are deified who have lived near to God in holiness and virtue."[26]

Irenaeus too makes regular use of traditional *testimonia*, often instead of carefully checking Old Testament quotations for accuracy.[27] In particular, Irenaeus is quite similar to Justin in his use of Psalm 82. In three distinct places he quotes and comments on this text. The first occurrence is in *haer.* 3.6.1 in the middle of a Christological proof that "neither would the Lord, nor the Holy Spirit, nor the apostles, have ever named as God, definitely and absolutely, him who was not God, unless he were truly God." Showing that Christ is called God along with the Father and is, therefore, truly God, Irenaeus argues:

> And again: "God stood in the congregation of gods, He judges among the gods." He [here] refers to the Father and the Son, and those who have received the adoption; but these are the Church. For it is the synagogue of God, which God—that is, the Son Himself—has gathered by Himself. . . . But of what gods [does he speak]? [Of those] to whom He says, "I have said,

[26] Just. *1 apol.* 21.

[27] Smith, Joseph P. *St. Irenaeus, Proof of the Apostolic Preaching* (Newman Press, 1952), 34.

> You are gods, and all sons of the most High." To those, no doubt, who have received the grace of the "adoption, by which we cry, Abba Father."[28]

This passage demonstrates again the Christological use of Psalm 82 observed in Justin, namely, proof is taken from the text by applying verse 1 directly to Christ.[29] But Irenaeus also explicitly asks for the explanation of who the secondary "gods" of the text are. In answer, Irenaeus refers to the adoption of sons through the Spirit, by which Christians cry out Abba, Father. But immediately he continues on with his Christological argument and leaves the idea undeveloped at this point.

The second occurrence of Psalm 82 occurs in *haer.* 3.19.1. Here Irenaeus again considers the meaning of the beginning of verse 7, "You will die like men." He interprets this in light of verse 6.

> He speaks undoubtedly these words to those who have not received the gift of adoption, but who despise the incarnation of the pure generation of the Word of God, *defraud human nature of promotion into God*, and prove themselves ungrateful to the Word of God, who became flesh for them. For it was for this end that the Word of God was made man and He who was the Son of God became the Son of man, that man, having been taken into the Word, and receiving the adoption, might become the son of God. For by no other means could we have attained to incorruptibility and immortality, unless we had been united to incorruptibility and immortality. But how could we be joined to incorruptibility and immortality, unless, first, incorruptibility and immortality had become that which we also are, so that the corruptible might be swallowed up by the incorruptibility, and the mortal by immortality, that we might receive the adoption of sons?[30]

Irenaeus again launches from this text into a Christological argument proving that Christ was true God, born of Mary of true flesh. So Psalm 82 finds its place yet another time within the boundaries of a Christological presentation. But here Irenaeus has given a more extended explanation of how the incarnation makes possible the adoption of sons, by immortality absorbing mortality and incorruption corruption. He speaks of the "gift of

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[28] SC 211.2.67-69.

[29] Notice that the Greek text has Christ standing ἐν συναγωγῇ Θεοῦ whereas the Latin text of Irenaeus has the plural *in synagoga deorum*, as with Tertullian, Cyprian, Justin and the LXX. The singular, if original, would certainly indicate an independence of Irenaeus from Justin and, since it is closer to the Hebrew, could be an indication of just how early Psalm 82 started to appear in the collections of *testimonia*.

[30] *SC* 211.2.373-375. Also ANF 1, 448. Note that the index to volume 1 of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* incorrectly omits this reference.

adoption" (πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεξαμένους δωρεὰν τῆς υἱοθεσίας, *qui non percipiunt munus adoptionis*). But instead of "becoming god" Irenaeus here opted to express the result of the adoption as "becoming the son of God" which follows from the later part of Psalm 82:6. But this is intimately related to "becoming god." For the despising of the incarnation has the result that such people "defraud human nature of the ascent unto God (τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀνόδου, *ab ea ascensione quae est ad Dominum*)" made possible by the "Word of God become flesh". This ascent relates again to the Holy Spirit who is the "ladder of ascent to God (*haer* 3.24.1 *scala ascensionis ad Deum*)." For it is by the Spirit that one "ascends to that which is perfect (*haer* 4.39.2)." And for Irenaeus, salvation is the ascent by which Christians become perfect in likeness to God through the Spirit and the Son. And to become perfect in likeness to God is to "become god."

This understanding of Irenaeus' presentation is confirmed by the third occurrence of Psalm 82 in Irenaeus, which must be considered in detail. Toward the end of book 4, Irenaeus presents his argument that mankind has been given a free will and is not coerced by God in the matter of salvation. This argument is made in the interest of maintaining mankind's responsibility over against God's judgment of sin. Here for the first time Psalm 82 is found in a purely anthropological and soteriological context apart from any Christological argument. In chapter 38, Irenaeus took up the question of why mankind wasn't just created perfect in the beginning rather than leaving him to his own weak nature. Irenaeus could only answer that for God "all things are possible" and he could have done so, but that in fact he did not. Only God is uncreated; everything created is inferior to him. "Inasmuch as they are not uncreated, for this very reason do they come short of the perfect." (4.38.1). Since mankind was not uncreated and therefore not perfect, a process leading to perfection was required. God thus determined

> all things beforehand for the bringing of man to perfection, for his edification and for the revelation of His dispensations, that goodness may both be made apparent, and righteousness perfected, and that the Church may be fashioned after the image of His Son, and that man may finally be brought to maturity at some future time, becoming ripe through such privileges to see and comprehend God. (4.37.7)

The Lord came not in his natural glory but in a humble state in which mankind could behold him.[31] By this economy of salvation, which includes

[31] "He did this when He appeared as a man, that we, being nourished, as it were,

the work of the Son and of the Spirit, mankind is brought toward perfection. Man can not become uncreated but through ascension and eternal progress he can gain immortality and likeness to God.[32] Immediately following these statements, Irenaeus rebukes those who think that God should have created man perfect in the beginning and "ascribe to God the infirmity of their nature." Before "they become men they wish to be even now like God their Creator." (*haer* 4.38.4). "We cast blame upon Him, because we have not been made gods from the beginning, but at first indeed men, then at length gods."[33] But what does it mean that we at length become gods? Here Irenaeus introduces Psalm 82:6-7 and says that the phrase "you will die like men" indicates that God knew the weakness of created human nature. But

> *Oportuerat autem primo naturam apparere, post deinde vinci et absorbi mortale ab immortalitate, et corruptibile ab incorruptibilitate, et fieri hominem secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei . . . Quemadmodum igitur erit deus, qui nondum factus est homo? quomodo autem perfectus, nuper effectus? quomodo autem immortalis, qui in natura mortali non obaudivit Factori? Oportet enim te primo quidem ordinem hominis custodire, tunc deinde participari gloriae Dei.*[34]

> it was necessary, at first, that nature should be exhibited; then, after that, that what was mortal should be conquered and swallowed up by immortality, and the corruptible by incorruptibility, and that man should be made after the image and likeness of God. . . . How, then, will he be a god, who has not as yet been made a man? Or how can he be perfect who was but lately created? How, again, can he be immortal, who in his mortal nature did not obey his Maker? For it must be that you, at the outset, should hold the rank of a man, and then afterwards partake of the glory of God. (haer 4.38.4-4.39.2)

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from the breast of His flesh, and having, by such a course of milk-nourishment, become accustomed to eat and drink the Word of God, may be able also to contain in ourselves the Bread of immortality, which is the Spirit of the Father" (*haer.* 4.38.1).

[32] *Haer.* 4.38.3.

[33] SC 100.2.958. *Nos autem imputamus ei quoniam non ab initio dii facti sumus, sed primo quidem homines, tunc demum dii.*

[34] SC 100.2.960-6. The translation of this text is found in ANF 1, 522. The Ante-Nicene Fathers has the pivotal phrase of this quote as "How, then, shall he be a God, . . ." with a capitalization of the divine title. This occurs in other deification texts as well. This practice has been noted by other scholars working on deification in the early fathers and denounced as incorrect. This author must concur in this judgment. Neither Irenaeus, nor the other early fathers, were trying to say that the believer becomes by nature Yahweh or Christ. Instead, it is better to say the believer becomes "god" or perhaps "divine" would be preferable.

The above evidence from Justin and Irenaeus confirms that Psalm 82 had its first and earliest use as a Christological proof text and appeared in the collections of *testimonia* used by both authors. But beyond this, both authors contain attempts at exegesis of the phrases, "I said, 'You are gods'", and, "You will die like men." These discussions are explicit evidence of a debate that was ongoing in the second century on the meaning of this text, a discussion that does not appear in Latin North Africa.

The answer, as to what exactly might be meant by calling believers "gods", could be given in a more hellenized form. While Irenaeus relates "becoming god" to the adoption of sons and the reception of the Holy Spirit, Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (d. 181), equated it directly with becoming immortal with no Christological or other biblical argument given.[35] This coordination of becoming divine and salvation as immortality is related to pagan Greek thought. For to the Greek mind "immortality meant divinization, and things immortal were called θεός (god)."[36] Thus to become "immortal" was in a sense to be deified. Further, what had been expressed in the New Testament as resurrection from the dead, life, and eternal life (ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή) quickly became signified with a term from Greek religion and philosophy, "immortality" (ἀθανασία).[37] By the late first or early second century "immortality" had become an accepted shorthand expression of Christian salvation in the Greek churches.[38] It would not be surprising then if this resonance with Greek thought and the already established vocabulary of "immortality" interacted with the debate over the meaning of Psalm 82 such as to provide a ready answer simply with reference to the fundamental Christian hope of eternal life or becoming immortal.

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[35] *Autol.* 2.27. Also *Autol.* 2.24.

[36] J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei* (London, 1938). Quoted by John M. Rist, *Platonism and its Christian Heritage.* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), 216f. Also: Ivan M. Linforth, "If by any process, a mortal becomes ἀθάνατος it is immaterial whether you call him immortal or divine." ("OI ΑΘΑΝΑΤΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ" *Classical Philology* 13 (1918): 23-33. Here at 26.

[37] In all of the New Testament this word appears in only one place in relation to salvation, 1 Cor. 15:51-54.

[38] Clement in c. 96 AD speaks of "Life in immortality" (35.2) Ignatius in c. 112 AD says that "For this end did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured upon His head, that He might breathe immortality into His Church." (*Eph.* 17.1). Cf. *Magn.* 6.2; *Philad.* 9.2; *Polyc.* 2.3. In the middle of the second century the martyr Polycarp is described as "now crowned with the wreath of immortality." (*M. Polyc.* 17.1) and as having "acquired the crown of immortality" (19.2). This word is quite common in Justin and later authors.

The question must be considered as to whether the terminology of immortality itself might have first given rise to the terminology of "becoming god" rather than Psalm 82. In this way, the general opinion that the Christian idea of deification as a direct borrowing of a pagan concept later proven by reference to the scriptures would be correct. But the evidence of the Latin authors, who know of "becoming god" only in the context of the Christological argument of Psalm 82, and the explicit evidence of a debate over the meaning of Psalm 82:6-7, indicates that the theology of Christian deification, while drawing upon Hellenistic ideas, arose chiefly out of the exegetical debate over Psalm 82. Further, explicit attempts by later authors to reconcile the second century doctrine of becoming god with the wisdom of the Greek poets and philosophers can be shown.[39] This would hardly have been so obviously awkward if the doctrine had earlier simply been drawn from Greek authority.

Two possible small pieces of evidence can be given from yet earlier authors to indicate that even in the earliest years of the second century there was some type of concern in the Greek churches over the meaning of "becoming god" and, further, that this did not necessarily focus on the idea of immortality. The two earliest references to becoming god are found in the Epistle to Diognetus and in Ignatius. While they are certainly not without ambiguity, it seems possible to infer from the foregoing that even these early authors were aware of a question over the meaning of Psalm 82:6 because the Psalm was current in the contemporary theological life of the church as a Christological proof text.

Many early patristic authors, and the New Testament itself, draw upon the Hellenistic idea of imitation as the basis for moral admonition. The author of the Epistle to Diognetus uses this idea and in the process states that by such imitation of God, the Christian becomes "god" to the person that is served:

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[39] For instance in *Stromata 4.23* Clement writes:

> "On this wise it is possible for the Gnostic already to have become God. 'I said, Ye are gods, and sons of the highest.'" And Empedocles says that the souls of the wise become gods, writing as follows:—
>
> "At last prophets, minstrels, and physicians,
> And the foremost among mortal men, approach;
> Whence spring gods supreme in honors."

Thus Clement makes use of the pagan author in order to show that men can indeed "become gods." In this way Clement puts into practice his claim that in places the

> He who takes upon himself the burden of his neighbour; he who, in whatsoever respect he may be superior, is ready to benefit another who is deficient; he who, whatsoever things he has received from God, by distributing these to the needy, becomes a god to those who receive [his benefits]: he is an imitator of God.[40]

While it is difficult to draw too much from this incidental remark, it certainly seems possible to view it as an attempt to explain a controversial point as to how a believer might be said to "become god." And as it does not have anything to do directly with immortality, it must be noted that at the time there may not have been any exclusively strong association with immortality and the Christian becoming god.

Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians has a more theological statement. This epistle is full of mystical language of the believer being in God and God in the believer. Christians are "God-bearers and temple-bearers, Christ-bearers" and, according to Ignatius, we know that the Lord "dwells in us, to the end that we may be his temples and he himself may be in us as our God."[41] For Ignatius, faith and love together bring the Christian to union with God. The connection is so intense in Ignatius' mind that it brings him to a striking expression:

> None of these things is hidden from you, if you are perfect in your faith and love toward Jesus Christ, for these are the beginning and end of life—faith is the beginning and love is the end—*and the two being found in unity are God* while all things else follow in their train unto true nobility.[42]

Again, although the text is short and not without ambiguity, it seems probable that Ignatius uses such unusual language because he was aware of scriptural language that spoke of Christians becoming god. If so, "immortality" not being the main issue in focus here would suggest again that there was no exclusive association of immortality and the language of the Psalm.

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pagan authors too have been inspired by the cosmic Logos. But the attempt is quite awkward to say the least.

[40] *Diogn.* 10.

[41] Lightfoot: θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι *Eph.* 9.2. πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ᾖ ἐν ἡμῖν Θεός ἡμῶν. *Eph.* 15.3.

[42] τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἑνότητι γενόμενα θεός ἐστιν. *Eph.* 14.1.

Summary

In summary, the multiple quotations and discussions of Psalm 82:1, 6-7 in the fathers of the second and third centuries show that the Psalm had a very early use in the life of the church. It was used first and primarily as a proof text for the divinity of Christ. This use of the Psalm dates back at least into the first part of the second century and possibly predates the Gospel of John itself. Its use in the east and west probably points to common ancestor in the very early collections of *testimonia.*

Secondly, an echo of another debate can be heard in Justin and Irenaeus when they discuss the contrast between the Psalm's "I said, 'You are gods.'" and its "You will die like men." This debate arose because of the primary use of the text. It concerns which people are called gods and in what sense, on the contrary, that some die "like men." It is this debate over the meaning of Psalm 82 that gave impetus to the development of a doctrine of Christian deification. This doctrine was thus carved out of a text used for both Christological and soteriological purposes and led to the very close association of the idea of the incarnation and deification. So Irenaeus was largely producing an exegetical summary when he produced the catchy phrase that the Lord Jesus Christ "became what we are, that He might bring us to be even what He is himself."[43] And with only slight polishing, Athanasius generated a *topos* for centuries to come when he stated that "He became man, that we might become god."[44]

109 N. First St, *Pleasant Dale,* NE, U.S.A.

[43] *Haer.* 5.Pref.

[44] *Inc.* 54.11f. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνηνθρώπησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL REBIRTH

CRITICAL NOTES ON G.W. BOWERSOCK, *HELLENISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY*[1]

BY

JARL FOSSUM

In his famous work, *Die Untergang des Abendlandes* (ET, *The Decline of the West* [1928]), Oswald Spengler used the language of mineralogy to illustrate his thesis that in the Hellenistic age Greek philosophy and religion provided the hollow forms in which the Oriental material underwent a 'pseudomorphosis'. The simile used was the following: When a crystalline substance fills a hollow left in a geological layer made by a crystal which has disintegrated, the former is forced to take on the mould of the latter, thereby deceiving the observer who does not subject the substance to chemical analysis.

In his slim book of less than 100 pages of text, Professor Glen Bowersock propounds a more perceptive view: 'Hellenism'—by which the author means Greek language, philosophy, and religion—did not disintegrate so quickly. Surely the great Dionysus remained alive for a long time; in the chapter on 'Dionysos and His World', Bowersock cites that Dionysus is the 'controlling figure' in some beautiful late antiquity art work. Rather than effecting a 'pseudomorphosis' of Near Eastern religion, Hellenism was able to bring about a *metamorphosis*: it became a vehicle for 'strengthening and even transforming local worship without eradicating its local character' (p. 21).

Bowersock also correctly notes: 'Christianity had a powerful influence on the paganism that prospered in the late antique world, to a degree [. . .] no less important than the influence—much more frequently remarked—of paganism on Christianity' (p. 26). However, in his eagerness to demonstrate the influence of Christianity upon paganism, Bowersock unfortunately makes many mistakes. This is rather glaring in his attempt at a 'thorough examination' of Epiphanius' account of the festival in the Alexandrian

[1] Jerome Lectures 18; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1990. The Lectures were delivered in February of '89.

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sanctum of the goddess Kore in the bishop's own day (*ca.* 315-402). Since Bowersock states that his 'detailed and somewhat intricate argument can stand as a test case for the approach to Hellenism espoused in this book' (pp. 21-22), a critical examination of his interpretation may be found in order. Furthermore, since the account by the bishop of Salamis actually testifies to a mythical-ritual pattern which can be observed in Christianity as well as pagan religion, some concluding comments of a psychological nature may be found appropriate.

I

In his *Panarion* or 'medicine chest' (of antidotes to the poisons of sects and idolatry), Epiphanius tells the following story:

> ... The leaders of the idolaters ... in many places hold a great feast on the very night of Epiphany, so that those who have placed their hopes in what is error may not seek the truth. First of all, in Alexandria they hold a festival in what is called the Koreum, which is a huge temple, namely the sacred precinct of Kore. They stay awake the entire night singing hymns to the idol to the accompaniment of flutes. They keep it up the entire night, and after cockcrow torchbearers descend into an underground shrine and bring up a wooden statue seated naked on a litter, having a seal of a cross inlaid with gold upon the forehead, and two other such seals on both hands as well as another two upon the knees themselves, making altogether five seals impressed with gold. They carry the statue in a circle seven times around the very centre of the temple to the accompaniment of flutes, kettle-drums, and hymns, and thus reveling carry it back down to the place underground. Asked what the rite means, they say: 'Today at this hour Kore (meaning the Virgin) has engendered Aion.'[2]

Bowersock states: 'It has rarely been noticed that, after his invocation of the Alexandrian parallel to Epiphany, Epiphanius goes on to provide two other parallels' (p. 24). The first parallel is that of a ceremony at Elusa in the Negev desert; unfortunately, we are only told that it occurred in the same night as the other two. Reporting on the nocturnal rite at Petra, however, the bishop furnishes the information that this was the Nabateans'

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[2] LI.22.8-10 (text in K. Holl, *Epiphanius*, Vol. 2 [GCS 31, revised by J. Drummer; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), p. 286; translation in P.R. Amidon, *The Panarion of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis* [Oxford: University Press, 1990], p. 182, and in F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III* [NHMS 36; Leiden: Brill, 1994], p. 51).

celebration of the birth of their main god, Dusares, from a virgin goddess named Khaamon or Khaabon.

Bowersock infers that the Alexandrian Aion, too, must have been an indigenous deity who could lay some claim to being the supreme god. Since there are passages in the Suda Lexicon which identify Osiris with Aion, Bowersock concludes that the Egyptian god Osiris was embodied by 'the Hellenistic philosophical deity Aion' and lived on in a 'Hellenic mystery cult' (p. 25).[3]

The cross marks on the body of the Aion statue and the profession of virgin birth are taken by Bowersock as evidence for Christian influence.[4] Then why not the date of the (re)birth of Aion as well? In the beginning, the birth of Christ was celebrated on January 6,[5] as it still is in the 'Oriental Orthodox' Churches. Bowersock does not comment upon the date at all.

It is wrong that Epiphanius' account is 'never discussed or analyzed at length' (p. 21). Already in 1913 W. Bousset devoted just as much space to this report as Bowersock's 'thorough examination'.[6] Bousset knew that

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[3] Apparently already P.E. Jablonski (1693-1757), *De origine festi nativitatis Christi*, took Aion in Epiphanius' account to be Osiris. I have not seen Jablonski's *Opuscula*, published by J.G. te Water in four parts (Leiden, 1804-13), but I have read P. de Lagarde, who repeated Jablonski's identification of the two gods; see de Lagarde, 'Altes und Neues über das Weihnachtsfest', *Mittheilungen*, Vol. 4 (Göttingen: Lüder Horstmann, 1891), p. 302 n. 1.

In his article, 'Der Ursprung des Epiphanienfestes', originally published in *SAB* for 1917, K. Holl denied that the Suda Lexicon equated Aion and Osiris; see Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (1928; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), pp. 149-50. His skepticism appears exaggerated and his alternative explanation too forced.

[4] Already H. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest* (2nd ed.; Bonn: Cohen, 1911), pp. 28-9, saw the *Koreion* as a semi-Christian feast, the crosses supposedly revealing Christian influence.

[5] Epiphanius himself (*Pan.* LI.22.3-7 and 29.4-7) believed this was the date of the birth of Christ. *Ca.* 428 John Cassianus (*Collationes* X.2) reports that Epiphany in Egypt is 'by ancient tradition' believed to be the time for both the baptism and the birth of Jesus. For the celebration of the birth of Christ in a cave in Bethlehem in the night of 5/6 January, see Holl, *Aufsätze*, p. 126. For a general discussion, see L. Fendt, 'Der heutige Stand der Forschung über das Geburtsfest Jesu am 25.XII und über Epiphanias', *ThLZ* 78 (1953), cols. 1-10.

[6] *Kyrios Christos* (FRLANT 21; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), pp. 332-37. Bousset's seminal work was published in ET (Nashville: Abingdon) in 1970. Some other important discussions of Epiphanius' account are cited by P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), pp. 336-37 n. 79 (to ch. 5 § 2). For the god Aion proper, reference may also be made to C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (FRLANT 78; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 209-16.

January 5/6 was observed as the date of the epiphany of Dionysus.[7] That the Alexandrian Aion is no other than Dionysus is corroborated by the fact that Dusares was frequently identified with Dionysus[8]—a fact duly noted by Bousset, but overlooked by Bowersock.

Bowersock writes: 'Apart from a Cretan legend of the birth of Zagreus, nothing in the entire Greek mythological tradition suggests that Kore, or as she is otherwise known, Persephone, the bride of Hades, ever gave birth at all' (p. 26). That very myth, however, relating that Persephone's child, Dionysus-Zagreus, was torn to pieces by the Titans but then put together again and revived by the gods, was quite popular. It is repeatedly referred to in the Orphic texts.[9] The Orphics could even say that Kore gave birth to Dionysus in a subterranean cave,[10] which calls to mind Epiphanius' report that Aion was reborn every year in the underground shrine of Kore. The 53rd Orphic hymn says that Dionysus 'sleeps' in the house of Persephone in the intervals between his appearances. Every year the god was awakened as *Liknitēs*, the 'One in the Cradle' (e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 365a; Orphic Hymn 46).

It was undoubtedly as a repeatedly reborn god that Dionysus was identified

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[7] Given his identification of Aion in Epiphan. *Pan.* LI.22.9-10 as Osiris, it is surprising that Bowersock does not cite *Pan.* LI.30.3, where the bishop says that on 11th Tybi = 6th January 'everyone draws water [from the Nile] and stores it.' On account of this report, already H. Gressmann, *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris* (Der Alte Orient 23/3; Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923), pp. 22-25, took *Pan.* LI.22.9-10 to describe the ritual rebirth of Horus, the son and representative of Osiris, the god of the Nile. However, as pointed out by R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 5; Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1963), p. 49, the drawing of Nile water on Tybi 11 is a rite which must have been transferred from the festival of the birth or 'finding' (*heuresis*) of Osiris, celebrated in July when the Nile rose. That an Osirian ceremony was transferred to the epiphany feast of Dionysus is shown by the account of Epiphanius that the water even turned into wine on 6th January. See also Holl, *Aufsätze*, p. 153, citing Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 364E, where Osiris and Dionysus are identified.

[8] F. Cumont, 'Dusares' and 'Dusaria', *PW*, Vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1905), p. 1866 and p. 1867.

[9] The myth did not originate with the Orphics; see W. Otto, *Dionysus. Myth and Cult* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1965), p. 191; E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Sather Classical Lectures 25; Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California, 1951), pp. 155-56. The Orphic texts are assembled by O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922; reprinted Berlin: Weidmann, 1963).

[10] K. Kerenyi, *The Gods of the Greeks* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1951), p. 253. See below.

with Aion, 'Time' or 'Eternity'. This seems to have taken place in Orphic circles. According to the Orphics, Phanes—the young god emerging from the cosmic egg and often depicted in the centre of the zodiac—could be regarded as the new Aion,[11] born every year in an ever-repeated cycle.[12] The Orphic Fragments relate that the cavern in which Dionysus was born was the cave of Phanes (98; 105). In the Orphic verses quoted by Macrobius, Phanes and Dionysus are equated (*Saturnalia* I.18.12). Surveying Orphic cosmogonies, Damascius notes that the Rhapsodic Version mentions Dionysus as a name of Phanes (*De principiis* 123). Diodorus Siculus says that Orpheus regarded Phanes and Dionysus as names of the same god (I.11.3).[13]

Diodorus also says that 'some give to Osiris the name Dionysus' (ibid.). In two of the places in the Suda Lexicon where Osiris is identified with Aion, the god is also equated with Adonis.[14] That Osiris could be identified with Dionysus and Adonis stands to reason, for these gods all died and were revived every year. Into this amalgam Aion, the cyclically reborn god, too, entered.[15]

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[11] That the figure of Time was not always cast as the monstrous Mithraic deity, Zervan, was first pointed out by R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, Vol. 2 (München: Beck, 1910), pp. 400-405, with reference to the beautiful young god on the Modena relief first published in 1863. See also M.P. Nilsson, 'The Syncretistic Relief at Modena', *SO* 24 (1945), pp. 1-7.

[12] The marble statue of a naked youth entwined by a serpent found in 1902/3 at Merida, Spain, can be identified as the reborn Aion as well as Mithras *iuvenis*; see M.J. Vermaseren, 'A Magical Time God', *Mithraic Studies* (ed. J. Hinnels; Manchester: University Press, 1975), pp. 446-56, especially p. 450.

[13] For the relation between Dionysus and the Orphic mysteries, see E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Vol. 2 (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1907), pp. 103-136; M.P. Nilsson, 'Early Orphism', *HTR* 28 (1935), pp. 203-204.

[14] *Svidae Lexicon* (Lexicographi Graeci I), Vol. 2 (ed. A. Adler; Leipzig: Teubner, 1931), p. 52 (*s.v. Diagnōmōn*) and p. 579 (*s.v. Hēbraiskos*). Only the latter passage is cited by Bowersock. The third identification of Osiris and Aion (*ibid.*, pp. 391-92 [*s.v. Epiphanios*]) does not mention Adonis. For the high age of the identification of Osiris and Adonis, see W.W. Grafen Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911), pp. 185-202.

[15] Ps.-Callisthenes (I.30-33) says that Serapis, that is, Osiris, was identified with Aion Plutonius in Ptolemaic Alexandria. R. Pettazzoni, 'Aion-(Kronos) Chronos in Egypt', *Essays in the History of Religions* (Suppl Numen 1; Leiden: Brill, 1954), pp. 171-76, argues that Epiphan. *Pan* LI.22.9-10 describes the ritual birth of Horus-Harpokrates as the representative of his father, Osiris (Serapis)-Aion. Pettazzoni thinks that Aion is a 'Hellenized' form of 'an ancient Egyptian conception of the Endless Time' embodied by the figure of the sun god. He sees the Egyptian *Kronoia* on Dec. 25 as described by Epiphan. *Pan.* LI.30.3 as the feast of another form of the same deity, Kronos-Chronos. Cf. already

Another deity who was assimilated into this *theokrasia* was Attis. Prime evidence for this syncretism is provided by the Gnostic Naassene Homily, a text to which Bousset directed attention in his discussion of Epiphanius' report on the festival in the Alexandrian sanctuary of Kore.[16] The basic source of the Naassene Homily, summarized by the heresiologist Hippolytus, is a hymn to Attis to which had been appended a commentary in which the Phrygian god is equated with a series of other deities.[17] Before this material reached Hippolytus, the Gnostics had reworked it to the effect that the main character of the myth was seen as the archetypal Man in whom people had a part.[18] The realization of this Anthropos within is the goal of all initiation rituals, thus also that at the 'great mysteries' of Eleusis, where the climactic cry of the celebrant was: 'A holy child is born to the Lady Brimo—Brimos (that is, to the Strong One—the Strong)!'[19] This cultic exclamation is not unlike that uttered at the birth of Aion in Alexandria, and it comes as no surprise that Brimo is a name of the Queen of the underworld, who was identified as Persephone or Kore.[20] Brimos was obviously her child, Dionysus.[21]

Hippolytus goes on to report that the Greek version of Isa 7.14 was taken to pertain to the 'great mysteries' of Eleusis: 'For she is the virgin

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Gressmann, *Tod*, pp. 23-24. But Jan. 6 is too far removed from winter solstice to be the birthday of the sun god. For a refutation of the attempts to connect Epiphanius' report with various evidence pertaining to the birth of the sun god on 25th Dec., see Holl, *Aufsätze*, pp. 145-47.

Merkelbach, *Isisfeste*, pp. 46-49, also connects the evidence of Ps.-Callisthenes and Epiphanius' description of the ritual rebirth of Aion, but he does allow for a further identification with Dionysus; cf. above, n. 7. The figure of Dionysus may even have been a component in the amalgamation of Serapis and Aion Plutonius, for already Heraclitus (Frag. 15) identified Hades (Pluton) and Dionysus. For Dionysus as the god of the underworld, see Otto, *Dionysus*, pp. 113-19, 169, 190-91.

[16] *Kyrios Christos*, p. 334, and 'Der Gott Aion', published posthumously in *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Suppl Novum Testamentum 50; ed. A.F. Verheule; Leiden: Brill, 1979), p. 229.

[17] Already in the hymn itself (Hipp. *Philos.* V.9.8), the 'many-formed Attis' is equated with Adonis, Osiris, and other gods.

[18] On the Naassene Homily, see J. Frickel, *Hellenistische Erlösung in christlicher Deutung* (Nag Hammadi Studies 19; Leiden: Brill, 1984), who shows that there also was a final Valentinian redaction according to which only the pneumatics had part in the Anthropos.

[19] Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* V.8.40 (text in P. Wendland, *Hippolytus Refutatio omnium haeresium (Philosophumena)* [GCS 26, 1916; reprinted Hildesheim: Olm, 1977], p. 98).

[20] Appolonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* III.861) says that Brimo is the name of the Queen of the Underworld, Persephone-Hekate.

[21] The Orphic hymn to the Nereids speaks of the mysteries of 'the most holy Bakchos and the pure Persephone' (24.11). Bakchos is the Lydian name of Dionysus.

who is with child and conceives and bears a son, who is not psychic, and not bodily, but a blessed Aion of Aions.'[22] The words, 'not psychic, and not bodily,' are a Gnostic addition: the Gnostics took the Scriptural verse to refer to the birth of the spiritual Man. In the original Homily, Isa 7.14 was taken to pertain to the mysteries which celebrated the birth of the saviour god from the goddess of the underworld. The god is called by the same name as that which Epiphanius heard in Alexandria almost two hundred years later: Aion.

We may ask if the term 'virgin' (*parthenos*) in the accounts of Hippolytus and Epiphanius really describes the goddess as having conceived without intercourse, for in Greek *parthenos* may simply denote a female in the bloom of her youth. Thus, Epiphanius' explanation of the name of Kore (literally, the 'girl', 'young woman') as the 'virgin', if stemming from the religious vocabulary of her worshippers, may have meant something else than what the bishop understood by the term. In the Ugaritic texts, 'Anat, whose cult was introduced into Egypt quite early and cherished by the Israelite colonists of Elephantine,[23] bears the epithet *btlt*, 'virgin', emphasizing her youth and procreativeness; the goddess was certainly not sexually abstinent. Isis could also be called *parthenos* in her capacity as the astral Virgo.[24]

If Epiphanius' explanation of the name of Kore as the 'virgin' is to be understood in the Christian sense, Christian *influence* is by no means the only explanation. LXX Isa 7.14 shows that the idea of virgin birth might have arisen in Alexandria well before the arrival of Christianity. There was a tradition to the effect that Hera renewed her virginity every year by bathing in the spring of Canthus (Pausanias II.36.2). In the century after Epiphanius, Nonnos gives an account of Kore as a virgin mother (V.565-71; VI.155-68).

Bowersock takes the crosses on the hands and knees of the Aion image to represent the stigmata of Christ (p. 27). But crosses are not stigmata in the sense of wound marks, and Jesus' knees are not said to have been afflicted. Moreover, the cross on the forehead of Aion is hardly a wound mark, and Bowersock accordingly furnishes another interpretation in this case: it *is* actually a cross sign, which the Christians demonstrably put on

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[22] *Philos.* V.8.45 (Wendland, p. 99).

[23] On 'Anat in Egypt, see A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Eléphantine* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1937), pp. 622-53; A.S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), pp. 14-16.

[24] F. Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903), pp. 209-216. Isis could also be called Kore; see Julian, *Epist.* 111, and the papyrus texts cited by Pettazzoni, 'Aion-(Kronos) Chronos', p. 174 n. 20.

their foreheads and other parts of their bodies. But so did other people, for the cross was a widespread symbol in antiquity.[25] Here I only want to point out that the cross was also a *Jewish* symbol, as is shown by evidence from tombs in Jerusalem, Rome, and Alexandria.[26] The literary background is to be found in the Bible. In Ezek 9.4 the *Tau*, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, written as + or x, was the mark of God put upon the foreheads of the elect. Isa 44.5 witnesses to the custom of stigmatization on the hand (cf. Exod 13.9).[27] That cross-marks signifying the Name of God could be used in an apotropaic sense as a guarantee of resuscitation stands to reason.[28] If it is right to see Christian influence in the five cross-marks on the statue of Aion, we should not think of the cross (and still less of the stigmata) of Jesus, but rather of the first letter (X) of the Greek name *Christos*. Already in the second century C.E., this was taken as a name of God.[29]

We would have to agree with R. van den Broek who says, 'So far as I can see, no one has of yet found a close parallel to the divine image described by Epiphanius.'[30] Van den Broek mentions the five cross-marks

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[25] For references to some of the literature, see E. Dinkler, 'Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz', *JbAC* 5 (1962), pp. 93-94 (= *Signum Crucis* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1967], p. 27, *et s.v.* 'Kreuz Zeichen, heidnisch').

[26] The material is conveniently collected and discussed by Dinkler in the first three essays in *Signum Crucis*.

[27] B. Stade, 'Beiträge zur Pentateuchkritik I: Kain und das Kainszeichen', *ZAW* 14 (1894), pp. 250-318. Cf. Dinkler, 'Zur Geschichte des Kreuzsymbols', *ZTK* 48 (1951), pp. 163-66.

[28] In this connection it may be pointed out that Bowersock pays remarkably little attention to *Jewish* evidence. The curious divine name, 'Blessed be His Name', in Palmyrene Aramaic inscriptions from the second century C.E. (p. 19) is of course to be connected with the Jewish and Samaritan benediction of pronouncing blessing upon the Name of God. Thus, an ancient cultic refrain found throughout the literature of the Samaritans runs, 'Blessed be our God forever, and blessed be His Name forever.'

From southern Syria we have evidence for a pagan 'angel' (*angelos*) called 'the Raised Hand' (p. 30). There was an ancient Christian Hand Christology which was an adaptation of the Jewish idea of Sophia as the Hand of God; see J. Zandee, '"The Teachings of Silvanus" (NHC VII, 4) and Jewish Christianity', *Studies Presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (EPRO 91; ed. M.J. Vermaseren & R. van den Broek; Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 570-72. In 1 QS 3.20 the 'Mighty Hand' of God appears in parallelism with the angel Michael.

[29] J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Longman, Darton & Todd, 1964), p. 154.

[30] 'Von der jüdischen Weisheit zum gnostischen Erlöser: Zum Schlusshymnus des Apokryphons des Johannes', in his *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* (NHMS 39; Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 112. Van den Broek considers it possible that the cross-

of the Aion statue in the context of his discussion of the five seals carried by the descending saviour in some Gnostic texts, but Gnosticism cannot throw *direct* light on the Epiphanius passage. The Gnostic seals symbolize the saving knowledge conveyed to the initiands who are to use them when ascending past the planetary rulers; the seals bestowed by the revealer would seem to be passwords.[31] On the other hand, van den Broek may have hit upon an *indirect* connection between the Gnostic seals and the cross-marks on the Aion statue when pointing to F. Boll's suggestion that the number five alludes to the five planets of the Egyptians.[32] The *number* of crosses on the Aion statue thus might be seen to show specifically Egyptian influence and indicate the cosmic nature of Aion.

In any event, it is palpable that Bowersock is too quick in finding Christian influence in religious evidence from late antiquity.[33] Moreover,

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marks had an apotropaic significance. He refers to A.J. Festugière, 'Les cinq sceaux de l'Aion alexandrin', *Revue d'Egyptologie* 8 (1951), pp. 63-69 (supplemented with notes by E. Coche de la Ferté and J. Vandier, pp. 69-70). The Egyptian evidence surveyed by Festugière does not furnish any close parallel to the Aion statue as described by Epiphanius: the fact that statues of Bes Pantheos had the Uraeus (Aspis) snake depicted on the forehead, knees and feet cannot explain the cross-marks on the forehead, hands and knees of the Aion statue. The number *five*, however, may carry significance. See below.

[31] A.H.B. Logan, 'The Mystery of the Five Seals: Gnostic Initiation Reconsidered', *VigChr* 51 (1997), pp. 188-206, adds nothing of importance for the interpretation of the Epiphanius text, which he does not cite. Logan argues that the five seals conveyed by the Gnostic revealer refer to a ritual post-baptismal chrismation with myrrh.

In this connection it may be pointed out that there is evidence for an ancient *pre*-baptismal anointing in Egypt as well as Syria; see G. Kretschmar, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie, inbesondere der Taufliturgie in Ägypten', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 8 (1963), pp. 43-45. If it be maintained that the crosses on the Aion statue reveal Christian influence, we would have to take into account that the night/morning of 5th/6th January was the time for baptism.

[32] F. Boll as cited in O. Weinreich, 'Aion in Eleusis', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 19 (1916-19), p. 187 n. 2.

[33] Another mistake made by Bowersock which may be mentioned in this connection is to be found in his discussion of a mosaic panel from New Paphos at Cyprus (pp. 49-54; Pl. 2). Here Dionysus sits on the lap of Hermes, allegedly 'very much like the child on the lap of the virgin' (p. 52). Approaching 'are persons holding out their hands in adoration,' presumably suggesting 'the iconography of the Magi approaching the Christ Child' (*ibid.*). Now Hermes was the god who delivered the Dionysus child to the nymphs who were to rear him, and the 'persons holding out their hands' are clearly identified (even by names!) as the nymphs who reared Dionysus. The nymphs are holding out their hands in order to receive the child, not in order to adore him.

The posture of Hermes enthroned with the child on his lap cannot possibly derive from Christian iconography, for this kind of representation of the Mother of God with the Child on her lap did not come into being until after the Council of Ephesus (431)

his interpretation of the Aion cult in cosmopolitan Alexandria in Epiphanius' day is not correct: this was not an indigenous Egyptian cult influenced by Christianity; it was basically a Dionysus cult which had contracted traits from more or less similar religions. Neither Egyptian nor Christian influence should be excluded; after all, Dionysiac religion, the Egyptian religion centered around Isis, Osiris and Horus, and Christianity all knew the idea of the birth and rebirth of the divine child.

II

The motif of the birth of the child god is quite widespread; obviously it has a great psychological appeal.[34] The image of the newborn child symbolizes the possibilities of the future and, hence, paves the way for a change of personality. The image of the child is therefore charged with potential. Though a child, Dionysus was appointed by Zeus to rule over all the cosmic gods. This explains the popularity of the title, the 'New Dionysus', claimed by several rulers around the beginning of our era. The rulers also issued coins with legends such as *Aiōn, Aeternitatis*, etc., in order to suggest that their reign inaugurated a new era which would be characterized by the joy of the golden age. Thus, the Alexandrian ruler Antoninus Pius, a 'New Dionysus', struck coins which carried a representation of the Phoenix—the symbol of cosmic renewal—with the legend *Aiōn*.[35] Again we see that the identity of Dionysus could be connected with the name of Aion.

Now, however much the image of the newborn child points to the future, it also represents a link with the concrete, specific inheritance of the past. This is the reason why Aion inscriptions and representations could be used to boost such an idea as that of the imperial rule of Rome: Aion, the ever-renewed god, guarantees the perpetuity of Rome.[36]

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had pronounced Mary 'God-Bearer' (*Theotokos*). See G.A. Wellen, in Art. 'Maria, Marienbild', *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Vol. 3 (Rome-Freiburg-Basel-Vienna: Herder, 1971), pp. 157-58. The Dionysus panel is from the fourth century C.E.; see W.A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (Trierer Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 2; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1985), pp. 46-48.

[34] K. Kerényi, 'The Primordial Child in Primordial Times', in C.G. Jung & K. Kerényi, *Essays on a Science of Mythology: The Myths of the Divine Child and the Divine Maiden* (Bollingen Series 22; Princeton: University Press, 1949; reprinted New York: Harper, 1963).

[35] R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (EPRO 24; Leiden, Brill, 1971), pp. 70, 105, 417; Pl. VI.8-9; cf. VI.3, VII.9, VIII.1-9. Cf. already Holl, *Aufsätze*, p. 148.

[36] Bowersock (p. 27), however, regards the Aion inscriptions guaranteeing the per-

Standing at the border between the past and the future, the child is also an eminent representation of the present, the receptivity and freshness of the consciousness which is open to the here and now. The child is thus a symbol of the conscious ego.

Emerging out of the night and the subterranean cave, the child god stands for the ego emerging from the dark realm of the unconscious. The dark cavern represents chaos, the state in which it is impossible to distinguish between things. The divine child brought out into the light of day signals the new creation and the moment when the human being awakens from the sleep of the unconscious.

As is well known, according to an ancient and persistent tradition, Jesus was born in a cave (although there is nothing in the Gospels to support such a belief). Moreover, he was buried in a cave. Similarly, Dionysus-Aion is taken back to his subterranean cave. From the dark cave, the god emerges again.

> The 'child' is therefore *renatus in novam infantiam*. It is thus both beginning and end, an initial and a terminal creature. The initial creature existed before man was, and the terminal creature will be when man is not. Psychologically speaking, this means that the "child" symbolizes the pre-conscious and the post-conscious essence of man. His pre-conscious essence is the unconscious state of earliest childhood; his post-conscious essence is an anticipation by analogy of life after death. In this idea the all-embracing nature of psychic wholeness is expressed. Wholeness is never comprised within the compass of the conscious mind—it includes the indefinite and indefinable extent of the unconscious as well. Wholeness, empirically speaking, is therefore of immeasurable extent, older and younger than consciousness and enfolding it in time and space. [. . .] Consciousness hedged about by psychic powers, sustained or threatened or deluded by them, is the age-old experience of mankind. This experience has projected itself into the archetype of the child, which expresses man's wholeness. The 'child' is all that is abandoned and exposed and at the same time divinely powerful; the insignificant, dubious beginning, and the triumphal end.[37]

Department of Near Eastern Studies
The University of Michigan
3074 Frieze Building, *Ann Arbor*, Michigan 48109-1285

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manence of the Eleusian mysteries and the perpetual rule of Rome as 'far removed' from the Antonine coins.

[37] C.G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (Collected Works 9/1; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 178.

PAUL OF TAMMA AND THE MONASTIC PRIESTHOOD

BY

L.S.B. MACCOULL

Thanks to an *in extenso* publication of his Coptic writings, the fourth-century ascetic Paul of Tamma is becoming known as one of the important authorities in the founding epoch of Egyptian monasticism.[1] As well as treatises on the monastic cell, on poverty, and on humility, he also produced a lost work on the Last Judgement and others.[2] A recently edited papyrus fragment listing his works includes "On the Place of Retirement", "On Staying in the Desert", "On Faithlessness", and "On Accidie" (Coptic *loplp*).[3] Clearly this range of concerns spoke to the condition of religious persons both cenobitic and eremitical, as well as to lay people feeling the call to the monastic state.

Logion 14 of Paul's *On the Cell* (*Etbe tri*) reads: *phêke che etthbbiêu senamoute epefran je Iôsedek hn neprophêtês*, "The poor (man) who is humble will be called by name [lit. 'they will call his name'] Josedek among the prophets."[4] The editor terms this reference "inexplicable".[5] Perhaps it is not quite so inexplicable as it may look at first.

To begin with, the second part of this logion is a direct scriptural quotation, of Jeremiah 23:6b LXX: καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὃ καλέσει αὐτὸν [κύριος] Ιωσεδεκ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.[6] Both the Sahidic and the Fayumic Coptic dialect

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[1] See T. Orlandi, ed./trans., *Paolo di Tamma: Opere* (Rome 1988).

[2] Orlandi, *Paolo*, 13. See now T. Vivian, "Saint Paul of Tamma: Four Works Concerning Monastic Spirituality," *Coptic Church Review* 18 (1997), 105-116.

[3] M. Pezin, "Nouveau fragment copte concernant Paul de Tamma (P. Sorbonne inv. 2632)," in *Christianisme d'Egypte: Hommages à René-Georges Coquin* (Louvain 1995) 15-20, here 16, cf. 19-20.

[4] Orlandi, *Paolo*, 90-91.

[5] Ibid. The same author subsequently simply repeats the fact of Paul's "allusion to the biblical personage of Josedek", without explanation: T. Orlandi, "Letteratura copta e cristianesimo nazionale egiziano," in A. Camplani, ed., *L'Egitto cristiano: aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica*, StudEphemAug 56 (Rome 1997), § 3.5, "Le opere di Paolo di Tamma," pp. 70-71, here 71. See also Sheridan, "Primo monachesimo egiziano," below (n. 11).

[6] 2nd ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen 1976), 263.

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versions of this half-verse are unfortunately not preserved: they end with the equivalent of πεποιθώς.[7] The complete Bohairic, for its part, reads *ouoh phai pe pefran eta pch(oei)s natêif erof Iôsedek hen niprophêtês*,[8] "and this is his name that the Lord will give him, Iosedek among the prophets." Note that the Bohairic text (1) presumes a Greek Vorlage that contained the κύριος as subject of the verb, unlike Paul's quotation that uses a passive;[9] and (2) employs not *moute/mouti* "to call", translating καλέσει, but rather *ti*, "to give". From the Greek and Coptic texts of this Jeremiah verse we also see that (1) the verses 7 and 8, obelized in Origen's Hexapla,[10] were not in the Greek or Coptic version being quoted by Paul, and (2) the phrase ἐν τοῖς προφήταις was construed as belonging on the end of verse 6, not at the beginning of verse 9.[11] Paul's use of this scriptural tag has recently been termed an example of his "elliptical" mode of citation that presupposed a knowledge of the spiritual interpretation of biblical texts on the part of his readers (or hearers).[12]

Close to Paul's time and place, the fourth century in Egypt, who was using this Jeremiah verse in his exegesis? The answer is Didymus the Blind (A.D. 313-398), in his commentary on Zachariah, dated to ca. A.D. 387 and preserved in one of the Tura papyri.[13] In commenting on Zachariah 6:12, "Behold a man, ἀνατολή is his name", Didymus immediately quotes Jeremiah 23:5-6: ". . . I shall raise up for David a righteous ἀνατολή . . . and this is his [Didymus' text adds αὐτοῦ after ὄνομα, like the MT] name, that the Lord will call him, Iosedek among the prophets."[14] What, asks

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[7] Ziegler, 25-26.

[8] Ed. H. Tattam, *Prophetae Majores* (Oxford 1852, rp. Hildesheim 1989), 380. I thank Kent Rigsby for the text.

[9] Interestingly, the Latin (ed. Rome 1972) has *et hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum Dominus iustus noster: vocabunt*, "they will call", is literally close to the way a Coptic passive is done.

[10] Present in MT, not in LXX.

[11] This verse identification and textual feature were also independently noticed by M. Sheridan, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano," in Camplani, ed., *L'Egitto cristiano* (above n. 5), § 2.2.2, "Paolo di Tamma: Interpretazioni delle scritture," pp. 201-207, here 204.

[12] Sheridan, "Primo monachesimo egiziano," 204.

[13] Ed./trans. L. Doutreleau, *Didyme l'Aveugle: Sur Zacharie*, SC 83, 84, 85 (Paris 1962). For the dating see vol. 1 (SC 83), 23. Didymus is presumed to have been, like Paul, a monastic ascetic.

[14] Doutreleau, vol. 2 (SC 84), 444-445. Didymus is following right after Zach 6:11 that mentions Joshua son of Josedek the high priest (cf. more below). His Greek text too includes the κύριος. Sheridan, "Primo monachesimo egiziano," 204-205 n. 121

Didymus rhetorically, will be the name of the Davidic descendant? It will be "Josedek among the prophets": Ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ «Ἰωσεδὲκ» δικαιοσύνη ἐν τοῖς προφήταις οὖσα, "'Josedek' is interpreted 'justice' being 'among the prophets'".[15] Clearly Didymus construed the last three words of Jeremiah 23:6b as belonging right there. This clears up the confusion manifested in Doutreleau's note 2, in vol. 2 pp. 444-445, where he wrote in 1962 that the text "... is cited stopping in a strange fashion after Ἰωσεδὲκ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. In the LXX, verse 9 to which ἐν τοῖς προφήταις belongs immediately follows verse 6 that ends with Ἰωσεδὲκ ... Thus stuck by Didymus on to the preceding phrase, it is hard to comprehend." Not so. Comparison with Paul's Sahidic Coptic and the Bohairic Coptic clearly shows that in fourth-century Egypt the Jeremiah verse was read as having "Josedek among the prophets" together as all one final phrase.

What is the wider context? Didymus had earlier been commenting on the vision of Zachariah (Zach 3:1-10)[16] in which he sees the figure of the high priest, Joshua son of Josedek, praised in the great salvation history narrative of Ben Sira 49:12[17] for having helped rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.[18] In Didymus' exegesis what we find is an image of priesthood. Οἱ πνευματικῶς ἱερεῖς are those serving God in ἀγαμία, and they live like angels.[19] This priesthood is itself, of course, an image of that of which Joshua son of Josedek's priesthood was a type, "... not so much the son of Josedek as the One made plain [δηλούμενον] through him, the true high priest, the One who came from heaven, the One hallowed 'after the order of Melchizedek', not by a power of fleshly command that has effect for a time [μέχρι καιροῦ τινος], but by untransgressable hallowing [ἀπαράβατον ἱερωσύνην]."[20] Didymus goes on to elaborate all the ways in which Joshua son of Josedek is like Christ: in his upright stance and repelling of the tempter; in his garments that prefigure the Incarnation. The exegete comes

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notices the parallelism with Didymus but misses this exact quote, though he gives an earlier one not as close.

[15] Doutreleau, ibid., 450-451. I add quotation marks around "among the prophets", though Doutreleau's punctuation does not add guillemets there. Compare also 440-441: τὸ γὰρ Ἰωσεδὲκ εἰς τὸ «δικαιοσύνη» μεταλαμβάνεται ἐκ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς εἰς τὴν ἑλλάδα φωνήν, as cited by Sheridan, "Primo monachesimo egiziano," 204-205 n. 121 fin.

[16] Doutreleau, vol. 1 (SC 83), 288-335.

[17] Verse 14 in the (Sahidic) Coptic: *auô Ïêsous pshêre ñIôsedek, naï ñt auket pêï hñ neuhoou, auô aujise mplaos etouaab mpjoeis, et sbtôt eueoouñsha-eneh* (ed. P. de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca* [Göttingen 1883] 200).

[18] P.W. Skehan, A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (New York 1987) 544.

[19] Doutreleau, vol. 1 (SC 83), 320, cf. 314.

[20] Doutreleau, ibid., 288-291.

full circle with his quoting Zach 6:12, "Behold a man, ἀνατολή is his name".

What the reference to Zachariah's vision called up as an immediate association in fourth-century exegesis was, as we have just seen, its pointing to the concept of the eternal priesthood of Christ.[21] Interpreters of this biblical text in the age of the Council of Nicaea were concerned with the nature of Christian priesthood and how this office served as a conduit of the salvation wrought by the eternal prototype.[22] In addition, in the same period, the age likewise of Athanasius and the growth of Egyptian monasticism, a burning question was that of whether monks were also to be priests. On the one hand, that would mean they were to be ordained and able to celebrate the eucharist; on the other, that concomitantly they would be obedient to the local bishop (as opposed, perhaps, to their own superior). This was definitely not the mind of most monastics in Egypt.[23] Didymus praised the service of monastic ascetics who shared in the eternal priesthood spiritually, by practising continence, standing in vigils, and even seeing and interpreting marvellous visions.[24] What Paul of Tamma for his part was saying was that all a monk needs to do to share in the eternal priesthood is remain poor and humble in his cell, not receive ordination and thereby become enmeshed in all-too-worldly episcopal politics.[25]

In his works *On the Cell* and *On Humility* Paul of Tamma emphasized poverty and stability, as in the first part of logion 14, as well as the monastic virtues of watchfulness and attentiveness.[26] It is these qualities that are indispensable for a monk. What we can now discern is that in the first

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[21] P. Monat, "La présentation d'un dossier biblique par Lactance: Le sacerdoce du Christ et celui de Jésus, fils de Josédec," in J. Fontaine, M. Perrin, eds., *Lactance et son temps* (Paris 1978) 273-291.

[22] See J. Lecuyer, "Jésus fils de Josédec et le sacerdoce du Christ," *Recherches de science religieuse* 43 (1955) 82-103, dealing with Western writers for the fourth century.

[23] See D. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (Oxford 1995) 83-85, 118-119. Although A. Martin does not mention Paul of Tamma in her magisterial *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IV^e siècle (328-373)* (Rome 1996), she does treat the question of monastic priesthood in its sociological context, especially that of the Meletian conflict: see esp. pp. 124-128, 653-662 (on social background), 763.

[24] Doutreleau, vol. 1 (SC 83), 288.

[25] Sheridan, "Primo monachesimo egiziano," 204-205 and 206 also posits a contact with the Alexandrian exegetical tradition, possibly Origen, as underlying Paul's use of the Jeremiah tag. The Jeremiah passage being a Messianic prophecy of David's righteous ἀνατολή, one may consider also Athanasius' promotion and use of biblical reading and exegesis to bolster his own positions, particularly on orthodoxy and the question of selecting monks for clerical/episcopal ranks: Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie*, 680-698.

[26] Sheridan, "Primo monachesimo egiziano," 202-204, 205-206.

part of this logion he is also alluding to the question of monastic priesthood. Elsewhere he calls the monk sitting in his cell "incense" and "the sanctuary [θυσιαστήριον] of God", "the golden vase of manna in the tabernacle, with Aaron's rod and the table of the shewbread".[27] These are clear priestly images that are here being applied to the solitary, non-ordained ascetic, who remains free of the worldly concerns of property and vainglory weighing on the Egyptian town-dweller. The question of monastic priesthood has also been viewed under the aspect of city versus hinterland in this period.[28] While every Egyptian episcopal see depended directly on the patriarch of Alexandria, an arrangement energetically sought and strengthened by Athanasius,[29] each bishop had great freedom of action in his own diocese and its town, and this could and did give rise to locus-of-power conflicts. While an ordained monk might dispense sacraments to visiting villagers, his power would, in the view embodied by Paul, appear greater if he remained "outside the system". In addition, the conflicts over power manifested themselves as conflicts over "orthodoxy" and its definition. We do well to remember that Athanasius himself came to office facing an entrenched network of Meletian bishoprics and monasteries firmly in place,[30] and it was in his interest to stress that inadequately supervised ascetics might too easily slide into heterodox thought. From Paul's standpoint, however, power derived from containing force within the narrow physical confines of a cell so as to embody the very meaning of "sanctuary". Given these wider considerations it can be seen that "the poor, humble one will be called by name 'Josedek among the prophets'", viewed in the regional social context of fourth-century Egypt,[31] is not an inexplicable logion after all.[32]

Society for Coptic Archaeology (North America) L.S.B. MacCoull

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[27] *On the Cell*, 52-53, 67-68: Sheridan, "Primo monachesimo egiziano," 205-206.

[28] C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity* (Baltimore 1997) 258-267, "The Desert and the City: Monastic Opposition to Episcopal Authority"; and also J.E. Goehring, "Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt," *Harvard Theological Review* 89 (1996) 267-285.

[29] See Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie*, 5, 117, 637, 822.

[30] Martin, ibid., 59, 303-319.

[31] Paul is viewed as representing a Middle-Egypt form of monastic life and thought, a form characteristic of the region between Memphis and Hermopolis Magna: Orlandi, *Paolo*, 12, and "Letteratura copta," 69-70. He came from a village in the Kynopolite nome: see R.-G. Coquin, "Paul of Tamma," in *Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York 1991) 6:1923-1925, here 1923.

[32] In loving memory of Mirrit Boutros Ghali ("There is no then; there is no after").

ZUM DESCENSUS AD INFEROS BEI MAKARIOS

VON

MARTIN ILLERT

In dem geistlichen Schrifttum, das die kirchliche Tradition größtenteils unter dem Namen des Makarios überliefert hat,[1] finden wir zahlreiche Sprachbilder zum Motivkomplex der Höllenfahrt Christi, die den Vorstellungen des syrisch-christlichen Denkens entsprechen.[2] Vier neue Beobachtungen, die einen Einfluß der syrisch-christlichen Scheolvorstellungen auf Makarios wahrscheinlich machen, sollen hier genannt werden:

1. In einem innerhalb der Macariana doppelt überlieferten Streitgespräch Christi mit dem Tod legitimiert Christus seinen Anspruch auf die Auslieferung der im Hades eingeschlossenen Menschen mit den neutestamentlichen Taufzitaten Mt 3.17 und Joh 1.29.[3] Auch spricht Makarios in der anschließenden Descensusschilderung von Christus dem "Taucher"[4] und verknüpft—da "tauchen" eine bekannte syrische Metapher für "getauft werden" ist[5]—derart Christi Taufe und dessen Hadesabstieg. Die durch Makarios breit entfaltete Verknüpfung von Taufe und Hadesabstieg findet sich—ebenso wie das Tauchermotiv—auch in den Schriften der frühchristlichen Syrer.[6]

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[1] Die arabische Tradition und andere Überlieferungsstränge laufen unter "Symeon".—Wir zitieren aus: *Die fünfzig geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, edd. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kröger, PTS 4, Berlin 1964 (= H) und. *Makarios/Symeon, Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, ed. H. Berthold, 2 Bde, GCS 54, Berlin 1973 (= B) sowie: *Neue Homilien des Makarios/Symeon I: Aus Typus III*, edd. E. Klostermann, H. Berthold, TU 72, Berlin 1961 (= C).

[2] Zum syrischen Hintergrund des Makarios cf. G. Quispel, *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, Suppl. to *Novum Testamentum* 15, Leiden 1967; Idem, The Syrian Thomas and the Syrian Macarius, *Vigiliae Christianae* 18, 1964, 226-235.

[3] Cf. Makarios B 53.3.2-3 (= H 11.10), p. 147, l. 23-27.

[4] Cf. Makarios B 53.3.8, p. 149, l. 5.

[5] Cf. J. Paine Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford 1903, 416.

[6] Cf. Ephraem, *De Virginitate* 7.10; Zahlreiche Ephraem und Makarios gemeinsame Motive finden eine Entsprechung im syrischen Lied von der Perle (cf. Quispel, *Makarius*, 61).

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2. An einer anderen Stelle beschreibt Makarios die Katabasis Christi als Abstieg in drei unterschiedliche "Schöße": Als Abstieg Christi in den Schoß des Wassers (= Jordantaufe), den Schoß des Todes (= Katabasis) und den Schoß des Herzens (= intrapsychische Interpretation der Inkarnation).[7] In einer Makarios deutlich entsprechenden Weise beschreibt Ephraem Syrus die Inkarnation als Abstieg in den "Schoß" der Maria, die Taufe als Hinuntertauchen in den "Schoß" des Jordan und den Descensus als Abstieg in den "Schoß" der Scheol.[8]

3. Christus fordert in der Eingangsszene der doppelt überlieferten Descensuspassage vom Tod, die Seelen aus dem Hades wieder herauszuwerfen.[9] Die Syrer kennen den Gedanken, Christus sei eine für die Scheol unverdauliche Speise gewesen, welche die Scheol habe wieder erbrechen müssen, wobei sie sämtliche in ihr gefangen gehaltene Menschen mit ausspie.[10] Die Annahme bietet sich an, daß die Vorstellung von Christus als der unverdaulichen Speise auch dem makarianischen Abschnitt zugrundeliegt.

4. In Logos 23 der Sammlung B[11] zitiert Makarios die Petruszusage Christi aus Mt 16:18 nicht in ihrer Normalform (*"Du bist Petrus; auf diesen Felsen will ich meine Kirche bauen, und die Tore des Hades sollen ihr nicht widerstehen"*), sondern in der Fassung Tatians,[12] die im frühsyrischen Christentum eine weite Verbreitung hatte (*"Du bist Petrus: auf diesen Felsen will ich meine Kirche bauen, und die Querriegel des Hades sollen ihr nicht widerstehen"*). Diese auffällige Parallele zu den syrischen Scheoltraditionen begegnet im Corpus Macarianum neben der Normalvariante des Logions.[13] Unsere Beobachtungen zur Schilderung des Descensus bei Makarios zeigen, wie stark dieser auch hier von den Traditionen des syrischen Christentums beeinflußt war.

Klotzstr. 4, 24116 *Kiel*, Deutschland

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[7] Cf. Makarios, B 3.8-9, p. 149, ll. 4-5 und 8-13.—Zum biblischen Geschehen als intrapsychischem Ereignis bei Makarios cf. H. Dörries, *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 3, Nr. 103, Göttingen 1978, 214sqq, 273sqq.

[8] Cf. Ephraem, *De Ecclesia* 24.13; *ibid.* 36.3-4; idem, *Carmina Nisibena* 43.22-23.

[9] Makarios, B 53.3.2, p. 147, l. 14.

[10] Cf. Aphrahat, *Demonstrationes* 22.5.

[11] Cf. Makarios, B 23.2.11, Bd. I, p. 233, l. 7-8.

[12] Cf. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, Cambridge 1975, 228sqq, 324sqq. Zum Verhältnis zwischen Makarios und Tatian cf. Quispel, *Makarius*, 16sqq.

[13] Den "Normaltext" bietet C 8.1, p. 38, l. 12.

TROIS ÉLOGES COPTES DE JEAN-BAPTISTE ATTRIBUÉS À ATHANASE, THÉOPHILE ET CYRILLE D'ALEXANDRIE

PAR

E. LUCCHESI

C'est à Walter Till que revient le mérite d'avoir fait le rapprochement entre le «Coptic Fragment Attributed to James the Brother of the Lord», édité par E. O. Winstedt[1] d'après quatre (en réalité trois) feuillets de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (129[18], fol. 116, 117, 118-119) et l'«Encomium of Saint John the Baptist, by Saint John Chrysostom», publié par E. A. W. Budge[2] d'après un manuscrit complet du British Museum (Or. 7024).[3]

De cet Éloge de Jean-Baptiste attribué à Jean Chrysostome, après les traductions anglaise de Budge et allemande de Till, les lecteurs francophones disposeront désormais d'une élégante traduction française, que vient de faire paraître, par les soins de M[me] Anne Boud'hors, la *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, dans le premier volume d'un recueil consacré aux *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*.[4]

Anticipant sur notre reconstitution du codex auquel ont appartenu les *Parisini* de Winstedt et dont on peut déjà voir un beau spécimen dans l'*Album de paléographie copte* de H. Hyvernat,[5] nous aimerions aujourd'hui aborder un point de littérature.

En guise de «captatio benevolentiae», l'auteur présumé de l'*Éloge* fait

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[1] *The Journal of Theological Studies*, t. 8 (1907), p. 240-248; cf. O. von Lemm, *Koptische Miscellen*, XXVIII, Nachdruck, Leipzig 1972, p. 36-39, et *Kleine Koptische Studien*, LVI/1, Nachdruck, Leipzig 1972, p. 540-543.

[2] *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1913, p. 128-145 (texte) et 335-351 (trad.), cf. introd., p. L-LVI, et pl. LVI.

[3] W. Till, *Johannes der Täufer in der koptischen Literatur*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, t. 16 (= *Festschrift... Hermann Junker*, II), 1958, p. (310-332) 313-314; le coptologue autrichien se mettait en frais de donner (*ib.*, p. 322-332) une nouvelle traduction améliorée du ms. de Londres, tout en relevant les variantes du ms. de Paris.

[4] Édition publiée sous la direction de François Bovon et Pierre Geoltrain. Index établis par Server (*sic*) J. Voicu, Paris 1997, p. 1553-1578.

[5] Paris-Rome 1888, pl. XII/2.

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allusion dans l'exorde aux «nombreuses louanges» qu'ont prononcées «avant nous, Athanase, Théophile, Cyrille . . .» (p. 1562), pour dire qu'il ose à peine se mesurer à leur talent. Et M^me^ Boud'hors de faire remarquer: «Aucune œuvre concernant Jean-Baptiste et ayant pour auteur l'un de ces trois personnages n'a été conservée» (note à 129, 10-13). Ceci n'est pas tout à fait exact.

Pour Cyrille, les fameux papyrus coptes du Museo Egizio de Turin (dont nous avons été autrefois interdit d'accès, soit dit à notre décharge au cas où preuve serait faite du contraire) conserveraient, si l'on en croit le Prof. T. Orlandi,[6] un *Encomium in Iohannem Baptistam*, qui pourrait lui être attribué.

Pour Théophile, celle qu'on appelle l'*Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie* cite sous son nom une «*Narratio integra aedificationis* [sc. Templi Iohannis Baptistae], et quomodo ossa invenisset, et quomodo vidisset miracula quae Praecursor faceret [*sic*]».[7] Son éditeur et traducteur pense même avoir retrouvé un fragment copte de cette *narratio* (*diêgêsis*).[8]

Quant à Athanase, qui est également lié à l'érection du *Martyrion*, nous avons nous-même écrit, à la suite de Crum, que le *Logos* qui raconte l'histoire de l'Invention du chef de saint Jean-Baptiste par le truchement de Gesius et Isidorus pourrait l'avoir pour auteur.[9]

Ceci nous convainc de l'urgence de rouvrir le dossier copte de Jean-Baptiste, puisqu'aussi bien on assiste à une floraison de textes coptes le concernant. La translation de ses reliques en Égypte, les miracles qui s'ensuivirent et la construction d'un martyrion à l'emplacement même du Serapeum d'Alexandrie, expliquent que son culte ait connu une large diffusion et que les trois patriarches les plus directement confrontés aux événements se soient faits panégyristes de circonstance.

13, rue de Chantepoulet, 1201 *Genève*

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[6] *Elementi di lingua e letteratura copta*, Milano 1970, p. 88; cf. Id., *Teodosio di Alessandria nella letteratura copta*, in *Giornale italiano di filologia*, n. s., t. 2 (1971), p. (175-185) 181 et n. 32.

[7] T. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria*, t. II, Milano 1970, p. 63.

[8] T. Orlandi, *Uno scritto di Teofilo di Alessandria sulla distruzione del Serapeum?*, in *La Parola del passato*, t. 23 (1968), p. 295-304; Id., *Un frammento copto di Teofilo di Alessandria*, in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, t. 44 (1969), p. 23-26.

[9] E. Lucchesi, *Un feuillet reconnu de l'histoire de Gesius et Isidorus relative à l'Invention du chef de saint Jean-Baptiste (*BHO *485-486)*, in *Deuxième journée d'études coptes* (= *Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte*, 3), Louvain 1986, p. 15-19.

A NEW BIBLICAL ETYMOLOGY

BY

HOWARD JACOBSON

Two of the recently published biblical commentaries from the Canterbury school[1] present us a hitherto unknown explanation of a place-name. At section 35 (p. 310) of the "First Commentary on the Pentateuch", we read that the city of Emmaus, *ubi Cain occidit Abel . . . interpretatur "sanguis fratris"*.[2] As the editors observe, such an etymology is not found in any other ancient source. The editors are unable to explain the etymology.[3]

Curious as it is, the etymology can be explained. *Fratris* is derived from "au" as the equivalent of אח. This is obvious. But the key lies in *sanguis*, which comes from "Emma", taken as αἷμα. Such hybrid explanations are uncommon, but they do occur.[4]

University of Illinois, Urbana

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[1] B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge (edd.), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge 1994).

[2] The report is essentially the same at section 30 (p. 394) of the "Supplementary Commentary on Genesis, Exodus and the gospels", though it lacks the attribution to Sophronius the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

[3] P. 442.

[4] Thus, e.g. *Chebron* interpreted as *amicus aeternus*. *Amicus* comes from חבר, while *aeternus* from αἰών (see F. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra* [Leipzig 1914], 756.

I am indebted to my colleague, Professor G.M. Browne, who called my attention to the problematic etymology.

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REVIEWS

Sabine MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry. Vergil in the Mind of Augustine* ('The Transformation of the Classical Heritage', vol. XXVI). Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998. XX, 258 p.

In *De civitate Dei* 14.5 Augustine argues that man's sins and vices should not be ascribed to the flesh, since the flesh is good in its own nature. In order to illustrate his point, he quotes *Aeneid* 6.719-721, where Aeneas expresses his amazement at the souls' wish to return from the nether world to be reincarnated: *quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?* According to Augustine, this desire is the more remarkable in that Anchises explains that these souls had been purged *ab omni corporea peste*, a clear allusion to *Aeneid* 6.736-737. It proves that the pagans themselves acknowledge that the soul's affections are not merely caused by the flesh. As Professor MacCormack says in the book under review, for Augustine "the perturbations, to be defined as acts of will, arose from the soul, not the body, and therefore so did individuation. It was the will that made one person different from another . . ." (125). Strikingly, for this vital point he found it useful, indeed necessary, to come to terms with a famous passage in Virgil.

Such 'conversations' with the great poet are precisely the subject of M.'s book. She does not intend to present an update of Hagendahl's famous catalogue of Augustine's Latin classics, but rather to deal with the "question as to how and why Vergil's poetry stayed with Augustine throughout his long life" (xvii; cf. also p. 46 n. 3). (As is clear from the title of her book, M. belongs to those who prefer an 'e' in the first syllable of the English version of the poet's *nomen gentilicium*.) The Cassiciacum writings are the earliest witnesses. Reminiscences of Virgil were woven into the philosophical discussions. Somewhat later, in *De musica*, the first seven lines of the *Aeneid* are repeatedly used for metrical analyses. However, it soon becomes clear that Augustine's handling of Virgil differs from his learned pagan contemporaries Macrobius and Servius, who first and foremost regarded the great poet as an expert in all branches of learning (Macr. *Sat.* 1.16.11: *omnium disciplinarum peritus*). For Augustine, on the contrary, Scripture was the source of life, "a book for all seasons, a universal book" (87). It even inspired him to write the only sustained treatise on hermeneutics Antiquity has produced, *De doctrina christiana.*

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As could be expected, Augustine was affected by "the poet's capacity to move the reader" (99), a talent which book 4 of *De doctrina christiana* shows to have been far from underrated by him. Yet, in the end it was the leading ideas which interested him above all. Take for instance Juno's wrath against Troy, which at school was proposed to him as the theme for a rhetorical exercise (*Conf.* 1.17.27). At first he simply looked at it as an outsider to pagan worship, but in his later writings the goddess "became all too real in her incarnation as a malignant demon" (155). In contrast to her capricious malice, God's 'feelings' do not result from any distress. This is a mere specimen of a wider conviction: his "monotheism gave rise to an order of the cosmos and of society that differed profoundly from that inhabited by his pagan contemporaries" (167), which implied the rejection of all pagan theology, be it of philosophers or of poets, and indeed the identity of the pagan cultural identity which centred around the admiration of the past. Rome's eternity was a concept that was entirely foreign to Augustine's thought. M. emphasizes his African extraction and the distance from the metropolis, which boosted his historical understanding of the past in a different way. Biblical chronology "changed the shape and duration of historical time and hence the meaning of events" (209). All the same, "Augustine's engagement with Vergil" (227) is clearly manifest. After the manner of other expert late antique readers it often expresses itself in a reflection of particular phrases or passages. Therefore Augustine's interest takes the shape of a manifold conversation with a poet the power of whose words he held in high regard, although his own values markedly diverged from Virgil's Roman perspective. For him the poet's 'theological' statements contained a certain truth, but concerning the one God they were misleading.

As may have become clear from these remarks, M. has written an invaluable study on an important subject. As she rightly says at the very beginning of her 'Preface', Augustine "was undoubtedly Vergil's most intelligent and searching ancient reader". Her assessment of his reading deserves to be studied attentively by all those who want to gain a good understanding of Augustine's handling of Greco-Roman culture and literature in general. There are very few errors in this well-produced book: on p. 22 *non omnis arbusta iuvant* (Verg. *Buc.* 4.2, 'shrubs do not please everyone') is curiously rendered as "Not every end is served by shrubs"; p. 67: Augustine does not compare the actual interpretation of scripture with pointing a finger to the stars, but rather the methodical approach; p. 136: Ammianus Marcellinus was not an opponent of bloody sacrifice itself, but of Julian's

excesses in this department; in the quotation in n. 179 of p. 219 it should be *consilium* instead of *concilium.*

Vrije Universiteit, *Amsterdam* J. DEN BOEFT

Ysabel de Andia, *Henosis. L'Union à Dieu chez Denys l'Aréopagite* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), Philosophia Antiqua. A Series of Monographs on Ancient Philosophy vol. 71, XV + 510 pp. ISBN 90-04-1-656-1, DFL. 285,50/US $178.50.

At the end of the second millennium the study of mysticism is attracting much attention. B. McGinn (University of Chicago) is currently involved in the writing of a five volume history of Christian mysticism, of which the third volume has just been completed, while various individual studies are being conducted as well. The present book by Ysabel de Andia on *Henosis* falls to a certain extent in this same category. Its opening words speak for themselves: "Le sommet et la fin de la théologie mystique est l'union à Dieu" (p. 1). It is this union with the divine that her book sets out to analyze in the particular case of the mystical theologian commonly referred to as Dionysius, an unknown pupil of St. Paul's. As we now know based on critical scholarship, this writer was probably a Syriac monk from the early sixth century and a pupil of the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus rather than Paul. This means that apart from theological, i.e., Christian influences, there is ample philosophical material to be found in his writings as well. This makes his work a hybrid of various traditions, held together intuitively by the mind of a brilliant genius. De Andia's book reflects this in the way the author proceeds through her material. Thus we can find her treating Plotinus and Dionysius side by side, as in the introduction to the concept of henosis (pp. 4-24), or moving with considerable ease from Philo, via Gregory of Nyssa to Dionysius, as in her long essay on the ascent of Moses and the entry into darkness (ch. 14, pp. 303-371). The authors, both pagan and Christian, with whom the book deals at some length in addition to Dionysius are: Philo, Paul, Plotinus, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Proclus.

Since her book covers over 400 pages and presents a wealth of material, organization is of the essence. Unfortunately the book does not contain a methodological chapter which clearly explains the kind of connections she perceives between these various authors. Nor does it give a precise definition of what she means by mysticism until p. 450. The outline of the book

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must therefore serve the reader as guide here. To a certain extent the structure of the book is self-explanatory. For background information about the notion of Moses' ascent (ch. 14), for example, one would naturally turn to Gregory's Life of Moses, but it remains unclear why the first chapter compares Dionysius with Plotinus for the notion of union rather than with Proclus, on whom he is more directly dependent.

The book is divided in three major parts. After an introduction on union with God, the book's first part is called *De l'union à l'un?* (pp. 29-208). The second is called *L'union au-delà de l'intellect* (pp. 211-300). The third is called *L'union dans l'inconnaissance* (pp. 303-453). Below I will briefly discuss and comment on the structure and contents of the various parts.

The first part *De l'union à l'un* is divided into four sections. The first section on *Union et distinction* (pp. 29-61) consists of a single chapter on Union and Trinity. The main focus is on the trinitarian theology found in Dionysius' Divine Names, which de Andia compares to Proclus' Commentary on the Parmenides, Gregory of Nyssa's Great Catechetical Oration and Basil's Treatise on the Holy Spirit. The second section is called *La procession à partir du l'union* (pp. 65-119) and consists of four chapters. Plotinus and Proclus are the main authors with whom Dionysius is brought in conversation here. Ch. 2 focuses on processions, names and communications (pp. 65-75), ch. 3 on participation (pp. 77-100), ch. 4 on the notion of analogy (pp. 101-108) and ch. 5 on power (dynamis; pp. 109-119). The third section is entitled *La procession et la conversion: du Bien au Bien* (pp. 123-164) and contains two chapters, focusing chiefly on Dionysius himself. Ch. 6 deals with the good and the beautiful (pp. 123-144), while ch. 7 focuses on divine love (eros; pp. 145-164). The fourth section is on *La conversion vers l'Un* (pp. 167-208) and has three chapters, also on Dionysius himself. Ch. 8 deals with the notion of likeness (pp. 167-182), ch. 9 with peace (pp. 183-189), ch. 10 with the One in Divine Names 13 par. 2-3 (pp. 191-208). While this first part of de Andia's book diligently discusses various texts which the author appears to have brought together because of their philological and conceptual similarities, it lacks a clear unifying concept which integrates them into a whole. The materials put together are certainly of interest, but it is unclear what the author wants to argue. It is detailed quite clearly what positions Dionysius holds, but it remains unclear why precisely these and whether we can indeed derive them from the parallel texts that are adduced. The unevenness of the sections and chapters both in length (ch. 1 has ± 35 pp. compared to 8 pp. for ch. 4) and in substance (the relation/separation in ch. 1 of God, the trinitarian hypostases and the divine names

seems to be based on a Thomistic rather than Dionysian appreciation of the Trinity, see below) induces this reviewer to think that the book would have benefited from more careful editing. The organization of the first part is confusing rather than clarifying and the sheer wealth of the material, rather than condoning the lack of clear principles of selection, would seem to require them.

The second part *L'union au-delà de l'intellect* (pp. 211-300) has three chapters. There are no sections. Ch. 11 is on the flower of intellect in the Chaldean Oracles and in Proclus (pp. 211-231). Ch. 12 is on the union beyond intellect in chapters 1-5 and ch. 7 of the Divine Names (pp. 233-280) and ch. 13 is on union and divinisation in esp. the Celestial Hierarchy (pp. 281-300). This part is clearly better organized. It is shorter and focuses on well-defined passages, which makes it easier for the reader to follow the author's line of thinking. It also focuses mostly on Dionysius himself, which eliminates any questions about the selection of non-Dionysian material.

Part III *L'union dans l'inconnaissance* (pp. 303-453) contains three chapters in addition to the book's conclusion. Ch. 14, which we have already mentioned, deals with the ascent of Moses (pp. 303-373). Ch. 15 is on silence and negative theology (pp. 375-398), ch. 16 is on the unknown God (pp. 399-422). The conclusion comes back to the central theme of *unio mystica*, and the book nicely ends where it began, i.e., with a discussion of the Trinity in Dionysius. This last part is clearly the most substantial. It deals with what Dionysius has become most famous for—and rightly so—namely his emphasis on the *via negativa* as the way of excellence by which it is best to approach God. Yet while the first part tends to confuse the reader by displaying too many distinctions, here it is the lack of distinction that appears troubling. Thus the fluid transition from negativity to union and ecstasy, while a tempting scenario for anyone with a mystical bent, seems decidedly un-Dionysian for reasons which I will try to explain.

Like mysticism broadly defined, the notion of negative theology is also a theme which is currently taken up again. Negative theology is studied by deconstructionist thinkers such as J. Derrida, but it is also explored with a contemporary theological focus in the work of Jean Luc Marion (cf. his book *Dieu sans l'être*). While de Andia can easily be excused for failing to mention these authors, as the debate they are involved in falls outside the scope of her book, it is helpful to mention the case of Marion for reasons of comparison. Whereas his intent is to nuance the focus of most Catholic theology since Aquinas on being (*esse*) in order to design a theology which retrieves the Dionysian importance on *apophasis*, de Andia seems in some way to turn back the clock by reading Dionysius from a mitigated scholas-

tic viewpoint. Only thus can we explain why she would move so easily from negative theology to metaphysical union. It is a central flaw in the conceptual foundation of her book which makes the superstructure of her arguments ultimately a weak one. This central flaw is that mystical union, ontologically and experientially understood, may ultimately not be the central theme of Dionysius' theology. If one takes ch. 5 of his *Mystical Theology* seriously, one can only conclude that the dynamic of negative and affirmative theology will endlessly continue and the moment of union be infinitely postponed. While this reviewer agrees with de Andia that union is an important goal for Dionysius, she disagrees with de Andia that it is to be the object of a mystical experience in this life. Rather than an ontological scenario, as may be found in Plotinus, it is a linguistic scenario which Dionysius follows, one which because of its scriptural rootedness and ecclesial atmosphere cannot be so easily deducted from or accommodated to the general patterns of ancient philosophy, however much certain principles (e.g. the preference for triadic sources, a sense of creation which borders on emanation) may point to similarities.

The fact that Dionysius displays first and foremost a linguistic grasp of things does not deplete the ontological content of his theology. But it liberates him from the obligation to fit his thought into any narrow doctrinal or philosophical mould, while giving him at the same time the freedom to represent the cosmos afresh through his careful interlocking of various ecclesiastical and celestial hierarchies. God and humanity are clearly part of the same overarching cosmic harmony for him, but this is not the same as saying that God and humanity are mystically united, or ever will be more than they already are, and in a sense have always been, in the understanding of Christian faith. When de Andia talks about the importance of prayer on p. 243, it is precisely the cosmic dimension which she leaves out. We are presented instead with an anthropocentric focus on experiential union as the Christian way toward salvation. While this may well be one of the ways, this reviewer doubts whether it was the way Dionysius himself had in mind. It was also clearly not the way which attracted many medieval authors to his work. Rather than Thomas Aquinas (e.g. p. 275; pp. 434-436), who did indeed receive some Dionysian influence, it was the ninth century author John the Scot Eriugena and later figures such as Hugh of St. Victor in the twelfth century (analyzed eminently by D. Chenu in his classic study *La théologie au douzième siècle*) who carried on his tradition.

Although every scholar is entitled to his or her own view of the material, interpretations only become a serious problem when they obfuscate what

the author tries to say. This is the case with de Andia's analysis of light and darkness in Dionysius. She states on p. 433 that Dionysius still holds a mysticism of light, as do all Christian mystics (sic!) despite his stress on darkness, because the mystic who will enter into this darkness becomes illuminated. Here Dionysius' position is so clearly misstated, and his stress on darkness taken so little seriously, that we begin to lose sight of his uniqueness altogether.

Ysabel de Andia has written a lengthy book on a major figure in the history of Christian mysticism and of Platonic theology. Its wealth of material alongside its useful bibliography and various indices make it a tool for those who want to take the study of Dionysius further. But the lack of clear parameters together with what is ultimately a wrongly directed focus make her study one that will not give rise to a new debate. This is particularly unfortunate at a time when interest in Dionysius seems to abound. But in its present state the book is confusing for those with contemporary interests, because of its lack of a good survey, and offers too little by way of new interpretations for the specialist. It appears as if even in the late 20th century Dionysius is still successful in eluding those who set out to uncover his true identity.

Utrecht University WILLEMIEN OTTEN

Du héros païen au saint chrétien. Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre d'Analyse des Rhétoriques Religieuses de l'Antiquité (C.A.R.R.A.), Strasbourg, 1er-2 décembre 1995, publiés sous la direction de Gérard Freyburger et Laurent Pernot (Collection des Etudes Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 154). Paris, Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes, 1997. 231 p., BF 950.

La transition du héros païen au saint chrétien est complexe. Il y a la continuité entre le héros fondateur d'une ville et le saint martyr lutteur pour l'Eglise. La discontinuité se révèle surtout sur le plan des sources inspiratrices de l'héroïsme et de la sainteté. Tandis que le premier consiste en un déploiement d'énergies humaines, la seconde est inconcevable sans la grâce divine.

La sainteté se représente en trois figures principales: le martyre, l'ascète et l'évêque. Ces figures se succèdent dans l'histoire de l'Eglise des premiers siècles. Chez Saint Augustin, entre autres, on rencontre l'idée de la sainteté collective.

Voilà en gros quelques idées qui animent un recueil de conférences don-

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nées au colloque du 1er-2 décembre 1995 à Strasbourg. Quelques remarques: 1. L'article d'Yves Lehmann traite de la piété d'Enée, thème bien connu qui exige la mention de plus de litérature que faite par Lehmann. (Par example le commentaire de R.G. Austin du Livre IV de l'Enéide de Virgile.) 2. Très informatif est l'article d'Anne Jacquemin sur l'héroïsme féminin, héroïsme qui aboutit à la figure de la diaconesse chrétienne. 3. A remarquer est la description de Saint Pionius comme martyr orateur dans l'étude de Laurent Pernot. 4. François-Xavier Cuche s'enhardit de parler de l'héroïsme moderne; alors il aurait fallu mentionner les héros d'André Malraux qui sont largement inspirés par ceux de Plutarque.

Avec tout cela, le livre est instructif pour ceux qui s'intéressent à l'hagiographie antique et moderne.

NL—3583 AD *Utrecht*, Adr. van Ostadelaan 109B H.G. SCHIPPER

Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di studi "Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico", Arcavacata di Rende-Amantea 31 agosto-5 settembre 1993. Edited by Luigi Cirillo and Alois van Tongerloo (Manichaean Studies III). Brepols 1997. X + 460 pp. BF 2950.

This substantial volume has recently been published under the auspices of the International Association of Manichaean Studies, the activity of which is manifested in its meetings, which are now held annually. In fact, the title of this volume does not cover all the themes that are treated in it. Several articles deal with Western Christianity, which might make this collection even more interesting for readers of *Vigiliae Christianae*.

The first lecture, held by Gonnie van den Berg-Onstwedder, promises to shed light on the theme of Christ's descent into the underworld. Indeed, many parallels are enumerated, ranging from Egyptian and Babylonian to Biblical literature. However, a clear argument in this lecture is wanting. What about a question like the *quality* of Christ when descending into Hell? Did he retain his body during this journey, or did he leave it in the grave? Or was there no body left at all in the time of his subterranean stay, as suggested by Spanish gnostics? Such questions one would have liked to be answered in this article. I must also point to an annoying spelling mistake on page 7: read 'to live a sinful life'.

In a thorough investigation Erich Feldmann discusses the Pauline texts which were used both by the Manichaeans and by St. Augustine. The author concludes that Augustine's interpretation of texts concerning the

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duality of body and soul/spirit had in view the theological monism of Neo-Platonism. For Mani and his followers, on the other hand, this duality was an analogue to the struggle of good and evil in man.

The Manichaeans accused the authors of the synoptic Gospels of making 'interpolations' with the aim of corrupting the true teachings of Christ. Andreas Hoffmann argues that the term 'interpolation' in this case does not indicate 'additions to an existent text', but the false recording of an oral tradition. In the case of St. Paul's letters, however, the accusation of 'interpolations' might indeed aim at insertions in the text written by this apostle. According to Hoffmann, modern scholars have neglected this distinction. No more does Augustine make this distinction in his polemical writings, whether or not on purpose.

The fact that ecclesiastical writers in turn accuse the Manichaeans of interpolating sacred texts makes one curious about the contents of the alleged insertions. A new study should be made of this question, although it will be harder to answer than that of the Manichaean criticism of canonical texts.

Johannes van Oort analyses a number of passages from Augustine's *Confessiones* in order to discover their anti-Manichaean thrust. By means of polemic wordplay, the now Catholic bishop addresses his former co-religionists, who must have ranked among the first readers of this famous work.

F. Stanley Jones and Antonio Panaino deal with the subject of Manichaean astrology. Jones investigates the astrological texts that stem from Elchasai and Bardesanes. The author's conclusion is that 'Mani's astrology can indeed be readily understood by the historian as a continuation of an astrological trajectory among Aramaic/Syriac-speaking Christians' (p. 199). Although I do subscribe this statement, I would like to add that for the *principles* of Mani's astrology one should turn to other literature. Elchasai's and Bardesanes' surviving texts are too rudimentary to find out the *reasons* that brought them to their tenets. Therefore, the study of Greek and Roman writers like Ptolemy, Firmicus, and Manilius is indispensable for the historian of Manichaean astrology.

Antonio Panaino takes some steps into the comparative study of Manichaean astrology. The Italian scholar points out some possible sources of inspiration. The so-called 'melothesia' (that is, the system of correspondences of celestial signs and human limbs), that can be found in *Kephalaion* LXX, is supplied with many parallels. The author also offers a solution to the problem of the origin of the second scheme in the same chapter. However, the author's laudable attempt is marred by some inaccuracies. The book

De Orosio et Sancto Augustino Priscillianistarum adversariis, The Hague 1930, was not written by F. Bellefroid but by J.A. Davids (p. 294 n. 241). Nor is it correct to say that the Spanish Priscillianists allotted zodiacal signs to parts of the body *and* of the soul, nor did they call the *constellations* with the names of the patriarchs. The point is that body and soul have their own rulers, radically different from each other. The names of the patriarchs were reserved for parts of the *soul*, as can be concluded from Orosius' *Commonitory* to St. Augustine (c. 2) and from Leo the Great's *Fifteenth Letter* (esp. c. 12).

This collection is important for anyone interested in Manichaeism. For those involved in the study of Latin Patristics, the aforementioned contributions by Feldmann, Hoffmann and Van Oort are most valuable. The book also contains studies of Eastern Manichaeism, anti-Manichaean polemics in Early Byzantium, the text and contents of the Monday and Bema Hymns of the German Turfan Collection etc. This beautifully edited collection would have benefited by a somewhat stricter theme. The organiser of the congress, however, gave preference to the broad view of Manichaean studies now available.

NL—3583 AD *Utrecht*, Adr. van Ostadelaan 109B H.G. SCHIPPER

Pseudo Cipriano, *I Due Monti Sinai e Sion*, a cura di Clara Burini. Fiesole, 1994. Biblioteca Patristica 25.

Sous le nom vénérable de Saint Cyprien c'est presque une trentaine d'écrits anonymes de toute sorte qui ont vu le jour, en prose et en vers. Depuis Hartel (1871) quelques-uns de ces *opera spuria* ont été enrichis de nouvelles éditions.[1] Clara Burini y a ajouté la sienne.

Le livre s'ouvre sur une *Introduzione* détaillée et instructive (p. 9-141). Le *De duobus montibus* est, selon B., une *omelia* (p. 12-13); l'auteur est d'un "ben modesto livello culturale", peut-être "un ignoto vescovo africano evidentemente aduso a parlare in punico e che di latino aveva solo una superficiale infarinatura, per cui si è espresso in una forma addirittura gremita di tutte le possibili forme di cattivo latino, lessicali, morfologiche e sintattiche".[2]

Quant à la provenance "le opinioni concordano quasi all'unanimità nell'identificare il luogo d'origine con l'ambiente africano o, più esattamente con l'ambiente dell'Africa romana" (p. 18-19), quant à la date "anch'io ritengo che la collocazione meno improbabile sia quella compresa tra la seconda metà del III sec. e la prima metà del IV (p. 25)".

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Ensuite elle traite *Le fonti* (p. 27-51), *La strutturazione* (p. 52-54), *La tematiche fondamentali* (p. 54-89), *Il metodo esegetico* (p. 89-111), *La lingua* (p. 111-126).

Le texte et la traduction italienne recouvrent les p. 142-185. Vient après un *Commento* (p. 187-297), où B. suit le texte presque au mot à mot. Pourtant on cherche à différents endroits en vain une motivation de la leçon choisie, p. ex. 3,3,30 où B. lit *a ventre Rebeccae* contre Hartel *a uentre tunc Rebeccae*, 5,2,13 pourquoi *atque* au lieu de *aeque*, 6,1,4 pourquoi *designat* au lieu de *designata sint*, 7,2,21 pourquoi *saeculi* au lieu de *saecula*? À la ligne 2,1,1 manque après *hebreica* le mot *lingua*, tandis qu'à la ligne 7,1,6 après *latina* ce même mot est ajouté, qui ne se trouve pas dans les mss.

Le livre finit par un très utile *Indice dei nomi e delle parole* et un *Indice delle citazioni bibliche.*

À la p. 134 on lit: "Ho ampliato la base manoscritta dell'ediz. di Hartel e ho utilizzato sei codici: MQTDRΔ", c'est-à-dire: Hartel s'était servi des mss. MTμ, B. y ajoute QDRΔ. Elle a donc éliminé le ms. intéressant μ ("che Hartel doveva avere probabilmente a disposizione", p. 133), apparemment parce qu'elle est, avec Hartel, encore d'avis que c'est un descendant de T. Mais on sait depuis longtemps que ce n'est pas vrai. Je cite seulement von Soden, *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung* p. 101, n. 1: "Daraus hätte er (sc. Hartel) vielleicht auf das Gegenteil schliessen müssen".

D'autre part à la p. 137 B. n'a pas réussi à argumenter les raisons pour lesquelles elle a choisi précisément les quatre mss. mentionnés ci-dessus.

Mais ce n'est pas tout. Dans mes dossiers j'ai retrouvé des photographies du *De montibus* dans les mss. M et Δ. Or, en collationnant j'ai dû constater que B. est loin de reproduire exactement les leçons du ms. M.[3] Elle omet assez souvent de mentionner les corrections qu'on y trouve, p.e. 1,1,2 uetere *corr. in* -ri, 3 nouo testamento *corr. in* -ū-ū, 7 similitudine*, m *eras.**, 2,13 debemus, a *suprascr.**, ou les particularités orthographiques, p.e. 1,1,16 haebreicae, 2,1,2. 5,2,13. 9,5,49 et 51 aequae, 2,2,15 quidquid, 4,3,27 millensimo*, 28 quadragensimo*. Et pire encore: une quarantaine de fois elle manque de mentionner une leçon fautive ou divergente de M: 1,1,8 iohannen, 2,1,4 interp̄tationem (m *exp.*), 3,1,10 derelicta. Nec inm., 2,15 digiti*, 3,30 de uentre] Tunc*, 4,35 hii*, 43 posteriori*, 4,1,5 conprehendit*, 2,7 portaret, 17 habens*, 3,20 hic numerus XLVI *om**, 24 discendit, 25 carni, mixtus] est *add.**, 5,2,13 carissimos, u *suprascr.**, 17 uocatus, patrem*, 6,1,4 structionem*, 24 sina. Manifesta uero, 2,25 itaque in latino ita, 28 odio] odium*, 31 odio, 33 in pietate, 36 aspredinem*, 7,1.5 interpraetatur*, 2,16 dm̄ (= deum)*, 8,2,11 have *ex* habe, 3,24 terrā*, 9,5,44 generis humani*, 45 ascendit*, 48 dicentem, 13,9 speculū, contrafirmauit*,

14,1,5 custus*, 2,19 uineā suā*, 21 uineā, 24 uidet, 15,2,15 nuntiauit. Je pourrais compléter par une liste semblable d'une cinquantaine de fautes dans la collation du ms. Δ. Sed sapienti sat.

B. a consacré beaucoup de sérieux à son livre. Ce qui me fait d'autant plus regretter de devoir conclure que au moins l'apparat critique qui accompagne le texte ne répond pas aux exigences scientifiques.

van Herlaerstraat 5 5324 EA *Ammerzoden* (Hollande) G.F. Diercks

Notes

[1] On a maintenant: *Cena Cypriani*: K. Strecker (1914) et Chr. Modesto (1992), *De spectaculis*: A. Boulanger (1933), *Cyprianus plebi*: G. Mercati (1937), *Adv. Iudaeos*: D. van Damme (1969), *Cornelius Cypriano*: P. Petitmengin (1974), *De spectaculis, Adv. Iudaeos, Ad Novatianum, De pudicitia*: G.F. Diercks (CCL IV, 1972), *Donatus Cypriano, Cornelius Cypriano, Cyprianus plebi, Cyprianus Turasio*: G.F. Diercks (CCL III, 2, 1996). Marin (1983) a annoncé une édition du *De aleatoribus*.

[2] P. 17. Elle cite ici M. Simonetti.

[3] J'ai marqué par un astérisque les leçons de M qu'on peut trouver déjà dans l'app. crit. de l'éd. de Hartel.

Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der Antiken Welt. Herausgegeben von Ernst Dassmann *et alii*. Band XVIII (Indien-Italia). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1998. 1395 S.

Mit bewundernswerter Regelmässigkeit erscheinen die Lieferungen dieses grossartigen Lexikons. Dieser 18. Band, der ungefähr 100 Spalten mehr als gewöhnlich umfasst (man wollte offensichtlich das Stichwort 'Italia' nicht über zwei Bände verteilen) enthält die folgenden Stichwörter:

Indien (Albrecht Dihle); Indulgentia (Charles Munier); Initiation (Robert Turcan); Inkrustation (Franz Rickert); Inkubation (Manfred Wacht); Innerer Mensch (Christoph Markschies); Insel (Francesco Prontera); Inspiration (Klaus Thraede); Joch (Reinhardt Staats); Joel (Marcus Stark); Johannes Cassianus (Karl Suso Frank); Johannes Chrysostomus I (Rudolf Brändle/ Verena Jegher-Bucher); Johannes Chrysostomus II (Pseudo-Chrysostomica) (Sever J. Voicu); Johannes der Täufer (Josef Ernst); Johannes Philoponos (Koenraad Verrycken); Johannes von Ephesus (Susan Ashbrook Harvey/ Heinzgerd Brakmann); Johannes-Akten (Knut Schäferdiek); Johannes-

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Apocalypse (Otto Böcher); Johannes-Evangelium (u. Briefe) (Johannes Beutler/Anthony Meredith); Jonas (Ernst Dassmann/Josef Engemann/Karl Hoheisel); Jordan (Johannes B. Bauer/Sabine Schrenk); Joseph I (Patriarch) (Peter Pilhofer/Ulrike Koenen); Joseph II (Zimmermann) (Peter Nagel); Josephus (Flavius Josephus) (Heinz Schreckenberg); Josua (Beatrix Asamer); Iovianus (Manfred Clauss); Irenaeus von Lyon (Norbert Brox); Irrtum (Catharine Osborne/Klaus Thraede/Alfons Fürst); Isaak I (Patriarch) (Christoph Jacob/Sabine Schrenk); Isaak III (von Antiochien) (Peter Bruns); Isangelie (Otto Betz); Isidor I (Gnostiker) (Winrich A. Löhr); Isidor II (von Pelusion) (Ursula Treu); Isidor IV (von Sevilla) (Jacques Fontaine); Isokrates (Klaus Thraede); Italia I (landesgeschichtlich) (Edgar Pack); Italia II (literaturgeschichtlich) (Siegmar Döpp).

Wie aus dieser Aufzählung hervorgeht, werden die Buchstaben I und J zusammengenommen. Unter den mit In- anfangenden Stichwörtern gibt es einige Artikel, in denen die Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der Antiken Welt auf besondere Weise thematisiert wird. Das gilt für Initiation, Inkubation, Innerer Mensch, Inspiration. Diese Artikel sind von hoher Qualität und sehr lehrreich. Im Artikel 'Inspiration' fiel mir auf, dass auf einer Seite zwei Aussagen gemacht werden, die nicht mit einander übereinstimmen. In Sp. 349 wird gesagt, dass der Terminus γραφή für (Heilige) Schrift dort (in 1. Clem.) noch regelmässig das griech. AT bedeutet und dass das NT im Ausdruck erst gegen Ende des 2. Jh. mitgemeint wird. In Sp. 350 heisst es, dass, γραφή in dieser letzten Bedeutung auch schon im 2. Clemensbrief (2, 4) gebraucht wird, und dieser Brief wird vom Verf. in die Jahrzehnte zwischen 130 u. 150 datiert.

Im Artikel 'innerer Mensch' erwartet man mit Spannung, wie Platons ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος und Paulus' ἔσω ἄνθρωπος zu einander kommen. Clemens Alexandrinus "scheint als erster die bewusste Synthese zwischen platonischer und paulinischer Vorstellung vom inneren Menschen vollzogen zu haben" (Sp. 288).

Ein Pendant zur heidnischen 'Inkubation' findet man zunächst bei den Gräbern von Martyrern und Heiligen.

"Die Christianisierung der Initiationsterminologie erfolgt vor allem bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern und zwar als Erbe der hellenistischen religiösen Philosophie" (Sp. 149). Das ist eine wichtige Aussage im Artikel 'Initiation'.

Viele Artikel sind individuellen Personen gewidmet. Hervorragend sind 'Johannes Chrysostomus', 'Johannes Philoponos', 'Irenaeus von Lyon' und 'Isidor von Sevilla'.

Drei Artikel gehören mehr oder weniger zum Mönchtum. Die 'Isangelie', das 'wie Engel im Himmel sein', als Ideal eines spirituellen Lebens; die 'Insel' als ideeller Wohnort der westlichen Mönche, wie die Wüste das war für die östlichen; und 'Joch', das neben anderen Anwendungen eine Metapher für Askese und Mönchtum ist.

Der Band beginnt mit 'Indien' und endet mit 'Italia', zwei Ländern, in denen die Art und Intensität der Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der Antiken Welt ganz verschieden gewesen sind. Der Artikel 'Italia' hat einen Landesgeschichtlichen und einen literaturgeschichtlichen Teil, die zusammen ungefähr 350 Spalten einnehmen. Die Menge von christlichen Autoren die hier behandelt werden ist imposant. Von Tatian wird gesagt: "Durch Lektüre der Bibel zum Christentum findend . . .". Es wäre interessant gewesen zu erwähnen, wie Tatian die Bibel charakterisiert: συνέβη γραφαῖς τισι ἐντυχεῖν βαρβαρικαῖς, πρεσβυτέραις μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὰ Ἑλλήνων δόγματα, θειοτέραις δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων πλάνην (c. 29). Aber der Autor war natürlich gezwungen viele interessante Sachen wegzulassen.

Mit diesem Band wird das riesige Unternehmen dieses Lexikons abermals auf vorzügliche Art und Weise fortgeführt.

2312 GD *Leiden*, Haarlemmerstraat 106 J.C.M. VAN WINDEN

Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-A.D. 400. Edited by Stanley E. Porter. Brill: Leiden-New York-Köln, 1997. xvi + 901 pages. ISBN 90-04-09965-4. DFL 430/US $ 253 (clothbound).

This is the first of two large volumes on classical rhetoric published in two years by Brill, the other being an English translation of H. Lausberg's *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*[2] (1998). The present volume consists of 29 chapters written by almost as many contributors (a few contributors have written two chapters, and a few chapters have been written by more than one person). The chapters are distributed into three different sections or parts. The first part, 'Rhetoric Defined', covers the history and 'genres' of rhetoric, and the five 'parts' of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory. The second part, 'Rhetoric in Practice', is a survey of rhetorical practice as present in different literary genres, such as historiography, drama, etc. The third section, 'Individual Writers and the Rhetorical Tradition', is devoted to different pagan, Christian, and Judaeo-Hellenistic writers/writings, as seen from the rhetorical perspective. It may be helpful to review the individual parts of the volume, focussing attention on those

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chapters which would be of interest to the readership of this journal, and then turn to an assessment of the work as a whole. It should be noted from the outset, however, that especially the title, but also the size and price of the volume generate high expectations, and accordingly the work must be evaluated as a reference handbook, with all that that implies.

G.A. Kennedy begins the volume with two good short chapters. The first is a brief history of rhetoric, the second half of which is a sort of *clavis rhetorum*, a list of writers and works on rhetoric with editions, translations, and commentaries (pp. 19-37). The second chapter is a discussion of the genres of rhetoric, with focus on the Aristotelian division of rhetoric into deliberative, judicial, and epideictic types, and other recognized genres. Although these chapters are well written short surveys, one would surely have expected more from the *clavis* in a reference handbook of this sort. It has a rather casual character and is further vitiated by the fact that the translations and commentaries are almost exclusively in English. In a work clearly intended for an audience of scholars (see pp. xiv-xv), and that at the international level, this segment cannot be judged to be satisfactory. The remainder of the chapters of the first part are devoted to the five 'parts' of rhetoric. The first of these, a chapter on arrangement by W. Wuellner (pp. 51-87), is a rambling, repetitive, and confused piece of work, in which a stringing together of observations (often of others) has been substituted for a coherent presentation of the subject. The remaining chapters of this part offer competent but not particularly indispensable surveys of invention, style, delivery and memory.

The second part includes chapters on rhetoric as practiced in specific literary genres. Of those which are devoted primarily to non-Christian works, the chapter on philosophical prose by D.M. Schenkeveld (pp. 195-264) will probably be the most useful for scholars of early Christianity. This is because of its broad scope and the relevance of many of the issues raised for the literary study of Christian writings. The chapter on historical prose by S. Rebenich (pp. 265-337), on the other hand, can be recommended for its general excellence (one of the best essays in the collection). Of those chapters which do focus on Judaeo-Christian writings, that of F. Siegert, entitled 'Homily and Panegyrical Sermon' (pp. 421-43), is easily the most significant. Siegert here takes up the views, advocated by him in other publications, that 'speeches explaining a sacred doctrine/text in a liturgical setting' are unique to Judaism and Christianity, and that one should clearly distinguish between the homily and the 'panegyrical sermon'. The former resembles a lesson, and is delivered by the speaker to a relatively

small group of persons whom he knows. The latter is truly an 'oration' which is delivered to a large audience and makes full use of the Hellenic art of rhetoric. These views are based on earlier work by J. Freudenthal (*Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift Ueber die Herrschaft der Vernunft* (1869)), and E. Norden (*Die antike Kunstprosa* (1898, etc.)), but Siegert has done much to give us a clearer understanding of this material. Especially significant is his sharper characterization of the sermon with 'high' oratorical pretension. He emphasizes the exegetical character and the Judaeo-Hellenistic origin of this sort of speech (contrast, e.g., G.A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition* (1980), pp. 39, 141-5). This view is determined by his recent work on the Pseudo-Philonic sermons, products of the Hellenistic synagogue. Evidence for this sort of 'high' oratorical exegesis is lacking in a Semitic context. Precisely for this reason, more attention should be paid to the phenomenon which he has now acknowledged, the oratorical exegesis of Homer in writers like Dio Chrysostom (p. 425; cf. M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, I.1 (1996), p. 192; Siegert's earlier view seems to be the result of not refining and progressing beyond general and impressionistic statements of Norden; cf. *JBL* 113 (1994), pp. 528-9). For although the phenomenon may not have been widespread, it is models of this sort that could explain the transformation of the exegetical lesson/homily into a 'panegyrical sermon'. In any case, Siegert's essay is most welcome in this volume, because it relates to the heart of the issue of the transformation of the Greco-Latin rhetorical tradition in the Judaeo-Christian context. The other essay in this section which concerns a Judaeo-Christian genre, that on 'Apocalyptic and Prophetic Literature' by J.M. Knight (pp. 467-88), has little connection with rhetoric in any meaningful sense of the term, beyond the often repeated adjective 'rhetorical', especially in the phrase 'rhetorical purpose'. The adjective is often otiose.

The third and final section, about rhetoric and individual writers, begins with four chapters on the New Testament. The first chapter, by R.A. Burridge, is devoted to the Gospels and Acts (pp. 507-32). This is a well written survey, but one is struck by the procedure here. On the one hand, it is acknowledged that the evangelists will not have had rhetorical training (pp. 509-10), that two of the Gospels are characterized by 'radical rhetoric' [i.e. non-Hellenic rhetoric, A.K.] (p. 513), and that the Gospels generally are not speeches nor even primarily works of persuasion (p. 514). But the author then proceeds to survey the Gospels and Acts from the point of view of the five 'parts' of Greco-Roman rhetoric. This seems almost inane, because any value of the study of the Gospels from the Greek rhetorical

perspective emerges in the analysis of smaller units, not of the superstructure. For example, the application of stasis theory, originally developed in the context of forensic oratory, to the Gospels (pp. 521-2), is most artificial and brings no more than a statement of the obvious. This sort of procedure can only raise doubts about the application of Greek rhetorical categories to the Gospels. Similar doubts with respect to the Pauline letters are in fact raised by the editor of the volume himself, S.E. Porter, in the following essay (pp. 533-85). This is a very good contribution, and it is quite 'handbook appropriate', especially the section in which Porter provides a survey of the different rhetorical approaches which have been applied to each of the main letters/pairs of letters (pp. 541-61). Porter, however, asks serious questions about the value of using some of the primary rhetorical categories (esp. species and arrangement) in the study of Paul. Citing J.T. Reed, he thinks that perhaps one can speak of 'functional' but not 'formal' correspondences between various categories of rhetoric and different parts of the Pauline letters (see esp. pp. 568, 584). But these sorts of correspondences are often just as easily explained by G.A. Kennedy's appeal to the fact that rhetoric is a universal human phenomenon (*New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (1984), p. 10; cf. Norden's 'analogy', *Kunstprosa*, p. 494), as they are by Paul's casual knowledge of Greek rhetoric by what we might call a 'trickle-down' effect (cf. Kennedy, op. cit., pp. 9-10; Porter, p. 535). One might appeal to the latter more legitimately in the case of Paul's use of rhetorical figures and ornamentation (cf. Porter, pp. 578, 585). In short, the basic view of Norden, one of the greatest authorities ever on the subject of Greek and Latin prose, who thought that the Pauline mode of expression is essentially 'non-Hellenic', while recognizing some Pauline acquaintance with 'Asianist' rhetoric, especially as regards ornamentation (*Kunstprosa*, pp. 498-510), may be just as valid today as it was a century ago. There has of course been movement away from this view, especially over the last few decades in the form of the newer 'rhetorical criticism', but perhaps the tide is finally turning back the other way. The recent book by R.D. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul* (1996), as well as the present essay by Porter, may be significant signs of this.

Much more important for the history and development of rhetoric in the Judaeo-Christian orbit are the essays on the Church Fathers, Philo, and Josephus. The chapter on the Greek Fathers, by W. Kinzig, competes with that of Rebenich as one of the best essays in the book and for being 'handbook-appropriate' (pp. 633-70). It is noteworthy that the structure of

this chapter seems to largely follow that of the relevant sections of Norden's *Kunstprosa.* Kinzig has provided surveys of Greek patristic attitudes towards biblical and Christian style (sections I and II), and discussions of Greek patristic rhetorical practice and its effects on audiences (sections III and IV). These latter two sections mark more extensive advances on Norden, and the footnotes and bibliography of the entire piece are worthy of a handbook, in that they provide an indication of the present state of research in these areas. Unfortunately, the following chapter on the Latin Fathers by P.E. Satterthwaite (pp. 671-94) is not on the same level. To survey examples from six Latin Fathers under the headings of arrangement, invention, and style, and provide accompanying observations is sometimes illuminating, but this sort of approach does not reflect the kind of serious study and thinking on the subject which one would desire in this setting. More valuable is the final section on 'The Christian Orator' (pp. 687-93). The bibliography (p. 694), however, is particularly weak, and does not allow for an appreciation of the state of research in this area. The contribution on Philo by T.M. Conley (pp. 695-713) is a significant one. Most of it is concerned with style, but Conley shows how some of Philo's stylistic techniques contribute to his overall argumentation. Conley also has important observations on the structure and context of Philo's discourse (pp. 708-13). While the piece does list some recent bibliography (p. 696 n. 2) and takes into account some recent criticism, it is largely a condensation of earlier publications, and this will make it harder to read for those not familiar with Philo and scholarship on Philo. For more substantial bibliography, one will also have to turn to the earlier publications. The short essay on Josephus by D.R. Runnalls (pp. 737-54), after a brief introduction, is devoted primarily to the speeches which the Jewish historian has inserted into the *Jewish Antiquities* and the *Jewish War.* The first part is a classification of these speeches into Aristotle's three 'genres', and the second part is a brief analysis of two speeches in the *War.* Much of the piece is based on and indeed excerpted from the author's thesis of 1971, but it can still serve as a useful introduction to the subject. However, far too little effort has been expended on bibliographical matters (this can be seen easily from Rebenich's essay, p. 305 nn. 196-7; moreover, not even the author's own thesis is cited). Finally, the volume contains a chapter on the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament by J.A.L. Lee (Greek, pp. 775-83) and K.H. Lee (Latin, pp. 784-91). These chapters do not cover 'rhetoric' in any broad sense, but are brief surveys of some features of style and translation technique. Most of these features are part of well known ground

in versional studies. Consequently, to insert surveys of them into a book on rhetoric, even while acknowledging the non-independent character of the texts or urging further research, cannot be regarded as a particularly significant contribution.

As a whole, while the volume is no doubt useful, it is difficult to be enthusiastic about it as a reference handbook. The contributions are uneven not only in quality, but in structure and intent. Particularly disappointing is the bibliographical substance, consistency, and coordination. This is because bibliographical apparatus is, for scholars, one of the main factors to consider in acquiring and using such a volume. Porter himself seems to obliquely allude to the various shortcomings of the book in the introduction (pp. xiii-xiv), but his remarks read more like an excuse than a convincing explanation. In many ways, the volume seems to have been put together like just another volume of collected essays rather than as a 'handbook'. This sort of nonchalance is also visible in the 'arrangement' of the work, something which one would regard as important in a book on rhetoric. In the third part, the one of most significance to readers of this journal, four chapters on the New Testament come first, followed by two chapters on Greek and Latin patristic literature, followed by individual chapters on Philo, Plutarch, Josephus, the Cynics, and the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament. This order would appear to betray a lack of historical vision of the subject matter and a disregard for lines of influence and development, things which are so much a part of Norden's *Kunstprosa*, one of the most frequently cited works in the volume (incidentally, there is a recent Italian translation of this work (1986), important for its 200-page 'Nota di aggiornamento' by G. Calboli, which does not seem to be known to the contributors). The Judaeo-Hellenistic and patristic writings, and the continuity of the Judaeo-Hellenistic and patristic tradition (also obscured here), make manifest to a much greater extent the lines of transmission and transformation of the Greco-Latin rhetorical legacy over the period 330 BC-AD 400 than do the writings of the New Testament. Put simply, the arrangement and balance of the work do not reflect its title.

Overall, despite the fact that the book contains some very good essays, scholars and students who can afford only *one* two-hundred dollar reference volume on rhetoric will be tempted to opt for the new translation of Lausberg.

HUC-JIR ADAM KAMESAR
3101 Clifton Ave. Cincinnati, OH. 45220 USA

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anti-semitism, sexism; His style of commentary, hermeneutics, wider thinking on Scripture; The spirituality of the Commentary); translation of the commentary on Psalms 4-13. Volume II: translation of the commentary on Psalms 109-150 (with the exception of Ps 119). Comment on Chr.' text also in endnotes; indices in each volume.

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POLYCARP OF SMYRNA'S VIEW OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF 1 AND 2 TIMOTHY

BY

KENNETH BERDING

The authorship and dating of the so-called Pastoral Epistles is perennially discussed in NT studies. In this paper I will not try to resolve this discussion. I hope, however, to contribute to the scholarly discussion of Polycarp and the Pastoral Epistles in two ways.

1. The first contribution will be to our understanding of Polycarp's letter to the Philippians in its own right. This paper will document an unmistakable tendency in the letter of Polycarp to cluster Pauline citations and allusions[1] after each of the three instances that Polycarp mentions the name of the apostle Paul. As far as I know, this observation has never been made before; but it is certainly a needed addition to the literature about Polycarp.

2. The second contribution flows from the first. Within the first two of these three clusters are citations almost certainly dependent upon 1 or 2 Timothy. If, as will be demonstrated in this paper, Polycarp tends to group references from the Pauline Epistles around explicit namings of Paul, and if there is a quotation from 1 or 2 Timothy in two of these clusters, it can be plausibly argued that Polycarp (rightly or wrongly) understood Paul to be the author of these two epistles. The relevance of this observation is plain. Even if the late dating of the main body of Polycarp's letter, chapters

[1] I've referred to "citations" and "allusions" throughout this paper. The goal is to include any phrase which has a high likelihood of being dependent upon a previously written text (whether biblical or extra-biblical, as in 1 Clement). There is no attempt to make nuanced distinctions between such categories as citations, loose citations, or allusions (reminiscences do not play a role in this paper). The issue being studied is the likelihood of dependence upon an earlier literary source. For the purposes of this paper (which seeks to demonstrate a general pattern) finer distinctions are not necessary. It will be demonstrated that Pauline clusters occur whether stringent or more flexible criteria are employed. I will sometimes use the word "reference" as a general term pointing to literary dependence upon an earlier source.

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1-12 (P.N. Harrison's "crisis letter") is accepted at 135 C.E. (I prefer 120 C.E.), Polycarp becomes the earliest witness to the Pauline authorship of two of the three "Pastoral Epistles" by about 50 years.[2]

Thus, this paper does not try to settle the question of Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, but does argue that Polycarp of Smyrna in the early parts of the second century considered at least 1 and 2 Timothy to have been written by Paul.

References to the Pastoral Epistles in the early church and their connections to Paul[3]

Two questions will be briefly revisited here to set the study in its proper context. First, how early do we see traces of the Pastoral Epistles in the literature of the developing church? Second, how early are we able to make a clear connection between the Pastorals and the church's understanding that they were written by Paul?[4]

The answer to the first question is somewhat disputed. There are some verbal similarities between the Pastoral Epistles and the so-called letter of Clement of Rome (ca. 96 C.E.). Streeter reverses the dependence, however, and claims that the Pastorals quoted Clement.[5] The letters of Ignatius of Antioch (ca. 110-117) may also show some dependence on the Pastorals, but it is not at all certain.[6] Polycarp is the first writer who almost certainly quoted from 1 and 2 Timothy (though not necessarily Titus). Curiously, von Campenhausen considered Polycarp himself (or a representative of

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[2] I view positively P.N. Harrison's suggestion that Polycarp's letter is actually two letters. See P.N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936). I think, however, he has dated chs 1-12 too late. I prefer the suggestion of L.W. Barnard of a date no later than 120 C.E. for Polycarp's second letter. Refer to L.W. Barnard, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Backgrounds* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), ch. 4 for arguments.

[3] See J.H. Bernard, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1980) and Newport J.D. White, *The First and Second Epistles to Timothy and The Epistle to Titus*, The Expositor's Greek Testament IV (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1897; repr. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974) for citations of early church fathers who may be quoting or alluding to the Pastoral Epistles.

[4] We are not interested here primarily in the question of canonicity but in early church attestation of these letters and the degree to which they were considered Pauline.

[5] Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929): 159.

[6] Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905): 71-73.

Polycarp) to be the likely author of the Pastorals,[7] and Walter Bauer considered the Pastorals to have derived their similarities to Polycarp through dependence upon Polycarp.[8] Scholarly opinion is now against them.[9] That Polycarp is literarily dependent upon 1 and 2 Timothy is generally accepted. Soon after Polycarp, Justin Martyr (ca. 140) also seems to have quoted from the Pastorals.[10]

Thus, by the third decade of the second century (at the latest), the Pastoral Epistles were in general circulation. In light of the allusions in Clement and Ignatius, that date should probably be moved closer to the turn of the century.[11]

When we inquire about the earliest evidence of a connection between the Pastoral Epistles and the church's understanding of Paul as its author a different picture emerges.[12] None of the above authors explicitly states that Paul was the author of the Pastorals, nor do they quote him by name. Marcion did not include the Pastorals in his collection of Pauline letters[13] (which, as many scholars have pointed out, doesn't mean he didn't know them). Irenaeus (ca. 188) is the first clear testimony to Pauline authorship, for he quotes phrases from the Pastorals as coming from Paul.[14] Theophilus of Antioch (ca. 180) suggests inspiration of these letters, which is unlikely if he had not considered them to be Pauline.[15]

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[7] Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, "Polycarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe," chap. in *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums: Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1963).

[8] Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 2d. German ed. with added appendices, by Georg Strecker, trans. by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971; reprint, Mifflintown, Pa.: Sigler Press, 1996): 224.

[9] "In fact those who reject the authenticity of the letters have generally abandoned dates very far into the second century for their composition; most locate them at about the turn of the century." Philip H. Towner, *The Goal of our Instruction: The Structure of Theology and Ethics in the Pastoral Epistles*, JSNTsup 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989): 22-23.

[10] See White, *Timothy and Titus*, 5; Bernard, *The Pastoral Epistles*, xiv.

[11] Frederick W. Norris, "Asia Minor before Ignatius: Walter Bauer Reconsidered," in *SE VII* (Berlin: Akadamie-Verlag, 1982): 370.

[12] Note that those who consider Paul to be the author of the Pastorals would claim that the church always knew they were Pauline, since Paul's name is written in each. The question which faces us, though, is the question of external attestation.

[13] Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 5:21.

[14] *Haer* 1.16.3; 2.14.7; 3.3.3; 4.16.3.

[15] Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, 3.14.

Thus, apart from the evidence of Polycarp presented in this paper, there is a considerable length of time (at least 50 years) between clear evidence of literary dependence on the Pastoral Epistles and documents which connect them to Paul as their author.

Polycarp and Paul

It has long been observed that Polycarp frequently draws upon phrases in Paul's writings in his letter to the Philippians. Nielsen comments, "I continue to be impressed and surprised by the high and indeed unique status which Polycarp accords both to Paul and to his epistles."[16] This is particularly noteworthy in light of the tradition that Polycarp at one time had a relationship with the apostle John.[17] For whatever reason, Polycarp is more closely related to the Pauline tradition than to the Johannine in the letter he wrote to Philippi.[18] Polycarp seems to demonstrate knowledge of many letters in our present Pauline corpus, including Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, 2 Thessalonians, and 1 and 2 Timothy as well as knowledge of 1 Peter and 1 Clement. He may also indicate knowledge of John, Acts, Colossians, Hebrews and 1 John.[19]

It is not the goal of this paper to critique each and every possible citation or allusion found in Polycarp's letter. Such an undertaking would likely produce a monograph rather than an article. Rather, a conservative list of the more probable references will be drawn up based upon the work of J.B. Lightfoot, P.N. Harrison, Schoedel, J.B. Bauer and the Oxford Society of Historical Theology for the purpose of observing their general pattern.[20] Each citation/allusion could be disputed, but scholars who have worked with Polycarp's letter will recognize this list as reflecting something

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[16] Charles M. Nielsen, "Polycarp and Marcion: A Note," *TS* 47 (1986): 298.

[17] Irenaeus in Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.20.6; Tertullian, *De Praescriptione* 32.

[18] D. Richard Stuckwisch, "Saint Polycarp of Smyrna: Johannine or Pauline Figure?" *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 61 (1997): 113-125. Stuckwisch thinks that Irenaeus is responsible for connecting Polycarp so closely with John, though he still thinks that there is some influence from the Johannine tradition in Polycarp's letter.

[19] Oxford Society, 137-138. The list I'm using is fairly conservative in its evaluation of texts with which Polycarp had direct contact. Schoedel is much more optimistic, listing the following books as attested to: Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Tobit; Matthew, Luke, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Timothy, 1 Peter, 1 John; 1 Clement. William R. Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, vol. 4 of *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary*, ed. Robert M. Grant (Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967): 5.

[20] J.B. Lightfoot, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Fathers: Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp*, vol.

approaching a conservative consensus on these passages (if consensus on such a subject is at all possible). The pattern of clustering references from Paul after explicit mention of Paul's name readily emerges. The working list of biblical and extra-biblical citations and allusions in Polycarp (including the locations of Paul's name) is as follows:

Pol. Phil.	*Probable*	*Also Possible*[21]
1.2		Acts 2:24 (Western text)
1.3	1 Pet 1:8	
	Eph 2:5, 8, 9	
2.1	1 Pet 1:13; Ps 2:11	
	1 Pet 1:21	
		1 Cor 15:28; Phil 2:10; 3:21
		Ps 150:6; Isa 57:16
		Acts 10:42
		Luke 11:50-51
2.2	2 Cor 4:14; 1 Cor 6:14; Rom 8:11	
	1 Pet 3:9	
2.3		Matt 7:1-2; *1 Clem* 13.2
		Luke 6:20; Matt 5:10
3.2	**"Paul"**	
		Eph 1:13
3.3	Gal 4:26	
		Col 1:4, 5
4.1	1 Tim 6:10	
	1 Tim 6:7	
	2 Cor 6:7; Rom 6:13	

3 (London: Macmillan and Col., 1890; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981): 311-350; Harrison, *Two Epistles*, 285-310; Schoedel, *Polycarp*, 7-41; Johannes Bapt. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995): 31-74; Oxford Society, 84-104. I do not agree on all of these decisions but am aiming more for a consensus list than a list which represents my own judgments. It is probable that I will adjust these lists somewhat in the future since I intend to engage in a detailed analysis of Polycarp's use of NT citations. But I contend that the observation of clustering will be in force no matter how strict or loose the criteria being employed may be.

[21] Note that there is an almost endless number of phrases that may allude to writings with which Polycarp may have been familiar. This is a list of the more likely. Some of these (as in Pol. *Phil* 1.2/Acts 2:24 or Pol. *Phil* 7.1/1 John 4:2) have striking similarities to one another and if there were other supportable citations from the same source in Polycarp, there is little doubt that some would be considered dependent upon those NT texts.

(table cont.)

Pol. Phil.	*Probable*	*Also Possible*
4.2	*1 Clem* 1.3	
	1 Clem 21.6, 8	
4.3		1 Tim 5:5
	1 Clem 41.2	
	1 Clem 21.3	
	1 Cor 14:25	
5.1	Gal 6:7	
5.2		1 Tim 3:8-13
		Mark 9:35
		Phil 1:27; *1 Clem* 21.1
	2 Tim 2:12	
5.3	1 Pet 2:11 (Gal 5:17)	
	1 Cor 6:9, 10	
6.1	2 Cor 8:21; Rom 12:17; Prov 3:4	
6.2	Rom 14:10, 12; 2 Cor 5:10	
6.3		Acts 7:52
		1 Pet 3:13; Titus 2:14
		2 Tim 3:5-6
7.1		1 John 4:2-3
		1 John 3:8
7.2		1 Pet 4:7
		Matt 6:13
		Matt 26:41
8.1	1 Pet 2:24, 22	
8.2		1 Pet 2:21
9.1		Heb 5:13
	"Paul"	
9.2	Phil 2:16	
		Rom 8:17
	2 Tim 4:10	
		2 Cor 5:15
10.1	1 Cor 15:58; Col 1:23	
	1 Pet 2:17	
	Rom 12:10 (2X)	
10.2		Prov 3:28
	Tob 4:10	
		Eph 5:21; 1 Pet 5:5
	1 Pet 2:12	
10.3		Isa 52:5; Ign. *Trall* 8.2
11.1		1 Thess 5:22

(table cont.)

Pol. Phil.	*Probable*	*Also Possible*
11.2		1 Tim 3:5
		Eph 5:5; Col 3:5
		Jer 5:4
	1 Cor 6:2—**"Paul"**	
11.3	**"Paul"**	
	2 Thess 1:4 (Phil 4:15; 2 Cor 3:2)	
11.4		2 Tim 2:25
	2 Thess 3:15	
12.1	Eph 4:26 (Ps 4:5)	
	Eph 4:26	
12.2		Gal 1:1; Col 2:12; 1 Pet 1:21
12.3		Eph 6:18
		1 Tim 2:1, 2
		Matt 5:44; Luke 6:27
	Phil 3:18	

Paul referred to by name

The first argument of this paper is that Polycarp clusters Pauline citations and allusions around the mention of Paul's name. Polycarp mentions Paul in three contexts in this letter.

1. In 3.2 we read about "the blessed and glorious Paul" (μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου).[22]

2. In 9.1 we find the phrase "and in Paul himself " (καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ) where Paul is listed as one of those who endured along with Ignatius, Zosimus, Rufus, "others from your congregation" and "the rest of the apostles."[23]

3. The phrase, "as Paul teaches" (*sicut Paulus docet*)[24] in 11.2 follows a clear citation of 1 Cor 6:2. In 11.3, Paul's name is mentioned again—"the blessed Paul" (*beatus Paulus*). Each mention of Paul's name begins a cluster of Pauline citations and allusions.

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[22] J.B. Bauer comments that μακάριος is a common term in the Greek church fathers for OT prophets like Job, Abraham or Joseph and also for significant NT characters such as the apostles, Mary, Elizabeth, Stephen and others. J.B. Bauer, *Die Polykarpbriefe*, 46.

[23] Lindemann points out how striking it is that Paul is the only apostle named in this list. Even Peter is not mentioned. Andreas Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: Das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1979): 89.

[24] 10:1-12:3 is only preserved in Latin.

Clusters in Polycarp

Pauline Cluster #1 (3.2-4.1) contains four phrases which are very likely drawn from Gal 4:26, 1 Tim 6:10, 1 Tim 6:7, and either 2 Cor 6:7 or Rom 6:13. In addition to these four is the phrase "the word concerning the truth" (τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον) in 3.2 which may hearken back to the phrase in Eph 1:13 "the word of truth" (τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας). However, the concept is too general to indicate a definite relationship. There is an even more distant possibility of a relationship between 3.3 and Col 1:4-6 which have similar ideas but have no verbal relationship except in the word καρποφορεῖ.[25]

Pauline Cluster #2 (9.1-10.1) begins with two phrases that are probable citations—one from Phil 2:16 and one from 2 Tim 4:10. Then, 10.1 begins a list which reminds us of similar lists Paul made.[26] In fact, there are three Pauline phrases in the first four phrases in this list,[27] the first from I Cor 15:58 (or Col 1:23), and the other two from Rom 12:10. The list continues with other allusion to various sources. Thus, there are five fairly stable Pauline references in cluster #2. In addition to these five, in 9.2 there may be a connection to Rom 8:17 in the phrase "with whom they also suffered together" (ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον) and a connection to 2 Cor 5:15 in the phrase "but him who died on our behalf and was raised by God for our sakes" (ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστάντα).

Pauline Cluster #3 (11.2-12.1) begins with a clear citation of 1 Cor 6:2 and the mention of Paul's name, "as Paul teaches" (*sicut Paulus docet*). It is followed by four other Pauline phrases from 2 Thess 1:4, 2 Thess 3:15,[28] Eph 4:26 (which is itself citing Ps 4:5) and a phrase from Eph 4:26 which is not found in Ps 4:5. The phrase "may the Lord grant them true repentance" (*quibus det dominus poenitentiam veram*) may have been written with 2 Tim 2:25 in mind, but it is too general for any certainty. It may be that 12.2-3 continue the pattern of Pauline allusions since there are other possible allusions to Paulinisms in this list. Gal 1:1, Col 2:12, or 1 Pet 1:21

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[25] Oxford Society, 101.

[26] E.g. Rom 12:9-21.

[27] The phrase "loving the brotherhood" (*fraternitatis amatores*) is probably from 1 Pet 2:17.

[28] "For 2 Thessalonians again the evidence, though small in bulk, is surely decisive." Harrison, *Two Epistles*, 293.

may be related to the last phrase of 12.2 ("and in his Father who raised him from the dead" *et in ipsius patrem qui resuscitavit eum a mortuis*); 12.3 ("pray for all the saints" *pro omnibus sanctis orate*) reminds us of Eph 6:18; and there may be an allusion to 1 Tim 2:1, 2 in the phrase "Pray also for kings and powers and rulers" (*Orate etiam pro regibus et potestatibus et principibus*). These, however, are all too general to make a solid connection with their potential sources.

Not only has Polycarp clustered Pauline citations and allusions in this way, on one occasion he has clustered together references from 1 Clement. This cluster is found in 4.2-3 and links what appear to be four allusions to 1 Clement into Polycarp's exhortations about wives and widows (*1 Clem* 1.3; 21.6-8; 41.2; 21.3). Though none of these individually would carry much significance, the fact that they are clustered together here indicates a high likelihood of literary dependence upon 1 Clement. This helps to support the contention that Polycarp sometimes clusters his references according to their author.

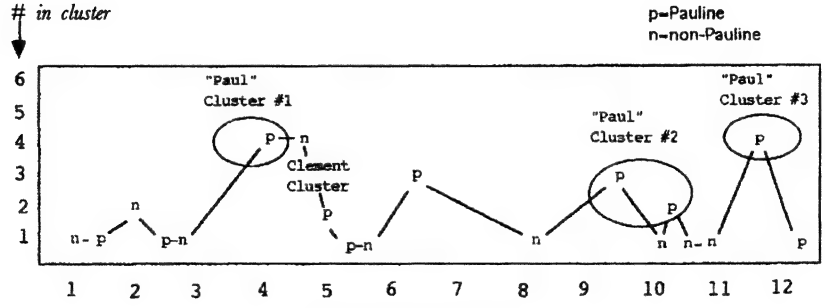
Nevertheless, Polycarp does not always cluster his references, as his use of 1 Peter illustrates. Polycarp draws from 1 Peter no less than eight times in his letter (and many more allusions are possible). Yet, there is no indication that references to 1 Peter follow any identifiable pattern. They are sprinkled randomly throughout the letter.

In short, Polycarp sometimes clusters his citations/allusions (as the references to 1 Clement indicate) but does not always cluster them (as the case of 1 Peter indicates). This shows that when Polycarp does in fact consistently cluster citations/allusions around the name of Paul, as he does on three separate occasions, it is worth noticing.

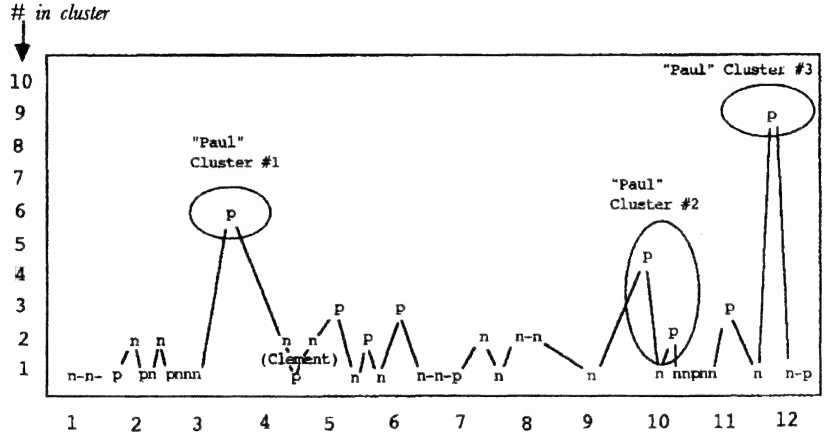
The clustering pattern around the name of Paul is illustrated in the following two diagrams. The first graph only includes those references which are quite likely to be literarily dependent upon their source. The second includes both the probable and those which are plausible but uncertain. The numbers on the left of the graph indicate how many separate citations are included in a cluster. The numbers along the bottom of the graph follow the sequence of Polycarp's letter according to chapter.

It can be seen from these diagrams that whether we limit ourselves to phrases which are almost certainly dependent, or whether we include all those which are plausibly drawn from an earlier source, they both support the contention of this paper that Polycarp clusters references to Paul's writings around the mention of the name of Paul.

Pauline Clusters Graph #1
(from "Probable" list)



Pauline Clusters Graph #2
(from "Probable" plus "Possible" list)



Polycarp, Paul, and the Pastoral Epistles

The recognition of the position of 1 Tim 6:10 and 6:7 in the first Pauline cluster and the position of 2 Tim 4:10 in the second Pauline cluster is the second main observation of this paper.[29] That Polycarp has a tendency to cluster phrases from Paul around the mention of his name has already been supported. The implication is that Polycarp considered the phrases in each cluster to be Pauline. If this conclusion is accepted, then its most important implication is that Polycarp considered the phrases which he quoted from 1 and 2 Timothy also to be Pauline.

The Oxford Society of Historical Theology comments concerning 4.1 and its relationship to 1 Tim 6:10 and 6:7, "It is almost impossible to believe that these passages are independent."[30] Concerning 9.2 and its relationship to 2 Tim 4:10, "The dependence on 2 Timothy seems almost certain, especially as ὁ νῦν αἰών occurs only in the Pastoral Epistles among the books of the N.T. (cf. I Tim. 6^{17}; Titus 2^{12})."[31]

It is doubtful whether Polycarp deliberately clustered Pauline quotations and allusions around the name of Paul. It does not affect the thesis of this paper. The fact that such a clustering occurs three times in this short letter illustrates Polycarp's assumption that the phrases surrounding Paul's name were indeed Pauline.[32]

It will not be argued in this paper, but it should be noted that Harrison (following Benecke) is of the opinion that "if Polycarp knew 1 and 2 Timothy, it becomes *a priori* more than likely that he knew the Epistle to Titus also."[33] Harrison then attempts to show that there are some points of contact between Polycarp's letter and Titus, but they are inconclusive. It seems that his opinion (perhaps rightly so) is based upon the weight of evidence that the three letters known as the Pastoral Epistles (1 Timothy,

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[29] It is possible that 2 Tim 2:25 is referred to in the third Pauline cluster in the phrase "may the Lord grant them true repentance" (*quibus det dominus poenitentiam veram*, 11.4), but because it is less probable than the references from 1 and 2 Timothy in the first two clusters, it will not be argued here.

[30] Oxford Society, 95.

[31] Oxford Society, 97.

[32] Harrison makes substantially the same point in regard to Polycarp's alteration of the form of some of the quotations which he shares with Clement from the Synoptic tradition. Harrison says, "Whether he made these corrections consciously or unconsciously, the significant fact remains that he did make them." Harrison, *Two Epistles*, 286-287.

[33] Harrison, *Two Epistles*, 295.

2 Timothy, and Titus) have historically and generally in modern scholarship been viewed together.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to demonstrate that there is a marked tendency in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians to cluster Pauline citations and allusions in the three passages in which he mentions the name of Paul. This indicates that Polycarp (consciously or unconsciously) considered the references to be Pauline. In addition, the first cluster contains a phrase from 1 Tim 6:10 followed by one from 1 Tim 6:7. The second cluster contains a phrase from 2 Tim 4:10. The most plausible conclusion which can be drawn is that Polycarp considered these also to be Pauline. If Harrison (and much of modern scholarship) is correct in linking Titus to 1 and 2 Timothy, Polycarp has become the earliest external witness to the belief in the early church that Paul was the author of the Pastoral Epistles.

60 Willow Ave., *Nyack*, NY 10960 U.S.A.

GNOSTISCHE GOTTESLEHREN

ZUM 7. UND 8. FRAGMENT DES BASILIDES, ZU VALENTINS 5. FRAGMENT UND ZWEI ANTIKEN KOMMENTAREN ZU DIESEM FRAGMENT

VON

PAUL SCHÜNGEL

Basilides (Lebenszeit vermutlich bis ca. 145) und Valentin (ca. 100 bis 160) gelten als die bedeutendsten Schulhäupter der Gnosis. Clemens von Alexandrien zitiert sie gern und meist zusammen; vermutlich weiß er, dass beide im ägyptischen Alexandrien gearbeitet haben. Sie hatten den gleichen Broterwerb, sie waren als "Philosophen" (= freiberufliche Lehrer einer frohmachenden und vernünftigen Lebensführung) öffentlich tätig. Dabei mussten sie sachliche und literarisch-rhetorische Kompetenz beweisen, erst recht mussten sie die rational-wissenschaftlichen Ansprüche erfüllen, die man damals in Alexandria und in Rom, wo Valentin später etwa 20 Jahre lang tätig war, an "Philosophen" stellte.

A. *Basilides*

Clemens zitiert das umfangreiche 7. Fragment[1] des Basilides nur, um diesem ein falsches Gottesverständnis vorzuhalten, er ignoriert die paränetische Ausrichtung des Basilidestextes. In breiten Ausführungen bekämpft der Kirchenvater in Str. IV 81,1-88,5 die ihn empörende These, ein unschuldig leidender Christ könne und müsse die Übel,[2] die ihn treffen, hinnehmen

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[1] Winrich A. Löhr, *Basilides und seine Schule* (WUNT 83) 1996 bietet und behandelt das 7. Fragment (Str. IV,81,1-83,1) 122-137, die Fortsetzung bis 88,5 im Exkurs II 145-151, das 8. Fragment (Str. IV 86,1) davon getrennt 152-156, Str. IV 88,5 (= 9. Frg.) 157-159.

[2] Mit ταῖς λεγομέναις θλίψεσιν (*GCS Clemens Alexandrinus II* 284,7 (Stählin-Früchtel-Treu)) sind natürlich nicht "sogenannte Drangsale" gemeint, wie Stählin BKV II Bd. 19,57 übersetzt, sondern "die soeben behandelten Nöte", nämlich die Angst in Verfolgung um des Christsein willens. Ich vermute, die Diskussion gehört in eine Paränese zur letzten Vater-unser-Bitte ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, s. dazu Anm. 16.

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und geduldig tragen,[3] weil er ständig das Sündigen in sich trage[4] (wenn er auch in anderer Weise sündigte als die Anklage lautet). Dass jemand ohne sein Verschulden derart leiden müsse, findet Basilides mit der πρόνοια des Schöpfers in Übereinstimmung, und zwar auch bei einem unschuldig leidenden Kind, auch bei den Leiden Jesu: "Er (Jesus) hat zwar nicht gesündigt, er war aber ähnlich dem Kinde, das leidet. Wenn du freilich den Disput mit noch mehr Gewalt weitertreiben würdest, so werde ich sagen, daß ein Mensch—wen auch immer du nennen wirst—eben bloß ein Mensch sei, aber gerecht ist Gott. Denn niemand ist—wie jemand sagte—rein von Schmutz (Hi 14,4 LXX)."[5] Diese Lehre empört Clemens, einmal, weil Basilides von Jesus "wie von einem Menschen"[6] spricht und ihm das posse peccare zuschreibt, zum andern, weil der Schöpfergott dann das Leiden der Kreatur, sogar das Leiden Unschuldiger nicht nur zulasse, sondern es positiv wolle und leite:[7] "Man darf also nicht glauben, dass er (Gott) selbst die Bedrückung bewirke; denn ein solcher Gedanke möge fern bleiben; es geziemt sich vielmehr, überzeugt zu sein, dass er diejenigen, die sie bewirken, nur nicht hindere, und daß er die vermessenen Taten der Widersacher zum Guten kehre."[8] Basilides denkt die All- und Alleinursächlichkeit des Schöpfers härter und konsequenter als Clemens ertragen kann, auch denkt

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[3] Es geht Basilides nur um diese Frage; er argumentiert paränetisch-pastoral. Basilides diskutiert nicht die Theodizeefrage der Aufklärung: zu einer solchen Diskussion ist ihm (und, soweit ich sehe, allen antiken Denkern) das menschliche Denkvermögen schlechthin unfähig. Löhr, *Basilides* spricht zwar beim 7. Fragment durchgehend von Theodizee, stellt aber 137 klar: "D. h. dieses Fragment will auch als ein Exempel lehrhafter, praktizierter Seelsorge angesichts der Verfolgungserfahrung verstanden sein."

[4] ἔχων μὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἁμαρτητικόν (284,20); die Wortbildung auf -ικός bezeichnet die Eignung. Basilides definiert: Die Menschen haben die Eigenheit in (!) sich, immer wieder zu sündigen. So wahrt Basilides einerseits den (jüdischen) Grundsatz, dass der Mensch als Geschöpf Gottes gut, ja sehr gut ist (Gen 1,31), andererseits, dass er immer wieder zum Sünder wird und der Vergebung bedarf.

[5] 284,28-285,3 Übersetzung Löhr, *Basilides* 124.

[6] 284,27f, die Einleitung des vorigen Zitats: . . . καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἄντικρυς ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου λέγει.

[7] Die πρόνοια Gottes ist nicht ein bloßes Vorauswissen, sondern die göttliche Lenkung des Geschehens in jedem Augenblick (lat. gubernatio); wie schon die Wahl des Terminus zeigt, übernimmt Basilides hier stoische und jüdisch-weisheitliche Vorstellungen. Energisch versichert Basilides 284,26 "Denn jede These werde ich eher vertreten als zugeben, das göttliche Lenken sei schlecht (κακὸν τὸ προνοοῦν)." (Übersetzung Schüngel)

[8] Str. IV 87,1 (286,14-16) als abschließende Argumentation des Clemens; Übers. Otto Stählin, BKV II Bd. 19,60.

Basilides die Endlichkeit und Leidverfallenheit der conditio humana konsequenter als Clemens. Der Schöpfer ermöglicht und leitet für Basilides jedes Wollen und Tun der Menschen, auch das böse, was natürlich die Verantwortung des Täters für sein Tun überhaupt nicht aufhebt.[9] Dennoch bleibt Gott auch für Basilides der schlechthin Gerechte, wie im Jesuswort Mt 19,17 ist er allein "gut". Aber Clemens glaubt, ihn hier angreifen zu können, freilich verschweigt er zunächst die diesbezügliche Argumentation des Angegriffenen. Basilides beschränkt sich in dem Text, den Clemens im Fragment 7 bietet, darauf, dass Christen auch unverdientes und ungerechtes Leiden als von Gott verfügt ertragen können, und zwar ohne die Menschen, die Unrecht tun, zu verteufeln. Letzteres ist der entscheidende Unterschied zu Clemens. Für diesen nämlich ist der Schöpfer gerecht, weil er Leid und Furcht als Straf-, Erziehungs- und Läuterungsmittel nur zulasse, nicht bewirke; böses Wollen und Tun rühre nämlich von einem anderen, gegenspielerischen Prinzip her, das die göttliche Willensordnung durcheinanderbringe und gegeneinander treibe: Clemens setzt also einen διάβολος an. Hinter den sündigen Taten, erst recht hinter der Verfolgung der Christen um des bloßen Christseins willen stehen für Clemens diabolische Mächte, dagegen gilt für Basilides: "Weder ist das Martyrium auf den Anschlag einer bösen, dämonischen Macht zurückzuführen, noch ist es ungerecht und empörend, daß die Christen für Ihr bloßes Christsein bestraft werden." (Löhr, *Basilides* 137). Nicht Basilides, wohl aber Clemens lehrt einen Dualismus der Prinzipien, Clemens freilich, ohne es sich einzugestehen.

Basilides argumentiert paränetisch. Beim Thema "unschuldig leiden" kennt und nennt er auch ein philosophisches Vorbild: Sokrates. Auch an ihm ist zu sehen, wie einer unverdientes Leiden hingenommen und getragen hat und ebenfalls die Menschen, die ihm Unrecht taten, nicht verteufelte. Denn das Zitat aus Platons Apologie 30 cd, das in diesem Zusammenhang in Str. IV 80,4 steht, ist wohl kein Einfall des Clemens, sondern sein (von ihm sehr schlecht eingebauter!) Fund bei Basilides. Die Ich-Stärke des Sokrates und seine Souveränität auch dem Tod gegenüber, die in der beliebten Kurzformel "Anytos und Meletos können mich zwar töten, aber schaden könnnen sie mir nicht" gefasst ist, sind für Basilides vielleicht ebenso vorbildlich wie die Leidensbereitschaft Jesu; jedenfalls fand

[9] Die rationalistischen Einwände, die Clemens Str. IV 83,1 bis 88,5 gegen die These des Basilides vorträgt, beruhen alle auf der Unterstellung, die göttliche πρόνοια sei ein Zwang, der den Menschen zur Marionette mache und seine Verantwortung aufhebe.

er das Beispiel des Sokrates als Argument brauchbar. Warum menschliche Bosheit bei Sokrates und Jesus und millionenfach sonst sich so mächtig durchsetzt, erklärt Basilides nicht. Aber Basilides lehrt mit Sokrates und Plato und allen Stoikern, dass nur das Unrecht, das einer tut, ihm schadet und ihn zerstört, nicht aber das Unrecht oder Leiden, das andere ihm antun. Innerhalb seiner Paränese zum Martyrerleiden genügt Basilides daher der Psalmvers "Der Herr ist für mich Beistand, nichts brauche ich zu fürchten; was könnte denn irgendein Mensch mir antun?" (Ps 117,6 LXX, mit SapSal 3,1 zitiert 284,2-4).

Basilides verdeutlicht den anthropologischen Grundsatz, dass nach dem Willen des Schöpfers Leiden und Sterben untrennbar mit der conditio humana verbunden sind und darum auch einen Unschuldigen "gerechterweise"[10] treffen, mit einem schönen Vergleich, den er ebenfalls der platonischen Tradition (Rep. 609 a) entnahm; der Vergleich empört Clemens und zwingt ihn, seinerseits Farbe zu bekennen: "Also kommen Leid und Furcht nicht, wie sie sagen, zu den Dingen[11] so hinzu wie der Rost zum Eisen, sondern sie kommen über die Seele auf Grund eines besonderen (nämlich diabolisch verursachten) Willensentschlusses (dessen, der sündigt bzw. dessen, der ungerecht urteilt und straft.)"[12]

Eisen rostet, das ist ganz natürlich, notwendig und selbstverständlich. Ebenso natürlich, notwendig und selbstverständlich werden Menschen bei ihrem alltäglichen Handeln schuldig, erst recht ist es natürlich, notwendig und verständlich, dass sie in Leiden kommen und Schlimmes fürchten

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[10] δίκαιος ist in der Antike keine moralische, sondern eine ontische Einordnung: δίκαιος ist, was zu einer geordneten, stimmigen Welt gehört, was da hinein "paßt" und dafür "taugt". So kann Basilides darauf bestehen, dass Kreaturen zwar mehr oder minder "gerecht" sein können, aber sie können niemals δίκαιοι in dem Sinne sein, wie der Einzige δίκαιος ist. Aber das Gut- und Gerechtsein dieses Gottes, der die Menschen nicht nur leidensfähig und sterblich schuf, sondern auch wirklich in Leiden bringt und sterben läßt, ist nicht aufweisbar, aber (für Christen!) "praktizierbar": sie können auch unverdientes, moralisch ganz ungerechtfertigtes Leiden tragen.

[11] Löhr, *Basilides* übersetzt 157 πράγμα richtiger mit "Kreaturen", noch deutlicher wäre, meine ich, "zu den im Alltag ihre Geschäfte betreibenden Menschen."

[12] Str. IV 88,4 (287,5-7) Übers. Otto Stählin, BKV II Bd. 19,61; Ergänzungen Schüngel. Die Übersetzung des letzten Satzes "sondern sie kommen zu der Seele aufgrund des eigenen Willens" (Löhr, *Basilides* 147 und 157) halte ich nicht für deutlich genug. Die Antithese des Kirchenvaters ist nur dann eine Antithese, wenn Menschen bzw. der Teufel eine von der Schöpfermacht Gottes unabhängige "besondere" Willensmacht haben.

müssen: das ist die conditio humana. Sie hat jeder Mensch hinzunehmen, wirklich wissend hinnehmen aber kann sie nur der Christ.[13]

Mit dem Gleichnis vom Rost am Eisen hat Basilides aber nicht nur literarisch eine Anleihe bei Plato aufgenommen, sondern er behauptet mit Plato ein Unvermögen der Gottheit: der Schöpfer konnte nicht anders als Eisen rostend, Menschen sündig und sterblich schaffen. Das ist es, was Clemens aufregt und irritiert. Plato hat dieses Theologoumenon ausführlich im Timaios entwickelt. Für viele Zeitgenossen des Basilides hatte der Timaios den Rang einer Offenbarungsschrift; die nun zu besprechende Erzählung von der Schöpfung der Einzelseelen im Timaios war damals allgemeines Bildungsgut.

In der phantastischen Lehr-Erzählung, wie die Seelen durch "Mischen" entstanden seien, behandelt Tim 34 c-35 b ausführlich das Werden des göttlichen Kosmos. Tim 41 d-42 e erzählt dann viel kürzer vom Werdegang der individuellen Menschenseelen:

> So sprach er und goss nun wieder in denselben Mischkrug, in welchem er vorher die Seele des Alls vermengend mischte, das, was von den Dingen noch übrig war, und mischte es zwar ziemlich auf dieselbe Weise, doch nicht mehr ebenso lauter, sondern an Reinheit zweiten und dritten Grades. Nachdem er das Ganze verbunden hatte, teilte er es in ebenso viele Seelen auf, wie Sterne waren, teilte jedem Stern je eine zu, und nachdem er sie gleichsam auf ein Fahrzeug gesetzt hatte, zeigte er ihnen die Natur des Alls und verkündete ihnen die vom Schicksal verhängten Gesetze: Das erste Entstehen sei für alle einheitlich, damit keines benachteiligt sei von ihm. Sie müssten aber nach ihrer Aussaat in die ihnen zukommenden Gestirne (wörtlich: Werkzeuge der Zeit)

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[13] Insofern widerspreche ich Löhr, der *Basilides* 158 vorträgt: "Das Bild vom Rost am Metall dient also in diesem Zusammenhang dazu, den Schöpfergott von der Verantwortung für das Schlechte und Häßliche in der Welt zu entlasten; gleichzeitig werden die Defizite seiner Kreaturen als bloße Akzidentien relativiert." Schon in der platonischen Tradition, die Löhr anführt, geht es nicht eigentlich um die Entlastung der Gottheit: diese kann ebensowenig Menschen ohne Defizite, ja schwere Defizite ins Dasein bringen wie Eisen, das nicht rostet. Nichts ist ohne "Schmutz" (ῥύπος). Diese Defizite sind keine Akzidentien im aristotelischen Sinne; empirisch und pastoral betrachtet—das ist die Perspektive des Basilides—sind es die Defizite, die bei den Menschen in Erscheinung treten: wir erleben uns selbst und die anderen als Mängelwesen, als unserem wahren Wesen entfremdet. Dies ist aber nicht dem Schöpfer vorzuwerfen, meint der Gnostiker, noch weniger aber einem Teufel als Gottes Gegenspieler zuzuschreiben. Wir sind und bleiben endliche, schwache Geschöpfe, und der Schöpfer weiß das. Darum vergibt er gerne, denn alle Sünden der Menschen entstehen aus (von den Leidenschaften) irregeleitetem Wollen (ἀκουσία) oder als Folge von Unverständnis (der Situation) (κατὰ ἄγνοιαν): so verstehe ich das 10. Fragment (Str. IV 24 (316.15)).

geboren werden als das gottesfürchtigste der Lebewesen; da jedoch die Natur des Menschen eine doppelte sei, solle das überlegene Geschlecht dasjenige sein, welches in der Folge den Namen "Mann" führe. Wenn sie nun nach dem Gesetz der Notwendigkeit den Körpern eingepflanzt worden seien (ἐμφυτευθεῖεν ἐξ ἀνάγκης) und ihr Körper bald einen Zugang, bald einen Abgang erfahre, werde erstens notwendig allen eine und dieselbe Sinneswahrnehmung auf Grund von zwingenden Eindrücken angeboren; zweitens eine mit Lust und Schmerz gemischte Liebe und außerdem Angst und Erzürnen und was alles daraus hervorgeht, sowie die diesen entgegengesetzten Gemütsbewegungen (Zuneigung und freudige Kooperation); kommen letztere zur Herrschaft, wird das Leben solcher Menschen ein gerechtes, unterliegen sie, ein ungerechtes. Wer aber die ihm zukommende Zeit wohl verlebt habe, der werde, wieder zum Wohnsitz des ihm zugehörigen Sterns zurückgekehrt, ein glückseliges und zu ihm passendes Leben führen; sei er aber dabei gescheitert, dann werde er bei einer zweiten Geburt. . . .

Übersetzung weitgehend Schleiermacher, Ergänzungen Schüngel.
Gr. und dt. Text nach Gunther Eigler, Plato Werke Bd. 7 Darmstadt ²1990.

Es folgt eine ausführliche Lehre von den erzieherischen Wiedergeburten.[14] Unwichtig für diese Diskussion (und wohl auch für Basilides) ist die Plato so wichtige Erklärung, wie die Menschen zu wirklichem Wissen (= Rückerinnerung an das vorher Geschaute) und zur Verständigung über die Sinnenwelt kommen. Für Basilides und die Diskussion hier ist wichtig, wie die Schöpfungskraft der Gottheit gedacht ist, nämlich als *sachlich beschränkt und vielfältig bedingt*, und wie der moralische Zustand der Menschen geschildert ist: *er ist "gemischt" und auf Bewährung angelegt.* Die Menschen sind in Männer und Frauen getrennt, gerade auch bezüglich der Seele, d. h. in ihren persönlichen Emotionen und Antrieben. So entstehe bei jedem Menschen eine je eigentümliche Gemengelage der Emotionen, und bei jedem Menschen komme alles darauf an, ob "Angst und Erzürnen und was alles daraus hervorgeht," oder ob "die diesen entgegengesetzten Gemütsbewegungen (Zuneigung und freudige Kooperation)" die Lebensführung bestimmen. Es ist dieses realistische, ja drastische, auf Erziehung und Selbsterziehung angelegte Bild vom Menschen, das Basilides interessierte und an das er gern anknüpfte.

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[14] Clemens behauptet Str. IV 83,2, Basilides setze voraus, "daß die Seele zuvor schon in einem anderen Leben gesündigt habe" (auch 88,1f). Vielleicht hat Clemens hier etwas mißverstanden, oder Basilides hat die platonische Erziehung durch immer neue Wiedergeburt referiert, ohne diese Lehre zu übernehmen. Diskussion dazu bei Löhr, *Basilides* 138-144 und 206-218.

Platon schiebt noch "junge (besser: mindere) Götter" ein, "die sterblichen Leiber zu gestalten und . . . herzustellen und dann zu herrschen und nach Kräften möglichst schön und gut das sterbliche Lebewesen fortwährend zu leiten, soweit es nicht selbst Urheber der es selbst betreffenden Übel würde (ὅτι μὴ κακῶν αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ γίγνοιτο αἴτιον Tim 42 e)". Diesen Ausweg, durch eine Vielstufigkeit des Göttlichen und eine von den Göttern unabhängige Willensmacht der Menschen den höchsten Gott von der Verantwortung für das Böse in der Menschenwelt zu entlasten, nimmt Basilides nicht. Er bleibt konsequent: Gott ist der Ἄρχων[15] schlechthin, also ist er auch der bestimmende Grund und Verursacher der individuellen Lebenslenkung (πρόνοια). Es ist im Schöpfungshandeln dieses Ἄρχων immer schon miteingeschlossen, dass Menschen sündigen und ihre Bosheit an anderen Menschen auslassen, wodurch diese dann unschuldig leiden.

Basilides hat im Zusammenhang der Diskussion des ungerechten Leidens auch positiv dargelegt, warum er diesen Schöpfergott doch gut und gerecht nennen kann; aber Clemens überging diese Argumentation, um leichter polemisieren zu können. Erst Str. IV 86,1 = Fragment 8 trägt er sie nach, allerdings nur verstümmelt. Basilides hat—vermutlich unter Berufung auf die Vater-unser-bitte "Und vergib uns, wie wie vergeben haben"[16]—ausgeführt:

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[15] ἡ πρόνοια (δὲ εἰ καὶ) ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρχοντος, ὥς φασιν, κινεῖσθαι ἄρχεται, ἀλλ' ἐγκατεσπάρη ταῖς οὐσίαις σὺν καὶ τῇ τῶν οὐσιῶν γενέσει πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων. (287,1-3). Clemens läßt unklar, wer dies lehrt. Ich meine, dies ist eine Gegenformulierung zu Tim 42 de und übersetze erläuternd: "Die göttliche Lenkung (der einzelnen menschlichen Tat) erhält den ersten Impuls ihres Tätigwerdens vom 'Beginner', ist aber ihren Lebenstagen eingesät worden direkt mit deren Anfang von seiten des Gottes, der über allem ist." Der Satz will den biblischen Gott als Erstursache festschreiben und doch die einzelne menschliche Tat vom Täter verantwortet sein lassen.—Welche seelsorgerischen und theologischen Folgerungen Basilides daraus zog, sieht man vielleicht an Str. IV 14, ein Text, der nach meiner Ansicht nie und nimmer von Clemens stammt.

[16] Dies und einige Richtigstellungen des Textes bei Basilides ergeben sich aus dem Parallelzitat Str. VII 81,1-2, wo Clemens die Formulierung des Basilides als eigene Weisheit ausgibt: "Nie trägt er (der vollkommene Gnostiker) denen, die sich gegen ihn verfehlt haben, etwas nach, sondern er verzeiht ihnen. Deshalb hat er auch das Recht zu beten und zu sprechen: 'Vergib uns, denn auch wir vergeben'. Denn auch dieses ist eines von den Dingen, die Gott will, dass wir nichts begehren und dass wir niemanden hassen; denn alle Menschen sind das Werk eines einzigen Willens." (Übersetzung Stählin BKV II. Reihe 20,85). Griechisch lautet die Parallele: ἔν γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο ὧν ὁ θεὸς βούλεται· μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμεῖν, μηδένα μισεῖν· ἑνὸς γὰρ θελήματος ἔργον οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι.

286,3 Εἰ δέ, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ Βασιλείδης,
ἕν μέρος[17] ἐκ τοῦ λεγομένου[18] θελήματος τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπειλήφαμεν
τὸ ἠγαπηκέναι ἅπαντα,
-ὅτι λόγον ἀποσῴζουσι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἅπαντα-,
ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμεῖν
καὶ τρίτον τὸ μισεῖν μηδὲ ἕν,
(θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ αἱ κολάσεις ἔσονται). 286,3-7 = Fragment 8

Offenkundig hat Clemens nur den dreifachen εἰ-Satz des Basilides zitiert, den folgenden Hauptsatz[19] aber weggebrochen und durch eine (gegenüber dem Bedingungssatz völlig alogische)[20] Folgerung ersetzt. Wenn der Satz des Basilides im Kontext der Diskussion um das Ertragen ungerechter Leiden stand (er steht ja noch beim Referenten, also Clemens, in diesem Kontext),[21] dann kann der Hauptsatz bei Basilides nur die Fähigkeit zum Ertragen ungerechter Leiden, z. B. des Martyriums um des bloßen Christennamens willen behauptet haben. Ich ergänze also in der Übersetzung den Satz in diesem Sinne:

> Wenn wir—wie Basilides persönlich sagt—aus dem (von Jesus) gelehrten Willen Gottes empfangen haben,
> einerseits dazu gekommen zu sein, schlechthin alle zu lieben,
> —der Grund dafür ist, dass wir alle zum Ganzen hin Rettung finden[22]—
> weiter, nichts zu begehren (als diese Liebeskraft),
> und drittens, nicht einen einzigen zu hassen,
> *dann ertragen wir auch Strafen, die uns ohne Grund treffen, und lieben sogar unsere Verfolger.* Str. IV 86,1 (286,3-7)

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[17] Basilides zählt nicht drei "Teile" auf, sondern drei Hinsichten der einen Heilsgabe. Löhr, *Basilides* 152 vermutet Akkomodation durch Clemens, ich stimme zu und verweise auf das in Spitzenstellung stehende ἕν in der Parallelstelle (s. vorangehende Anm.).

[18] Das irritierende λεγομένου mit "sogenannt" zu übersetzen (Stählin) macht wenig Sinn; ich vermute, dass Clemens hier manipuliert hat, nämlich wegstrich, wer einen solchen Gotteswillen lehrte, Jesus nämlich (s. Kontext Anm. 16). Entsprechend habe ich übersetzt.

[19] Grammatisch ist εἰ mit ind. und HS mit ind. ein Indefinitus, der logisch einen Kausalsatz vertritt, gedanklich also: "Weil wir empfangen haben, ..., ertragen wir ....".

[20] Mit der Folgerung "so werden mit dem Willen Gottes auch die Strafen verhängt" zwingt Clemens zwei Thesen des Basilides zusammen, um diesen zu diffamieren.

[21] Ebenso Löhr, *Basilides* 155: "Es ist m. E. durchaus möglich, daß Clemens diese basilidianische Regel ebenfalls im 23. Buch der <Exegetica> gefunden hat, d. h. im Kontext des von ihm zitierten, um die Theodizeefrage kreisenden Arguments. . . . Die von Basilides angedeutete Lösung könnte dann gelautet haben, daß auch das Schlechte und Unliebenswürdige Teil einer übergreifenden guten Ordnung ist."

[22] Basilides schreibt ein ausgezeichnetes und hoch differenziertes Griechisch; ich halte

Verständnis und Übersetzung dieses Fragments hängen zu allererst am Verständnis des Ausdrucks τὸ ἠγαπηκέναι ἅπαντα. Er bezeichnet die Offenbarungsgabe Gottes, das christliche Heilsgut. Es ist eine sehr ungewöhnliche Bezeichnung, wohl eine Spitzenaussage des Basilides. Auffällig ist die grammatische Form: das Perfekt bezeichnet ein In-diesen-Zustand-gekommen-Sein, ein Erreichthaben und Befähigtsein. Basilides geht es darum, dass der Christ den Nächsten nicht nur lieben soll, sondern dass er ihn lieben kann und es auch tatsächlich tut. Wenn er von Herzen und ehrlich beten kann "Und vergib uns, wie wir vergeben haben" (s. Text Anm. 16), dann übt er tatsächlich die Liebe, die Jesus wollte. Basilides beschreibt den jesuanischen Menschen, der mit dem Großmut Gottes zu vergeben versteht und seinem jeweiligen Nächsten in Liebe verbunden ist.[23] Basilides argumentiert vom vollkommenen Jünger Jesu her, sicherlich im Wissen, dass jeder Jünger Jesu zeitlebens auf dem Weg zur dieser Vollkommenheit ist. Vom jesuanischen Menschen her—und nur von ihm her!—ist für Basilides sichtbar, warum der Schöpfer doch gut und gerecht heißen kann, obwohl er diese Menschenwelt voller Unrecht, Zwang und Gewalt geschaffen hat und in Gang hält.

Genau das Gegenteil wird Basilides vorgeworfen: er habe den (bösen) Schöpfergott vom (guten) "Abba" Jesu getrennt und zwei Gottheiten gelehrt. Freilich hier im Zusammenhang der Diskussion des Märtyrerleidens macht Clemens diesen Vorwurf nicht; offenkundig gab das seine Vorlage nicht her. Aber an anderer Stelle behauptet Clemens, Basilides habe zwar eine einzige und einmalige Erschaffung der Welt, nicht aber einen einzigen Gott gelehrt.[24] Das ist entweder Verleumdung oder grobes Mißverstehen. Basilides

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es für ausgeschlossen, dass er zu ἅπαντα ein pluralisches Prädikat konstruiert hat, wie Löhr, *Basilides* 152 Am. 2 annimmt. Logisches Subjekt ist jedenfalls das "wir" in ὑπειλήφαμεν, das aber nicht, wie Boulluec (in Löhrs Anmerkung) vorschlägt, mit "les Basilidiens" zu übersetzen ist, sondern mit "wir Christen".—Ich vermute, Clemens hat mit leichter Hand πάντες (ἄνθρωποι) (s. Anm. 16) durch ἅπαντα ersetzt, um Basilides eine stoische Formel in die Schuhe zu schieben.—Sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass der ganze Einschub von Clemens stammt, denn auch er hätte den Grammatikfehler vermieden.

[23] "Die hier vertretene universale Liebe dürfte in erster Linie eine basilidianische Rezeption christlicher, insbesondere jesuanischer Ethik darstellen." (Löhr, *Basilides* 154) "Man begegnet in dieser basilidianischen doxa also gerade nicht einem weltfeindlichen Dualismus, sondern eher einer gewissen >Weltfrömmigkeit<, die in jeder Kreatur die Beziehung auf das umgreifende Ganze aufsucht und findet." (Löhr, *Basilides* 154f) Leider spielen diese Einsichten in der Studie Löhrs überhaupt keine Rolle.

[24] Str. V 74,3 (376,3-5): Μωυσῆς. . . . μονογενῆ τε κόσμον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Βασιλείδης, καὶ τὸν ἕνα, ὡς οὐκέτι τῷ Βασιλείδῃ δοκεῖ, κατήγγελλε θεόν. Vergl. Löhr, *Basilides* 190-197.

wollte lieber anstößig als sentimental von Gott sprechen, er dachte die Alleinursächlichkeit des Schöpfergottes ebenso radikal wie das Neue der Botschaft Jesu: sie gibt die Fähigkeit zum ἠγαπηκέναι, ja sogar die Fähigkeit, ganz unverdientes, ungerechtes Leiden zu ertragen. Eine Verdoppelung Gottes wird damit gewiß nicht gelehrt, im Gegenteil: der Ἄρχων (Str. IV 88,3 (287,1)) ist der, der Weltordnung so einrichtete (οὕτω διατετάχθαι τὴν διοίκησιν (286,33), dass es darin unverdient Leidende gibt und sogar Märtyrer bloß um des Christseins willen, er ist aber auch der, der dafür sorgte, dass einige dahin gekommen sind, diese Leiden zu ertragen und die, die sie zufügen, noch zu lieben (τὸ ἠγαπηκέναι ἅπαντα 286,4). Clemens referiert Str. II 36,1 (132,5-7) den hierhin gehörenden Lehrsatz des Basilides in oratio recta (Löhr 61-70):

> Denn nicht nur diese Welt, sondern erst recht die Elite hütet der, der über allen ist als einer, der (seine Elite von der Welt) aussondert.[25]
>
> (Schlußsatz von Frg. 4)

"Der über allen" (s. dazu Löhr, *Basilides* 77, Anm. 70) hütet mit seiner πρόνοια diese (Menschen-)Welt, in besonderer Weise aber die, die auf die Rede des "dienenden Geistes", nämlich Jesu, hören.

B. *Valentin*

Mit der Überleitung, dazu wäre noch viel zu sagen, schwenkt Clemens in Str. IV 89,1 vom Rost-am Eisen-Vergleich über zu Valentin und referiert—zunächst kommentarlos—das sogenannte 4. Fragment.[26] Darauf folgt

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[25] Schon in der Wortstellung ist der Satz unübersetzbar brillant formuliert: Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκλογὴν διακρίνας ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι προπέμπει. Der Autor nutzt den Doppelsinn von προπέμπω: ich bringe hervor und ich hüte/leite (als Hirt). Der Satz ist eine Spitzenaussage des Basilides, die er mit Sorgfalt formulierte.

Dieses Fragment 4 (Löhr, *Basilides* 61-78) referiert als Lehre der ἀμφὶ τὸν Βασιλείδην, der "Archon" sei außer Fassung geraten, als wider sein Erwarten das Evangelium verkündet wurde. Clemens versteht diesen "Archon" als einen zweiten, minderen Gott; jedenfalls wird bis heute der Vorwurf erhoben, da sei von zwei Göttern die Rede und dies in unangemessener Redeweise. Doch sollte man nicht unterstellen, die gnostischen Lehrer, die diese These aufstellten und propagierten, beziehungsweise ihre Zuhörer hätten nicht gewußt, wie anthropomorph und unangemessen ihre Redeweise war. Weder Basilides noch seine Schule haben mit dieser provozierenden Redeweise zwei Götter gelehrt, sondern ein doppeltes Handeln, nämlich doppeltes προπέμπειν des einen biblischen Gottes.—Weiteres zu dieser wohl nicht von Basilides stammenden Redeweise s. Teil D dieses Aufsatzes, bes. Anm. 55.

[26] Christoph Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentins, Tübingen 1992 (WUNT

ein sehr kurzer Kommentar, der zum folgenden 5. Fragment überleitet. Diese überleitende Passage lautet:

> Auch er (Valentin) nimmt nämlich, ähnlich wie Basilides, ein von Natur zur Seligkeit bestimmtes Geschlecht an und glaubt, dass eben dieses auserlesene Geschlecht von oben herab zu uns gekommen sei, um den Tod zu vernichten, und dass die Entstehung des Todes das Werk dessen sei, der die Welt erschuf.
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> Deshalb fasst er auch jenes Schriftwort "Niemand wird das Angesicht Gottes sehen und am Leben bleiben" in dem Sinn auf, dass damit Gott als Urheber des Todes bezeichnet sei.
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> Von diesem Gott spricht er im folgenden andeutungsweise, wenn er wörtlich schreibt:
>
> "In dem gleichen Maße, wie das Bild hinter dem lebenden Angesicht . . ."
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> (Str. IV 89,4f (287,15-22) Übersetzung Stählin BKV Clemens IV, 62)

Clemens sagt zunächst, was ihn am vorangehenden Text (Fragment 4) interessiert: er sieht darin die Dogmatik eines "von Natur zur Seligkeit bestimmten Geschlechts". Er hat also diesen Valentintext soweit verstanden, dass darin eine entschiedene Antithese zur kirchlichen Erlösungslehre steckt. Er benennt diese Antithese reichlich pauschal, aber nicht falsch mit dem ihm geläufigen Kampf- und Stichwort "φύσει σῳζόμενον γένος", wobei er aber nicht versteht (oder nicht verstehen will), dass Valentin alle Menschen, sogar die, die vor Jesu Auftreten lebten, zu diesem Geschlecht zählt.[27] Freilich lehrt Valentin, dass die Menschen nur potentialiter und der Intention ihres Schöpfers nach unsterblich sind, realiter sind es nur die wenigen, welche die nötige Selbsteinsicht gewinnen und "Gotthaftigkeit" durch ihr Tätigsein realisieren. Aus dieser gnostischen, keineswegs nur valentinischen Anthropologie machen die Kirchenväter eine "Menschenklassenlehre":

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165) 118-149; er kommt 149 zu dem Ergebnis "Wenn aber unsere Deutung des Fragments zutrifft, hätte er gleichzeitig von dem lebenbringenden Tod gesprochen, den Christen in der Taufe schon durchlitten haben, wie es Paulus in Röm 6,3f unmißverständlich ausdrückt.". Dagegen interpretierte Jens Holzhausen Gnosis und Martyrium. Zu Valentins viertem Fragment *ZNW* 85 (1994) 116-131 das 4. Fragment als Abwehr einer Theologie der Martyriumssehnsucht. Ich sehe darin eine scharfe Polemik gegen die kirchliche Lehre vom heilschaffenden Tod Jesu, s. Paul Schüngel Gnostische kontra neutestamentliche Soteriologie Zu Valentins viertem Fragment *Vigiliae Christianae* 50 (1996) 257-265.

[27] Plotin, der den Gnostikern gegenüber sehr kritisch ist, bezeugt völlig eindeutig, dass diese keine Menschenklassen unterschieden. Im Gegenteil: Plotin ist empört darüber, dass die Gnostiker jeden Menschen, auch den schlechtesten, höher werten als die unwandelbaren Gestirne: "Ebenso ungereimt ist es, wenn ihre eigene Seele, ja die des elendesten Menschen, unsterblich und göttlich sein soll, der ganze Himmel und die Gestirne droben aber keinen Teil an der unsterblichen Seele haben sollen, die doch aus viel reinerem und edlerem Stoff bestehen" (*Enn.* 2,9 Gegen die Gnostiker 5,8-11, ebenso 18,17-21; Übersetzung Richard Harder). Vergl. Anm. 40 und 42!

wenige Menschen seien ad salutem prädestiniert, hätten die Gnosis und könnten nicht fallen, gleich was sie tun, wogegen die vielen ad damnationem prädestiniert seien und nie ihr Heil fänden, gleich was sie tun. So wird aus der differenzierten Lehre Valentins ein Popanz, gegen den sich prächtig polemisieren läßt.

Clemens schließt nun einen zweiten Vorwurf an: Valentin lehre, "dass der Tod seine Herkunft dadurch habe, dass der Schöpfer tätig geworden sei".[28] Offensichtlich klingt die These in seinen Ohren ungeheuerlich. Clemens macht hier Valentin einen ähnlichen Vorwurf wie vorhin Basilides: "Denn weder litt der Herr mit Willen des Vaters, noch werden die Verfolgten mit Willen Gottes verfolgt." Die Tatsache, dass einer leiden und sterben muß, obwohl er keinerlei persönliche Schuld trägt, wie die Tatsache, dass die Menschen insgesamt und ausnahmslos dem Tod verfallen sind, kann Clemens nur als eine teuflische Vereitelung des ursprünglichen Schöpfungswillens ansehen. Valentin aber formuliert polemisch, dass "der Tod seine Herkunft dadurch habe, dass der Schöpfer tätig geworden sei". Dies ist aber keine allzu kühne These, wenn man sich in Valentins dialektisches Denken eingelesen hat. Wenn man von Valentins 4. Fragment ge-

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[28] Die Formulierung θανάτου δὲ γένεσιν ἔργον εἶναι τοῦ κτίσαντος (287,18) ist in ihrer Prägnanz schwer zu übersetzen. Markschies nimmt sie nicht zum von ihm entdeckten und glücklich mit 4a bezeichneten Fragment, obwohl Clemens sie ausdrücklich Valentin zuschreibt, sondern aus 89,5 nur die Worte ὡς θανάτου αἰτίου (287,20) (s. aber Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 149 Anm. 178!).

Ein ἔργον ist das Resultat einer planmäßig unternommenen Anstrengung, ein bestelltes Feld z. B. oder eine Befestigungsanlage, bzw. die Anstrengung selbst. Geradezu juristisch wird festgestellt: Der Schöpfer hat durch eine gewollte, planmäßig unternommene Tat den Tod ins Dasein gebracht. Die Formulierung *polemisiert* gegen die Auffassung, der Tod des Menschen sei erst im Nachhinein und aufgrund der Sünde gegen den ursprünglichen Willen Gottes in die Welt gekommen. Die Formulierung schließt auch aus, dass Valentin von einem Absturz himmlischer Substanz in die materielle Welt in dem Sinne gesprochen habe, dass dies ein Unglück, eine Fehlentwicklung war. Andererseits nimmt die Formulierung die Vorstellung von Tim 42 a auf, dass nach dem Willen des Schöpfers "ihr Körper bald einen Zugang, bald einen Abgang erfahre". Thema ist das physische Sterben. Valentins Formel von Gott als θανάτου αἴτιος nimmt terminologisch die Formulierung Tim 42 e ὅτι μὴ κακῶν αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ γίγνοιτο αἴτιον auf: in Übereinstimmung mit Plato, aber gegen Paulus gilt hier der physische Tod nicht als (Straf-) Übel, sondern ausdrücklich als Gottes ἔργον.

In der Formel von Anm. 15 ἡ πρόνοια καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρχοντος κινεῖσθαι ἄρχεται (287,1) ist die göttliche Lenkung und All-Verfügung Thema; Valentins Formulierung θανάτου γένεσιν ἔργον εἶναι τοῦ κτίσαντος stimmt dazu, denn auch sie stellt den Schöpfer strikt als Allein-Verursacher vor.

lernt hat, worin die Unsterblichkeits-Ausstattung aller Menschen liegt, kann man ohne Schwierigkeiten sagen und festhalten, dass auch der physische Tod eine Mitgift Gottes ist, und zwar von Anfang der Schöpfung an. "Wer Gott als Urheber des Todes denkt, muß nicht notwendig zwei Götter lehren."[29] Bei Valentin ist es der eine und gleiche Gott, der jeden Menschen keimhaft unsterblich schafft und insofern der schlechthin Gute ist, der aber auch die Menschen als kontingente Wesen will und von Anfang an als solche gewollt hat, insofern muss der Schöpfer "Urheber des Todes" genannt werden. Gott tritt den Menschen mit beiden Aspekten entgegen. Aber diese beiden Aspekte sind nicht gleichrangig. Wie Valentin mit Sorgfalt im Fragment 1 unterscheidet, ist die Unsterblichkeitsausstattung, der "Keimling der oberen Ousia", Gottes höchst eigene und direkte Gabe, ja ein Anteilgeben an seinem eigenen Leben,[30] während das Todesschicksal bedingt ist durch die Kontingenz alles dessen, was entsteht und vergeht, also in gewissen Sinne ein Werk der "Engel" ist. Diese Dialektik Valentins begreift Clemens nicht. Aber ich finde, diese Dialektik ist völlig einsichtig; ich sehe keine Schwierigkeiten, dieses von Markschies als Nr. 4a gezählte Fragment Valentin selbst zuzuschreiben. Ob freilich Valentin seine These an der Exegese von Ex 33,20 festgemacht hat, scheint mir nicht sicher, das riecht ein wenig nach künstlicher Konstruktion durch den Referenten.

Mit der Bemerkung, Valentin spreche "andeutungsweise" von diesem Gott, der den Tod erschaffen habe, führt Clemens nun das sogenannte 5. Fragment (287,22-27) an:

> Ebensoviel, wie ein Gemälde geringer ist als die lebendige Person, ebensoviel geringer (an Seinskraft) ist die Welt gegenüber dem das Leben gebenden Aion.[31]

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[29] Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 150 mit Berufung auf Sir 11,14.

[30] Wörtlich genommen drückt sich Valentin noch viel brutaler aus: es ist ein Anteilgeben an Gottes eigener Substanz. Aber Valentin ist nicht Aristoteles, er spricht als Pädagoge und meint ganz umgangssprachlich das "Eigentum", das "Eigene" des schlechthin überweltlichen Gottes.

[31] Das Wort an sich ist vieldeutig und dunkel, s. den großen Exkurs bei Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 157-166. Aber seine Bedeutung *hier* ist nicht dunkel: es ist eindeutig eine Gottesbenennung, aber wie oft bei Valentin eine verhüllende. (Die Herkunft dieser Gottesbenennung liegt, vermute ich, in der Liturgie der hellenistischen Juden und Christen.) Viele Forscher freilich haben "Aion" als das Gesamt der jenseitigen Ideenwelt verstanden, so z. B. Hans Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* (Stuttgart ^{5}1985 = Kröners TB 32) 285: "Das ist zunächst reiner Platonismus. Ein geistiger Kosmos, die Ideenwelt, hier der lebendige Äon, als das Urbild auf der einen, diese unsere sichtbare Welt auf der anderen

> Was ist nun die Ursache, dass es solch ein Bild gibt?
> Es ist die erhabene Bedeutung der Person, die dem Maler das Vorbild (τύπος) gegeben hat, so dass die Person in Bezug auf ihren Würdenamen (wörtlich: durch ihren Namen) geehrt wird. Denn nie wird die gemalte Gestalt ursprungsgleich ("authentisch") gefunden, der Würdenamen des Dargestellten (wörtlich: sein Name) jedoch füllt das auf, was in der Nachbildung fehlt.
> Da ist ein Zusammenwirken: Gerade das, was unsichtbar ist an Gott, bewirkt, das Geschaffene vertrauenswürdig zu machen.

Clemens will mit diesem Zitat beweisen, dass Valentin einen Schöpfergott "Demiurg" vom wahren Gott getrennt habe.[32] Davon steht freilich in Valentins Text gar nichts, und das hat auch Clemens soweit bemerkt, dass er einleitend sagt, Valentin spreche von diesem Demiurgen nur "andeutungsweise". Offenkundig ist Cemens in Beweisnot.

Interpretation des 5. Fragments

"Die Gedanken . . . scheinen viel weniger kompliziert, als die Erläuterung, die ihnen in seiner Schule gegeben werden. Er behandelt den Gegensatz von Gott und Welt. Diese ist ebenso unvollkommen im Verhältnis zu jenem, wie ein Porträt unvollkommen ist im Verhältnis zu seinem Original. Dann aber entsteht aber die Frage: Warum wurde überhaupt eine so unvollkommene Welt erschaffen? Valentin bleibt im Bild: ein Porträt wird nur von einem bedeutenden Antlitz geschaffen; der Maler setzt den Namen des Dargestellten zum Porträt, und so hat dieser selbst Ehre durch die Darstellung, auch wenn sie das Original nur unvollkommen wiedergibt." (Erwin Preuschen, RE XX,400)

Diese Interpretation hat weithin Anerkennung gefunden,[33] und sie ist insofern auch völlig richtig, als der Vergleich *den Gegensatz* zwischen Gott und Welt erläutern will. Aber an der entscheidenden Stelle ist diese Interpretation nicht einsichtig. Die Sachhälfte des Vergleichs stimmt nicht. Dass der Schöpfung irgendetwas wie ein beglaubigender Name beigefügt ist,

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Seite." Doch ergibt sich aus dem Thema des Textes, dass "Aion" hier eine Gottesbenennung ist, auch Clemens hat so verstanden.—Wenn man mit Markschies interpretiert, "daß nicht mehr von der Güte des Schöpfers als Grund der Güte der Schöpfung geredet wird, sondern von der *Güte der Ideen Gottes* als ihrem Grund" (*Valentinus Gnosticus?* 183, Hervorhebung Markschies), ist zwischen dem eigentlichen Gott und die Ideenwelt noch ein unübersteigbarer ὅρος angenommen, wie Irenäus von Valentin Haer I 11,1 (SC 264,169) referiert.

[32] "Der Ausdruck Οὗτος ὁ θεός soll schon die Trennung zwischen dem wahren Gott und dem Demiurgen, der nur sein Abbild darstellt, vorbereiten; von dieser Trennung her interpretiert Clemens das Fragment." Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 154.

[33] s. Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 182.

so dass die Menschen ablesen können, wer das Vorbild sei, das leuchtet nicht ein, so etwas gibt es nicht. Es ist doch gerade nicht so, wie Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 183 formuliert: ". . . dann beglaubigt Gott die defiziente Schöpfung sozusagen mit eigenen Händen, garantiert den Zusammenhang zwischen Urbild und Abbild durch einen eigenen Akt." Es gibt keinen solchen eigenen Akt, auch lehrt Valentin auf keinen Fall eine natürliche Gotteserkenntnis wie einige Philosophen, Paulus in Röm 1,19f und das Vaticanum I. Es hat auch keinen Sinn zu fragen, wer der Maler ist,[34] und es steht nicht im Text Valentins, dass der Maler den *Namen* des Abgebildeten dazusetze. Valentin lehrte, denke ich, etwas ganz anderes: Es ist der Betrachter, der das Kaiserbild trotz seiner Mängel als solches erkennt und achtet, genauer, es ist das *Wissen*[35] *des Betrachters.* Wer die Welt und vor allem die Menschenwelt ansieht, der kann durchaus zur Meinung kommen, sie sei das Werk böswilliger Dämonen oder einer haßerfüllten, blind waltenden Heimarmene, er kann mit Demokrit darin das Zufallsspiel der frei fallenden und sich zusammenballenden Atome sehen, ja er kann dazu kommen, dass sie nichts sei als ein Mischmasch aus Dummheit, Irrtum und Gewalt. Solcherlei Welterfahrungen gibt es doch tatsächlich, und kein noch so stringenter Gottesbeweis kann sie aus der Erfahrung beseitigen. Erst wenn jemand die *Gnosis* vom "einzigen guten Vater" gewonnen hat, nämlich *erfahren* hat, wie ihn dieser Vater von innen heraus heilt, erst dann und nur dann kann *dieser* die (Menschen-)Welt verstehen als (durchaus mangelhaftes!) Abbild *dieses* gütigen Vaters. Es ist für Valentin nicht so, wie die Theologen (nicht nur die christlichen, auch z. B. die stoischen!) üblicherweise lehren, dass der Blick auf die Schöpfung mit ihrer vielfältig gestuften Ordnung und ihrem harmonischen Zusammenspiel den Gottesglauben vorbereite oder ermögliche, sondern gerade umgekehrt: erst die gnostische Gotteserfahrung macht die Menschenwelt als Schöpfung und Bild Gottes (Gen 1,27) verständlich.[36] Ebensowenig, wie derjenige, der eine Fahne mit senkrechten grün-weiß-grünen Streifen sieht, die Wirklichkeit dessen, was

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[34] So mit Nachdruck auch Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 171 "Die Frage nach dem Analogon des <<Malers>> hat offenbar Clemens Alexandrinus (oder dessen Quelle) aufgebracht und den modernen Auslegern vorgegeben" und 178 "In die Irre (nämlich aus der Bildebene hinaus) würde die Frage führen, *wessen* Name die Defizienzen der Schöpfung auffüllt . . .".

[35] Die gnostische Tradition kennt dieses Motiv, vergl. Markschies *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 179, besonders Anm. 172; Markschies verweist u. a. auf Irenäus, *haer.* I 21,4, s. nächste Fußnote.

[36] Irenäus, *haer.* I 21,4: "Da das Defektsein (der erlebten Welt) und die Leiden (der

er sieht, begreifen kann, wenn er nicht weiß, dass dies die Nationalflagge Nigerias ist, ebensowenig kann derjenige, der nicht die jesuanische Gnosis gewonnen hat, verstehen, dass diese in vieler Hinsicht so böse und quälerische Menschenwelt doch dem Willen eines guten Gottes, ja des schlechthin gütigen "Abba" entsprungen ist.

Mehr noch als um das bloße Verstehen geht es Valentin um das Trauen-Können. Valentin ist Pädagoge, nicht spekulativer Philosoph, er weiß: Was die Menschen brauchen und suchen ist das Vertrauen-Können in einer sozialen Welt, in der sie leben müssen, obwohl sie dort manch bittere Erfahrung gemacht haben und weiter machen. Valentin sieht hier ein Zusammenwirken, das freilich nur der Gnostiker sehen kann: "Gerade das, was unsichtbar ist an Gott, bewirkt, das Geschaffene vertrauenswürdig zu machen." Es ist die Güte und Menschenfreundlichkeit dieses Vaters, die "unsichtbar an Gott sind", denn sie sind nur dem Gnostiker erfahrbar. Nur für den, dem *dieses* Unsichtbare Erfahrung und also die ihn bestimmte *Gnosis* geworden ist, gibt es dieses Zusammenwirken: seine innere Einsicht geht mit dem, was ihm von seiten der Menschenwelt widerfährt, zusammen zu dem Ergebnis, dass er dieser schlimmen Welt *trotzdem* traut.[37]

Anders gesagt lehrt Valentin: Es gibt die Welt, weil Gott sie wollte und seine eigene Güte hineinlegte: diese Welt—und besonders manche Menschen!—*repräsentieren* den schlechthin guten Gott, aber nur so, wie ein Kaiserbild die imperiale Machtfülle des Kaisers oder eine Nationalflagge die Souveränität und Ehre eines Staates repräsentieren: es gehört ein Wissen dazu, um verständig zu sehen, was da gezeigt wird. Die Absicht Valentins ist nicht, die Schönheit oder Güte der Schöpfung irgendwie objektiv aufzuweisen, sondern umgekehrt: Erst das Wissen um den schlechthin guten Abba kann einem Vertrauen geben in diese Menschenwelt voll Bosheit,

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Menschen) durch Unverständnis (ἄγνοια) bestehen, wird durch Einsicht (γνῶσις) der (Interpretations-)Zusammenhang, der aus dem Unverständnis stammt, als Ganzer aufgelöst, so dass die Einsicht die Erlösung des Menschen ist, der auf sein Innen schaut." (Übersetzung Schüngel). Der Satz ist nur sinnvoll, wenn er nicht von der Objektwelt, sondern von der Wertung der Objektwelt handelt, ich interpretiere daher ἔνδον ἄνθρωπος (SCh 264,304, wörtlich: Innenmensch) als den Menschen, der sich selbst und die Welt verstehen möchte. Mit (κατα)λύω ist hier der entscheidende Begriff des 4. Fragments Valentins aufgenommen.

[37] Ein später, aber sehr präziser Nachklang dieser Lehre Valentins findet sich im Diognetbrief: "Dann (wenn du die jesuanische Liebe übst) kannst du, obwohl noch auf Erden, doch wahrnehmen, dass Gott vom Himmel her sein Regiment führt (πολιτεύεται); erst dann kannst du anfangen, die Geheimnisse Gottes zu bezeugen, . . ., erst dann kannst du die Täuschung und die Wahnideen, die aus der Welt(betrachtung) kommen, aburteilen, wenn du nämlich das wahre 'Im-Himmel-leben' verstehst, . . ." Dg 10,7.

Dummheit und nackter Gewalt; erst diese Gnosis gibt den Mut, sich trotz dieser Erfahrungen zu engagieren und "nichts von sich zu stoßen, was . . . kommt", sondern "alles freundlich anzunehmen und durch nichts unrein zu werden, weil da eine Meerestiefe an Vollmacht ist".[38]

C. *Plotins Stellungnahme zum 5. Fragment Valentins*

Wie tiefsinnig und differenziert Valentin argumentiert, sieht man sehr schön, wenn man einen antiken, heute noch sehr angesehenen Kritiker des 5. Fragments zu Worte kommen läßt. Plotin schreibt:

> Wenn er (der Kosmos) aber das Obere nicht selber ist, sondern nur abbildet, so liegt eben dies im Wesen der Sache: denn sonst gäbe es keine Welt mehr. Dass er aber ein unähnliches Abbild sei, ist falsch, es fehlt ihm an nichts von allem, was einem schönen naturgeschaffenen Nachbild (καλὴν εἰκόνα φυσικήν) offensteht.
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> Plotin *Enn.* 2,9 Gegen die Gnostiker 8,17-20, Übersetzung Harder

Es macht nichts, dass der Platoniker Plotin die Welt als Bild der himmlischen Welt ansieht, nicht wie Valentin biblisch die Menschen in der Welt als Bild Gottes. Einig sind sich die beiden, dass diese irdische Welt nur Repräsentant der himmlischen ist; der Differenzpunkt aber liegt in der Wertung dieser Repräsentation. Plotin sieht auf den Kosmos im antiken Sinne und durchaus noch mit den Augen der Antike: Kosmos ist der ganze Bereich des Erfahrbaren, und die sichtbare Natur ist ihr vornehmster Teil. Dass dieser Kosmos nur ein "dürftiges"[39] Bild der himmlischen Gegenwelt sei, ist für Plotin eine Lästerung.[40] Es gibt für ihn nichts in der vielfach gestuften Hierarchie des Kosmos, das nicht seinen Platz und seine Würde

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[38] Porphyrius, *Abst.* I 42,2/3, bei Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 411-413: ὅπου δὲ βυθὸς ἐξουσίας, πάντα δέχονται καὶ ὑπ'οὐδενὸς μιαίνονται. Dies ist der Schlußsatz eines tiefsinnigen Vergleichs der Fähigkeit des Weltmeers und der Menschen, Schlimmes zu ertragen und Übel, die kommen, zu "verdauen". Ich glaube gute Gründe zu haben, dieses Gleichnis Valentin zuzuschreiben.

[39] So der schöne Übersetzungsvorschlag Preuschens RE XX,399.

[40] "Sie (= die gnostischen Christen) jedoch sind solche, die nicht diese Schöpfung ehren (οὐ τιμῶντες ταύτην τὴν δημιουργίαν) und auch nicht diese Erde, vielmehr reden sie davon, ihnen sei eine neue Erde erstanden, zu der hin sie dereinst gelangen wollen: es sei dieses (Hingelangen), welches den Kosmos sinnvoll mache (λόγον εἶναι κόσμου)." *Enn.* 2,9,5,23-26, Übersetzung Schüngel; siehe auch Anm. 27, die Zitate aus *Enn.* 2,9 im nächsten Absatz und Anm. 42.—Die gnostische These verschlägt Plotin den Atem: Dass der λόγος τοῦ κόσμου erst durch ein bestimmtes Handeln der Menschen, also *erst im Nachhinein zur Welt hinzukomme*, das ist für Plotin Irrsinn und hybride Absage an jegliche εὐσέβεια.

hätte: auch das Materiellste, Schlechteste hat seinen Rang.[41] Valentin aber schaut auf die Menschenwelt, die Natur draußen ist ihm offenbar ganz gleichgültig: darin ist Valentin ein völlig un-antiker Mensch. Und Valentin schaut auf diese Menschenwelt mit Augen, die durch die Schule des Pentateuch und Jesu gegangen sind. Weil für Valentin die Menschen und ihr tatsächliches Handeln das Entscheidende an der Erfahrungswelt sind, wird *diese geschichtliche Welt* unheimlich und beängstigend. Der Perspektivenwechsel und die Wandlung, die die biblische Tradition vermitteln, lassen den κόσμος = die Menschenwelt in seiner ganzen Schrecklichkeit und Verlorenheit erkennen. Erst die gnostischen Christen können die Negativerfahrungen, die sie mit sich und den anderen Menschen machen, wirklich zulassen und wahrhaben, denn sie wissen: "Wir sind aus Gott, die ganze Welt jedoch steht unter der Macht des Bösen" (1 Joh 5,19).

Plotin scheint sich über den (in Rom populär gewordenen?) "Gemälde-Vergleich" Valentins mächtig geärgert zu haben; er hat offenbar gespürt, wie sehr er den Kern seines Weltverständnisses zersetzte. In seiner Schrift "Gegen die Gnostiker" kommt er noch mindestens zweimal auf diesen Vergleich zu sprechen. *Enn.* 2,9,4,12-15 führt er an: "Denn was für einen Vorteil wollte sie (die Allseele) sich denn versprechen von der Weltschaffung? Eine lächerliche Behauptung, sie wolle sich selbst damit zu Ehren bringen, und eine bloße Übertragung von irdischen Bildhauern." (Übersetzung Harder) Es ist für Plotin ein lächerlicher Anthropozentrismus, dass die Welt um des Menschen willen geschaffen sein solle, und es ist für ihn ein lächerlicher Anthropomorphismus, daß der Weltschöpfer die Menschen geschaffen habe, "um sich dadurch zu Ehren zu bringen". Am allerwenigsten aber kann Plotin die Welterfahrung der Gnostiker gelten lassen: es ist keine böse und schreckliche Welt, in der die Menschen leben. "Es kann auch nicht zugegeben werden, dass der Kosmos schlecht geraten sei, weil es in ihm viel Widriges gibt. Denn es hieße ihm zu hohen Anspruch aufbürden, wollte man verlangen, dass er mit der geistigen Welt gleich sei, und nicht bloß ein Abbild von ihr. Denn ein Abbild der oberen Welt, welches schöner wäre als dieser Kosmos, kann man sich nicht vorstellen." (*Enn.* 2,9,4,24-28, Übersetzung Harder).

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[41] "In Plotins Werk finden sich keineswegs nur ähnlich positive Aussagen über die Materie. Hier aber war ihm daran gelegen, im Kontrast zu einer kosmosfeindlichen Lehre eindeutig und ohne Einschränkung das Bild einer bis ins Letzte vom Göttlichen bestimmten und erleuchteten Welt zu fixieren." Karin Alt, *Philosophie gegen Gnosis: Plotins Polemik in seiner Schrift II 9* Mainz 1990 20.

Anders als Plotin kann Valentin die vielen Unheilerfahrungen bei sich und den andern zulassen, weil er eine Möglichkeit der Überwindung dieses Unheilszustandes kennt. Für ihn wird dieser Zustand überwunden durch die Handlungsmöglichkeiten, die Jesus eröffnet hat, weil jesuanisches Handeln in Weltüberlegenheit stellt. Was die Meschalim und Gleichnisse Jesu im verständigen Menschen wecken, macht für einen solchen Menschen jenen "Ozean an Vollmacht"[42] konkret und erlebbar, der nach gnostischer Auffassung den eigentlichen Menschen ausmacht. Nicht eine Lehre, sondern eine Lebensweise und ihre Praxis überwinden schrittweise den Unheilszustand, in dem die Menschen von ihren eigenen Antrieben und Möglichkeiten wie von Teufeln zerrüttet und gejagt werden:

> Einer nur ist gut! Sein offenes Sprechen—nämlich durch den Sohn—ist sein öffentliches Erscheinen. . . . Solange es (das menschliche Herz) nicht Fürsorge erfährt, ist es unrein und ein Wohnort vieler Teufel. Wenn aber der Vater, der allein gut ist, es wie ein Arzt besucht, wird es geheilt und mit Licht durchstrahlt. Auf diese Weise wird selig gepriesen, der ein derartiges Herz hat: Er wird Gott schauen.[43]

An sich betrachtet ist die Welt kein Bild eines guten Gottes, deshalb kann keiner Zutrauen haben zu dieser Welt und dem, der sie in Gang brachte. Valentin lehrt: Erst die Einsicht und die Lebensweise, die Jesus aufzeigte, bringen eine andere Gottes- und Welterfahrung, eine Welterfahrung, die realistischer mit den tatsächlichen Vorkommnissen umgeht, und eine Gotteserfahrung, in der "gerade das, was unsichtbar ist an Gott, bewirkt, das Geschaffene vertrauenswürdig zu machen."

D. *Rekonstruktion und Interpretation einer valentinianischen Gottes- und Erlösungslehr (Str. IV 90 und 91)*

Dem wörtlichen Referat des Fragments 5 (Layton D) folgt Str. IV 90,2 ein langer kommentierender Satz, der von Clemens zu stammen scheint.

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[42] Plotin kann das überhaupt nicht verstehen, er sieht hier nur üble Hybris: ". . . sie halten sich für Söhne Gottes und sprechen anderen Wesen, den Sternengöttern, diese Verwandtschaft ab; sie bilden sich ein, selbst dem Himmel überlegen zu sein, ohne daß sie dafür Mühe aufgewandt hätten." *Enn.* 2,9,9,57-59, Übersetzung Harder. Vergl. Anm. 40!

[43] Valentins 2. Fragment bei Clemens von Alexandrien Str. II 114,3-6, bei Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?* 54-82. Mein Verständnis dieses Textes unterscheidet sich von der Interpretation bei Markschies vor allem darin, dass ich die πνεύματα, die ihr Eigentum ruinieren im Wahn, es gehöre gar nicht ihnen, für die eigenen Antriebe des Herzens halte: Valentin gibt hier ein Bild der menschlichen Selbstverkennung und Selbstentfremdung.

Der Satz ist schwer verständlich, ja sogar seine Abgrenzung ist strittig. Otto Stählin[44] und Christoph Markschies lassen ihn bis εἰκόνες 288,1 gehen; Migne (Patrologia Graeca 8,1297 und (lat.) 1298) läßt den Satz 287,30 enden. Eine genaue grammatische Analyse kann zeigen, dass die ältere Auffassung richtig ist. Ich schreibe den Satz in Sinnzeilen:

287,27 Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Δημιουργὸν ὡς θεὸν καὶ πατέρα κληθέντα
εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προφήτην
προσεῖπεν,
ζωγράφον δὲ τὴν Σοφίαν,
287,30 ἧς τὸ πλάσμα ἡ εἰκὼν εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Ἀοράτου.

Kern des Satzgefüges ist προσεῖπεν, das genau in der Mitte steht: voran geht ein doppelter Akkusativ, ein zweiter doppelter Akkusativ folgt; die näheren Objekte sind zuerst "der Demiurg" und dann (in chiastischer Stellung) "die Sophia", die entfernteren Objekte sind im ersten Satzteil "Abbild und Prophet", im zweiten "der Maler". Der Kernsatz lautet also "Er (= Valentin) erklärt den Demiurgen als Abbild und Propheten, als den Maler aber die Sophia." Dieser Kernsatz ist nicht verständlich, er braucht Erläuterung. Das erste nähere Objekt "Demiurg" wird mit ὡς . . . κληθέντα erläutert. Nun ist es eine Eigentümlichkeit der griechischen Sprache, bei der beliebten ὡς plus pt. pass.-Konstruktion das logische Subjekt wegzulassen; im Deutschen sollte man das Aktiv wählen und das Subjekt bezeichnen. Der gemeinte Handlungträger steckt in κληθέντα, es sind *die Menschen*, die von "Gott" und vom "Vater" sprechen. Dieser Handlungsträger ist am Ende der Periode wieder aufgenommen: im Relativsatz ἧς τὸ πλάσμα, der chiastisch und im Achtergewicht das 2. nähere Objekt Σοφίαν ergänzt, bezeichnet πλάσμα nicht die ganze Schöpfung, sondern *das Geschöpf* der Schöpfung, den Menschen; das Wort nimmt πλάσις aus dem vorletzten Satz des Fragments 5 und ἔπλασεν aus Gen 2,7.17 LXX auf. Auch eine zweite Wiederaufnahme ist zu beachten: im letzten Teilsatz taucht das Stichwort εἰκών aus dem ersten doppelten Akkusativ wieder auf, aber es hat hier anderen Sinn als dort: zuerst steht εἰκών mit προφήτης parallel und muß also "Vorausbild" heißen, als Geschöpf der Σοφία aber "Vollbild". Die beiden doppelten Akkusative des zentralen Prädikats stehen also gedanklich *im steigernden Gegensatz*. Dies betonend verstehe und übersetze ich:

> Den Weltschöpfer, den die Menschen üblicherweise Gott und Vater nennen, erklärt er (= Valentin) als Vorausbild und Ankünder des wahren Gottes, als

[44] BKV Clemens IV (II. Reihe Bd. 19) 62.

den Maler aber die Weisheit, deren Geschöpf (= jeder von ihr bestimmte Mensch) das Vollbild ist, damit es (= ein solches Geschöpf) den Unsichtbaren verherrliche.

Der Maler, der hier genannt ist, ist der Maler aus dem 5. Fragment, der mit seinem Bild erreicht, dass "gerade das, was unsichtbar ist an Gott, bewirkt, das Geschaffene vertrauenswürdig zu machen." Modern ausgedrückt: Dieser Maler = die göttliche Weisheit erreicht, dass ein Mensch den Schöpfer, die Welt und sich selbst anders interpretiert.

Die nächste Satzfolge ist durch anaphorisches ἐπεί signalisiert, sie lautet:

287,30 Ἐπεὶ ὅσα ἐκ συζυγίας προέρχεται, πληρώματά ἐστιν,
ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ ἑνός, εἰκόνες.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ φαινόμενον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐκ μεσότητος ψυχή,
288,2 ἔρχεται τὸ διαφέρον,
288,3 καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ἐμφύσημα τοῦ διαφέροντος πνεύματος,
καὶ καθ' ὅλου ὃ ἐμπνεῖται τῇ ψυχῇ, τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ πνεύματος.

Dem ersten ἐπεί folgen zwei sehr kurze, im Gegensatz zueinander stehende Sätze; das folgende ἐπεὶ δέ leitet ein längeres Satzgefüge ein, das aber zunehmend unstimmig und unklar wird. Das erste Satzpaar ist eine ὅσα—ὅσα δέ Konstruktion und formuliert den Gegensatz πληρώματα—εἰκόνες; dieser Gegensatz wird auch durch die verwendeten Präpositionen ausgedrückt: Wenn es um eine Herkunft geht, ist ἐκ offensichtlich stärker, unmittelbarer als ἀπό.[45] Entscheidend für das Verständnis ist jedoch, dass man hier nicht den Splitter eines Mythos, den man nicht weiter erklären kann, liest, sondern eine anthropologische These und die Explikation des vorangehenden Satzes. Denn ὅσα (wörtlich: all die, welche) bezieht sich auf τὸ πλάσμα im vorangehenden Satz; weil ὅσα n. pl. ist, ist nur diese Beziehung möglich.[46] Die Wahl dieses Pronomens und dieser Form will größtmögliche Universalität der Aussage sichern; ich übersetze:

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[45] Dies ist aber nicht die stoische Terminologie, die B. Aland bei Herakleon findet (Aland, Erwählungstheologie bes. 152f, in: *Gnosis und Gnosticism*, NHS 8, Leiden 1977 148-181).

[46] Sehr dunkel ist die Parallelstelle Exc. Thdot. 32,1.2 (SC 23,128). Dort liegt sicher die gleiche Thematik vor, aber der Text, den Clemens liefert, ist praktisch unverständlich: grammatisch eindeutig bezieht sich ὅσα auf πλήρωμα ("Fülle", "Vollgestalt"), aber das ergibt den tautologischen Satz: "Alle Pleromata, die aus der Syzygia stammen, sind Pleromata, alle Pleromata aber, die von einem stammen, Eikones." Das ist doch wohl Unsinn; also gehören die beiden Sätze überhaupt nicht zusammen: Clemens hat sie nach der bloßen Begriffsgleichheit zusammengestellt!

> Denn ein jedes all der Geschöpfe, die aus dem "Ehegespann" (des Unsichtbaren und der Sophia) hervorkommen, ist ein Vollgeschöpf ("Vollmensch"), ein jedes all der Geschöpfe aber, die nur von einem (dem Demiurgen/dem Einen) her sind, ist Vorausbild ("Menschenfigur").

Die Fortsetzung ist zunächst leicht zu verstehen, denn αὐτοῦ kann sich nur auf ἑνός beziehen, und ψυχή bezeichnet das Belebende in den Geschöpfen, die nur Vorausbilder sind. Sehr wörtlich lautet die Übersetzung dann:

> Denn das, was von ihm (dem Einen) wahrnehmbar ist, ist ja nicht das aus der Mitte stammende Belebende (oder: die Seele, die aus der Mitte stammt), . . .

Nun aber wird die Sache schwierig, weil der Text ab 288,2 ἔρχεται wirr ist. Dies ist leicht zu erklären: Clemens hat sich mit fremder Feder geschmückt und einen gnostischen Kommentar als eigene Weisheit ausgegeben; nun kommen Aussagen, die er nicht übernehmen kann. Clemens ist als Schriftsteller nicht geschickt genug, unauffällig auszusteigen, im Gegenteil, er kommt von dem Wagen, auf dem er mitfuhr, nicht herunter, ohne zu stolpern und zu fallen: er kommt ins Stottern. Mit Emendationen ist hier nicht zu helfen, am besten übergeht man dieses Gestottere 288,3.4 stillschweigend.[47] Der nächste Satz beginnt mit einem *nun sinnvollen* καὶ καθόλου:

Im dritten, von Sagnard deutlich abgesetzten Satz (anders Stählin-Früchtel-Treu III 117,14ff) ist die Herkunftsangabe ἐξ ἐννοίας προελθόντα τῆς Σοφίας durchaus verständlich und belegt, dass die Mutterrolle in dieser Syzygie der Sophia zufällt (ἔννοια τῆς σοφίας statt σοφία ist amplificatio, "Aufschwellung"). Aber was soll eine εἰκὼν τοῦ Πληρώματος sein? Ist wie 2 Kor 4,4; Kol 1,15; Hebr 1,3 Christus als Bild Gottes bezeichnet oder entsprechend 1 Kor 11,7 Christus als der "Vollmensch" das (wahre) Bild Gottes oder ist Christus das (Vor-)Bild des von der Weisheit erfüllten Menschen? Die letzte Interpretation ist wohl die plausibelste, doch wird auch dann nicht klar, worin die συζυγία besteht. Ich finde, dazu liefert diese Parallelstelle keinen Lösungsbeitrag. Die Exc. Thdot. sind leider keine überlegten Exzerpte, sondern ein hilfloses Sammelsurium.

[47] Wir verdanken Clemens vielerlei Nachrichten und Texte, doch sowohl als Theologe wie als Literat ist er ein schrecklicher Wirr- und Flachkopf, der davon lebt, zu zitieren und abzukupfern. Str. II 9,4 zitiert er eine geläufige stoische Definition: "Was nun das Wissen betrifft, so definieren es die Jünger der Philosophie als einen Zustand, der von Vernunftgründen nicht erschüttert werden kann." (Stählin, BKV 2. Reihe 17,156 mit Nachweisen) Wenn Clemens dasselbe mit eigenen Worten sagen will, wird daraus das folgende Geplapper: "Wie nun das Wissen ein auf Wissen gerichtetes Verhalten ist, dessen Folge das Wissen ist, und mit dem ein Erfassen verbunden ist, das von Vernunftgründen nicht umgestoßen werden kann, so ist andererseits die Unwissenheit eine veränderliche Vorstellung, die durch Vernunftgründe umgestoßen werden kann; und die Entscheidung darüber, ob wir unsere Meinung ändern oder uns in ihr durch Vernunftgründe befestigen, steht bei uns." (Str. II 76,1 Stählin, BKV 2. Reihe 17,205)

288,4 Καὶ καθόλου τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ λεγόμενα τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα γενομένου, ταῦτ' ἐν εἰκόνος αἰσθητῆς μοίρᾳ,
ἐν τῇ Γενέσει περὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπογονίαν προπεφητεῦσθαι λέγουσι.

Dieser Satz ist reichlich überladen, aber es macht keine Schwierigkeiten, ihn zu übersetzen:

> Sie sagen ja schon immer, dass all das, was von dem "nach dem Bilde" schaffenden Weltschöpfer zu sagen ist, in der Genesis, dort, wo von der Erschaffung des Menschen erzählt wird, in der Weise eines sinnfälligen Bildes verkündet worden sei.

Hier gesteht Clemens plötzlich ein, dass er referiert. Dasselbe tut er im folgenden Satz (90,4), der ganz ohne Schwierigkeiten ist, ich übersetze:

> Und tatsächlich beziehen sie die "Ähnlichkeit" sogar auf sich selbst, weil sie nämlich lehren, dass die Einhauchung des auszeichnenden Geistes geschehen ist, ohne dass der Weltschöpfer davon wußte.

Clemens nennt hier das Thema, das seine Vorlage hatte: sie bezog sich auf die Schöpfungserzählungen der Genesis und behandelte die Lehre vom Menschen, genauer, das Werden (und damit das Wesen) des (richtigen) Menschen (περὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπογονίαν 288,6). Ich möchte versuchen, diese Vorlage wiederherzustellen. Ich weiß sehr wohl, dass dies eine höchst schwierige und anfechtbare Sache ist, denn ich bin bei diesem Bemühen selbst in etliche Sackgassen geraten und öfter im Kreise gegangen. Aber es gibt auch wichtige Hilfen: das Thema und der Bezugstext sind bekannt, auch die Argumentationsweise und der Sprachstil der Quelle sind bekannt, da der Textanfang schon vorliegt. Die größte Hilfe aber kommt von Clemens, weil dieser nämlich von seiner Vorlage nicht loskommt und nicht nur kleinste Bröckchen, sondern ganze Passagen zitiert. Diese Passagen fallen ins Auge, sie aber in einen Zusammenhang zu bringen bleibt schwierig und hypothetisch.

Clemens hatte seine stillschweigende Übernahme des gnostischen Kommentars zu der These Valentins, die heute als 5. Fragment bezeichnet wird, in der Mitte des zweiten Satzgefüges der anaphorischen ἐπεί-Konstruktion (287,30-288,2) abgebrochen. Es scheint mir nun sicher, dass der Quellentext nicht mit ἔρχεται τὸ διαφέρον weiterging, sondern mit ἀφικνεῖται τὸ διαφέρον γένος in 288,13: das ist die viel präzisere, überlegtere Aussage. Denn ἀφικνέομαι heißt nicht "kommen", sondern "kommen zu . . .". Diese Bestimmung des Kommens ist formuliert mit dem vorangehenden ἐπὶ τὸ καταλῦσαι θάνατον (288,12), was die Redeweise Valentins im 4. Fragment aufnimmt. Auf diese Weise läßt sich die doppelte ἐπεί-Folge in

sprachlich schöner Form als ein wachsender Viererschritt rekonstruieren. Ich meine aber, man müsse im Achtergewicht noch den Urheber dieses Geschehens anführen, den Clemens isoliert und ganz unverständlich und (scheinbar) in anderem Zusammenhang angibt: διὰ τῆς μητρός (288,18). Denn diese "Mutter" ist doch offensichtlich der eine Partner im "Ehegespann"; die doppelte ἐπεί-Konstruktion ist dann nicht nur rhetorisch, sondern auch sachlich in sich gerundet. Die Periode lautete demnach in der Vorlage:

287,30 Ἐπεὶ ὅσα ἐκ συζυγίας προέρχεται, πληρώματά ἐστιν,
ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ ἑνὸς, εἰκόνες·
288,1 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ φαινόμενον αὐτοῦ οὔκ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκ μεσότητος ψυχή,
288,13 ἐπὶ τὸ καταλῦσαι θάνατον ἀφικνεῖται τὸ διαφέρον γένος
288,18 διὰ τῆς μητρός.

> Denn ein jedes all der Geschöpfe, die aus dem Ehegespann (des Unsichtbaren und der Weisheit) hervorkommen, ist ein Vollgeschöpf ("Vollmensch"), ein jedes aber all der Geschöpfe, die nur von einem her sind, ist nur Vorausbild; weil aber das, was von ihm (dem Einen) wahrnehmbar ist, nicht das Belebende ist, das aus der Mitte stammt, kommt das ausgezeichnete Geschlecht dazu (= zur Fähigkeit), den Tod aufzulösen, erst durch die Mutter (= die Weisheit).

Wie aber ging es weiter? Mit Sicherheit ging die Vorlage weiter, denn 288,8.9, 16-18 und 21-23 sind Texte, die nicht von Clemens stammen. Andererseits gibt es im 288,16-18 referierten Text eine Unstimmigkeit, die Clemens eingebracht haben muß. Der Altphilologe Jens Holzhausen meint hierzu: ".... an dieser Stelle muß unbedingt konjiziert werden: οὐχ οὗτοι τὸν θάνατον καταργοῦσιν οἱ ἀντίμιμοι τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ (codd. οἱ) τῇ ἐκ μεσότητος ψυχῇ, τῇ σφετέρᾳ εἰκόνι, ἐμφυσῶντος (codd. -ντες) τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν ... Das Wort σφετέρα kann sich nur auf den Demiurgen beziehen."[48] Diese Begründung sticht nun überhaupt nicht: σφέτερος kann sich nur auf eine dritte Person *Pluralis* beziehen, in Prosatexten jedenfalls halte ich die Beziehung auf den Sing. Demiurgos für höchst ungewöhnlich, wenn nicht ausgeschlossen. Richtig sieht Holzhausen, dass die Prädikation ἐμφυσῶντες τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν (288,17) nur einem göttlichen Täter sinnvoll zugeschrieben werden kann. Aber dem Demiurgen gerade nicht, genau dies kann er nicht! Das Rätsel löst sich, wenn man den Text als Zitat erkennt und *weiß, welchem Subjekt* die Quelle diese Fähigkeit zuschreibt: den σύζυγοι! Dann ist sowohl

[48] Jens Holzhausen, Gnosis und Martyrium Zu Valentins viertem Fragment *ZNW* 85 (1994), 130 (Anm. 76).

der Plural wie der Gebrauch von τῇ σφετέρᾳ εἰκόνι völlig regelkonform! Ich lese also *οἱ σύζυγοί εἰσιν οἱ* ἐμφυσῶντες τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν oder, stilistisch befriedigender *οἱ σύζυγοι* τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐμφυσῶσιν. Clemens hat, um Verwirrung zu stiften, Satzsubjekte seiner Vorlage vorsätzlich vertauscht, aber glücklicherweise nur sehr oberflächlich. Aus den Bruchstücken, die Clemens nach eigener Angabe referiert, nämlich

288,8 ἄγνωστον τῷ Δημιουργῷ τὴν τοῦ διαφέροντος ἐπένθεσιν πνεύματος γεγενῆσθαι παραδιδόντες und

288,17 οἱ . . . ἐμφυσῶντες τῇ ψυχῇ—τῇ σφετέρᾳ εἰκόνι—τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν

bilde ich—möglicherweise zu stark vereinfachend, aber mit ausgezeichnetem Anschluß an das διὰ τῆς μητρὸς des vorangehenden Satzes—den Satz:

Τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ ἀγνώστου[49]
οἱ σύζυγοι τῇ ψυχῇ—τῇ σφετέρᾳ εἰκόνι—τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐμφυσῶσιν.

Ohne dass der Demiurg davon weiß, hauchen die aus dem Ehegespann der Seele, ihrem eigenen Bilde, das von oben stammende Leben ein.

Übrig bleibt dann noch ein größerer Textzusammenhang, der nicht von Clemens stammt, nämlich 288,21-23. Wer sind hier die Subjekte, die als κρείττους bezeichnet werden? Ich finde, hierfür kommen nur οἱ ἀντίμιμοι τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ (288,16) in Frage, das Subjekt, das Clemens in den vorigen Satz gezogen hat. Mit diesem Subjekt wird die Periode sinnvoll und kann ohne weitere Textänderung verstanden werden. Ich habe mich lange an der Häufung der Partizipialkonstruktionen gestört, die auf diese Weise entsteht, aber ich meine, sie stammt nicht von Clemens, sondern gehört zum extrem verdichtenden Stil der Vorlage: diese bietet, pointiert gesagt, Katechismusdefinitionen. Der Anschluß an den vorangehenden Text ist mit οὗτοι schon gegeben:

288,16 Οὗτοι τὸν θάνατον καταργοῦσιν, οἱ ἀντίμιμοι τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ
288,21 (οἱ) τὴν κτίσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ὡς κρείττους ἐπανορθούμενοι,
πειρώμενοι σῴζειν τὴν ψυχικὴν εἰκόνα,
ἣν αὐτὸς ῥύσασθαι τῆς φθορᾶς οὐ κατίσχυσεν.

[49] Ich wähle die sprachlich knappste Lösung, um dem lapidaren Stil der Quelle zu entsprechen. Zum aktiven Gebrauch von ἄγνωστος s. Lidell-Scott (⁹1968), 12, möglicherweise hatte die Quelle aber ἄγνωτος. Möglich, aber nicht wahrscheinlich ist, dass dieses Kolon voller war: Τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ ἀγνώστου τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ διάφερον ἐπαντίθεται.

Diese machen den Tod unwirksam,[50] die Gegen-Akteure des Demiurgen verbessern dessen Schöpfung als Tüchtigere im Bemühen, das Ebenbild in der Seele zu retten, das jener vor dem Verderben zu behüten unfähig war.

Aus stilistischen Gründen schlage ich vor, einen noch übriggebliebenen Splitter der Vorlage, nämlich αἱ ἐκ μεσότητος ψυχαί (vergl. 288,2 und 16) oder kürzer οἱ ἐκ μεσότητος am Anfang dieser Periode als zusätzliches Subjekt einzuschieben. Auf diese Weise entsteht nämlich ein schöner satzübergreifender Wechsel der Subjekte: Demiurg—die Syzygoi—die (Seelen) aus der Mitte—die Antimimoi des Demiurgen (s. u. Satz 3a bis 4b). Wenn man diese Figur der Subjekte—es ist ein antithetischer Kyklos—annimmt, ergibt sich ein Zusatzargument, die sprachlich harte Formulierung οἱ σύζυγοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐμφυσῶντες τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν durch οἱ σύζυγοι. . . . ἐμφυσῶσιν zu ersetzen: das ist stilistisch besser und konstruiert die beiden inneren Sätze der Satzfolge bis auf die Parenthese völlig gleich.

Die Vorlage hatte nach diesen Überlegungen griechisch[51] folgenden Wortlaut:

Satz 1

a Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Δημιουργὸν ὡς θεὸν καὶ πατέρα κληθέντα εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προφήτην
b Οὐαλεντῖνος προσεῖπεν,
c ζωγράφον δὲ τὴν Σοφίαν, ἧς τὸ πλάσμα ἡ εἰκὼν εἰς δὸξαν τοῦ Ἀοράτου.

Satzfolge 2
a Ἐπεὶ ὅσα ἐκ συζυγίας προέρχεται, πληρώματά ἐστιν,
b ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ ἑνός, εἰκόνες·
c ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ φαινόμενον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐκ μεσότητος ψυχή,
d ἐπὶ τὸ καταλῦσαι θάνατον ἀφικνεῖται τὸ διαφέρον γένος διὰ τῆς μητρός.

Satz 3
a Τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ ἀγνώστου
b οἱ σύζυγοι τῇ ψυχῇ—τῇ σφετέρᾳ εἰκόνι—τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐμφυσῶσιν.

Satz 4
a Οἱ ἐκ μεσότητος τὸν θάνατον καταργοῦσιν,

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[50] καταργοῦσιν ("sie machen ganz unwirksam") wechselt mit καταλῦσαι θάνατον 288,13, das dem λύω in Valentins 4. Fragment entspricht.

[51] Ich danke dem Gräzisten an der Universität Bonn, Herrn Prof. Neitzel, herzlich für genaueste Durchsicht dieser Rekonstruktion und mancherlei Hilfen und Hinweise, vor allem aber für die Ermutigung, es beim jetzigen Stand zu belassen.—Ich beanspruche nicht, die Quelle vollständig rekonstruiert zu haben, wohl aber den von Clemens in Anspruch genommenen Themenkreis: dieser ist in der vorgelegten Rekonstruktion abgeschlossen.

b οὗτοι οἱ ἀντίμιμοι τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ,
οἱ τὴν κτίσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ὡς κρείττους ἐπανορθούμενοι,
c πειρώμενοι σῴζειν τὴν ψυχικὴν εἰκόνα,
d ἣν αὐτὸς ῥύσασθαι τῆς φθορᾶς οὐ κατίσχυσεν.

Diese Rekonstruktion wurde von einem Vor-Verständnis des Textes geleitet, das sich immer mehr konkretisierte und verdeutlichte. Dieses Verständnis ist nun zu thematisieren.

Über die Gattung des Textes kann es keinen Streit geben. Ein Lehr- und Lerntext legt ein anthropologisches/soteriologisches Thema dar: die beiden Menschenarten, die sich durch ihre verschiedene Herkunft von Gott unterscheiden, und das gegensätzliche Verhalten dieser Menschen. Der Text hat geradezu Definitionscharakter; sprachlich bietet er höchst *ausgefeilte Kunstprosa*, die zweifellos von einem bedeutenden Kopf stammt.

Entscheidend für das Verständnis ist Satz 1, der nicht von zwei Göttern, sondern von zwei εἰκόνες Gottes spricht, in heutiger Redeweise also von zwei Gottesvorstellungen. Der Autor kennt nur einen einzigen Gott, den er den Ἀόρατος nennt. Er meint diese Gottesbenennung strikt wörtlich: es gibt keine Aussagen, die man vernünftigerweise vom Ἀόρατος machen kann. Alle weitergehenden Aussagen—die man nicht vermeiden kann!—betreffen nicht Gott, sondern die menschlichen Gottesvorstellungen, Gottesmodelle.

Der Autor kennt zwei Gottesmodelle. Das eine heißt Δημιουργός und bezeichnet den Schöpfer, von dem Gen 1 und 2 erzählen, beziehungsweise den Gott, der im altrömischen und späteren "apostolischen" Glaubensbekenntnis der allmächtige Vater, Schöpfer Himmels und der Erde heißt. Das andere Gottesmodell heißt συζυγία: hier liegt zweifellos bedachte, ja *ironische Modellwahl* vor, denn συζυγία ist das Ochsengespann, das vor dem Pflug geht, oder (schon metaphorisch) das Ehepaar, das an einem Strick zieht.[52] Was es mit dieser συζυγία auf sich hat, setzt der Autor der Vorlage als bekannt voraus.

Der erste Satz lehrt einerseits in 1a eine Beziehung zwischen diesen beiden Gottesmodellen, andererseits in 1c eine Beziehung zwischen den Menschen, die diesen Gottesmodellen folgen. Das Modell Δημιουργός gilt keineswegs als völlig falsch und irreführend, aber es ist nur vorläufig und

[52] Über die Herkunft dieser Modellvorstellung braucht man nicht zu rätseln. Das Modell συζυγία ist sicher gnostisch, und ich meine, alles spricht dafür, dass Valentin selbst es war, der das Ochsen- und Ehegespann als Modell aufgriff. Die Vorstellung aber, dass Gott einerseits der im strikten Sinne Unsichtbare ist, andererseits seine Weisheit, die mit ihm in gewisser Weise identisch ist, den Menschen zugänglich ist, hat das LXX-Judentum entwickelt; dies ist z. B. die Anschauung der SapSal/Weish.

vorausweisend, denn erst die Σοφία erschafft Geschöpfe, die fähig sind, dem schlechthin unsichtbaren Gott die gebührende Ehre zu geben. Das Modell συζυγία—es wird erst im nächsten Satz genannt—ist überlegen, wenn einer den Sinn dieses Modells eingesehen hat. Darum geht es im Folgenden.

Satz 2 ab

Der Satz präzisiert den Gedanken von Satz 1. Es gibt zwei Arten von Menschen, beide sind von Gott geschaffen, aber in verschiedener Weise. Sie unterscheiden sich durch ihre Herkunft. Alle Menschen sind (Satz 2b) von dem "Einen" her, insofern alle Menschen durch die Geburt in der gleichen conditio humana stehen. Einige Menschen aber (Satz 2a) sind durch eine zweite Schöpfung oder Geburt gegangen, ihre Herkunft ist der Eine *und* seine Weisheit. Solche Menschen haben nicht nur eine andere Gottesvorstellung, sie haben auch eine andere Vorstellung von der sie umgebenden Welt und von sich selbst. Darüber redet der folgende Text. Der Lehrsatz 2ab will nur festhalten, dass die beiden Gottesmodelle ihr fundamentum in re haben: dem vorläufigen, sozusagen lückenhaften Gottesmodell entspricht ein vorläufiges und lückenhaftes Können und Selbstverständnis der Menschen (εἰκόνες meint hier sogar so etwas wie "Hohlmenschen", "bloße Puppen von Menschen"); dem vervollständigten Gottesbild entspricht ein vervollständigter, zu seiner vollen Einsicht und Tatkraft entfalteter Mensch. Eigentlich ist es aber umgekehrt: die "Hohlmenschen" können allenfalls bis zur Gottesvorstellung Δημιουργός vordringen, nur die "Geschöpfe der Weisheit" kommen zur Vorstellung συζυγία. Sie glauben und bekennen damit natürlich nicht zwei verschiedene Götter, wie Clemens in diesem Zusammenhang (288,9-12) unterstellt, wohl aber ein doppeltes Handeln des schlechthin Unsichtbaren.

Satz 2 cd

Die doppelte Herkunft der Menschen wird noch einmal dargelegt. Die Menschen unterscheiden sich in dem, was sie antreibt und lebendig macht, der ψυχή. Die Menschen, die durch Geburt in die Welt kommen, haben eine ψυχή, die vom Göttlichen allenfalls das kennt, was von ihm in Erscheinung tritt, das heißt, sie erkennen und bekennen allenfalls das, was man *aus bestimmten Wahrnehmungen* erschließen kann: "Denn seit der Weltschöpfung wird er in seiner Unsichtbarkeit erfaßt und an dem Geschaffenen wahrgenommen, (das meint:) seine ewige Macht und Gottheit." (Röm 1,20 Übersetzung E. Käsemann). Diese Art von Gotteserkenntnis aus dem un-

beirrbar stetigen Gang der Gestirne oder der überreichen Fülle und Fruchtbarkeit der Erde gibt es bei Christen, bei Juden, bei Platonikern und Stoikern, ja sogar bei denen, die Zeus als athletischen Blitzeschleuderer verbildlichen. Die Möglichkeit und Tatsächlichkeit einer solchen Gotteserkenntnis, Gottesfurcht und Frömmigkeit wird anerkannt und festgehalten, aber zugleich wird festgestellt, dass dies eine defiziente Erkenntnis, Gottesfurcht und Frömmigkeit ist. Das Defizit liegt in der ψυχή der jeweiligen Menschen: es ist keine ψυχή, die "aus der Mitte stammt". Solange die Mitte in einem Menschen noch getrennt ist von *der Mitte*, ist sie in einer defizienten Verfassung. Es mangelt solchen Menschen nach der Lehre dieses Textes an der alles entscheidenden Fähigkeit, "den Tod aufzulösen" (Satz 2d). Das Defizit ist also kein Wissens- und Erkenntnisdefizit, das sich durch Unterricht beheben ließe, sondern es ist ein Defizit im Können und praktischen Handeln. Es ist klar, dass der Kommentator sich hier nicht mehr auf Fragment 5 bezieht, sondern bei seinen Hörern die Kenntnis der Lehre Valentins voraussetzt, die wir nur erschließen können aus dem kurzen Text, der als Fragment 4 bezeichnet wird. Dort lehrt Valentin mit Entschiedenheit, dass alle Menschen "von Anfang an", also seit der Schöpfung bzw. ihrer jeweiligen Geburt potentialiter *unsterblich* sind, dass sie aber *realiter* nur dann unsterblich werden, wenn sie das Aufgelöstwerden, das im Lebensgang an sie herantritt, umdrehen können und ihrerseits den Tod durch ein aktives Tun "auflösen", das heißt, seine Macht für sich unwirksam machen. Es gibt, behauptet Valentin, in jedem Menschen eine Vollmacht, dies zu tun; wer diese Vollmacht in sich findet und ihren Gebrauch einübt, der "versammelt", konkretisiert sich selbst und löscht zugleich die Macht des Todes aus. Der Kommentator kann bei seinen Lesern auch das Wissen voraussetzen, worin diese Vollmacht und ihr Gebrauch bestehen: es ist die Spontaneität, Freiheit und Tatkraft, zu der Jesus in seiner ethischen Unterweisung eingeladen hat. Jesus gilt hier als Torah-Lehrer, der mahnt, mit Weisheit auf jede Gewaltanwendung zu verzichten, aber bereitwillig und bedingungslos zu vergeben, also Güte zu üben. Wer in sich die Tatkraft und Vollmacht zu solchem Nacheifern der schlechthinnigen Güte Gottes findet, solche Güte lebt und bewährt, der schafft "Größeres" (Valentin 1. Fragment) als innerhalb der Bedingungen der Welt und Sachen zu erwarten ist. Er konkretisiert so seine Situations- und Weltüberlegenheit, die in ihm angelegt ist: er verwirklicht seine Zugehörigkeit zur "Mitte", griechisch formuliert seine ἀθανασία.

Der Autor der Vorlage kann dies alles bei seinen Lesern als bekannt voraussetzen. Diese wissen auch, dass es nicht um die Würde oder die

Titel Jesu geht, sondern um seine so scharf geschliffenen Merkworte und seine unvergeßbar überzeugend formulierten Gleichnisse: aus ihnen spricht die göttlich-überlegene Weisheit, die Σοφία, die zur "Mutter" wird, indem sie zum Leben gebiert und weist (Satz 2d). Die überlegene ψυχή kommt "durch die Mutter", den weiblichen Teil des Ehegespanns.[53] Sie verbindet die Menschen mit der "Mitte", indem sie diese Menschen (genauer: deren eigene "Mitte") *zu der ihnen eigenen Vollmacht wachruft* und zu einem neuen, weiter gespannten und größeren Leben befähigt.[54] Geradezu triumphierend kann der Kommentator sein Gottesmodell zur Erklärung einsetzen.

Satz 3

Für den Verständigen enthält dieser Satz überhaupt nichts Neues, er wiederholt und präzisiert in Merksatzform das bisher Dargelegte. Der Bezugstext ist Gen 2,7 LXX: es geht um das Einhauchen des Lebens. Diejenigen Menschen, die nur die Gottesvorstellung Δημιουργός kennen, lesen dort nur etwas von der Erschaffung des Menschen zu einem *sterblichen Leben*; das eigentliche, dem Tod überlegene Leben ist ihnen nämlich unbekannt, polemisch verkürzt: ist der Gottesvorstellung Δημιουργός unbe-

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[53] Clemens von Alexandrien kennt diese Lehre, sie ist ihm ganz und gar nicht geheuer, aber zu glatter Ablehnung kann er sich nicht entschließen: "Der Schöpfer aller Menschen ist also Beherrscher und Vater, aber nicht Mutter. Einige lehren *fälschlich, Mutter sei* das jeweilige Eigensein (ἡ οὐσία), aus dem einer wird, andere, die Kirche (ἡ ἐκκλησία), jedoch *ist allenfalls richtig zu sagen*, Mutter sei die Gott gemäße Erkenntnis (ἡ θεία γνῶσις) und die Weisheit (ἡ σοφία), wie Salomo sagt: Mutter der 'Gerechte' Genannten ist die Weisheit." (Str. VI 146,2 Übersetzung Schüngel; das Salomo-Zitat ist nicht verifizierbar, steht jedenfalls so nicht in der LXX. Ich vermute, Clemens meint die OdSal, und die gehörten für ihn wohl zur LXX.)

[54] Von der paulinischen Soteriologie her gesehen ist diese jüdisch-weisheitliche Soteriologie "Selbsterlösungslehre", die einen ebenso "erlösten Erlöser" voraussetzt. Präzise referiert finde ich diese Lehre bei Irenäus *haer.* I 11,1 (169); ich biete hier nur meine Übersetzung ohne weitere Erklärung:

Er (= Valentin) nimmt zwei Schranken (ὅροι) an: eine. . . ., welche die gewordenen Menschen zeit ihres Lebens gegenüber dem ungewordenen Vater ausgrenzt, und eine andere, welche die (Iren.: ihre) Mutter von den Menschen zeit ihres Lebens abgrenzt. Und Jesus (Iren.: Christus) sei nicht aus dem Bereich der schon Vollkommenen herausgetreten, sondern von der Mutter (= der Weisheit), die außerhalb (des göttlichen Bereichs) existiert, infolge ihrer—allerdings nur schattenhaften—Erinnerung an das Tüchtigere geboren worden, doch habe er, weil ihm eine mannhafte Tapferkeit zu eigen gewesen sei, diesen Schatten von sich abgeschnitten und sei im Wettkampf bis hinauf zum Vollsein gelaufen.

kannt. Erst wer *die Erfahrung* eines situationsüberlegenen, die Zwänge und Bedingungen des täglichen Lebens (wenigstens gelegentlich) auflösenden Lebens gewonnen hat, hat damit die Gottesvorstellung συζυγία und ein "Leben von oben" gewonnen. Der springende Punkt dieser Lehre ist aber der Hinweis τῇ σφετέρᾳ εἰκόνι: er bezieht sich auf Gen 1,26a.27, die Gottesebenbildlichkeit des Menschen. Diese Ebenbildlichkeit wird den Menschen, die nur die Gottesvorstellung Δημιουργός kennen, bestritten, gerade in ihrer Beziehung zum wahren Gott sind sie nur "Hohlmenschen". Das ist völlig konsequent: wer nicht aus der Lehre Jesu lernt, dass der wahre Gott der Langmütige ist, "der seine Sonne scheinen läßt über Gute und Böse und regnen läßt über Gerechte und Ungerechte" (Mt 5,45) *und sich nicht ganz entsprechend verhält*, der ist kein Ebenbild dieses Gottes oder, jüdisch formuliert, gehört nicht zu den Söhnen Gottes.

Satz 4

Der gnostische Autor kommt zurück auf seine Ankündigung, die εἰκὼν εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Ἀοράτου (Satz 1c) zu erläutern, und begründet, warum die Gnostiker dem wahren Gott die Ehre geben, die Kirchenchristen aber allenfalls dem Demiurgen. Denn nur diejenigen, die durch die "Mutter" zu aus der "Mitte" Stammenden werden, also die mit einer Seelen- und Lebenskraft aus der "Mitte" her ausgestattet wurden, sind fähig, "den Tod aufzulösen", das heißt seine zwingende Macht auszulöschen. Zum eigentlichen, nämlich jesuanischen Menschsein kommt nur der, der von der σοφία der Lehre Jesu geprägt worden ist und darum situationsüberlegen handeln kann. Sie ist das Göttliche, das jeder nur in seiner eigenen Subjektivität (ψυχή) als eine freie, nämlich von der Umwelt wie von den eigenen Bedürfnissen unabhängige Vollmacht auffinden kann. Richtiger formuliert man umgekehrt: Nur dem recht erkannten Gott eignet schlechthinnige Weltüberlegenheit und Unbedingtheit, genau dieses Göttliche ist aber verborgenerweise der Kern der Menschen und ihre "Mitte", insofern auch sie von Fall zu Fall weltüberlegen und unbedingt handeln können. Menschen, die sich so verstehen, realisieren, nicht Kinder der Welt, sondern des unbedingten Gottes zu sein, sie realisieren ihre θεότητα (vergl. Valentins "3. Fragment": θεότητα Ἰησοῦς εἰργάζετο Str. III 59,3).

Provozierend werden die mit einer solchen "Seele" Ausgestatteten in 4b ἀντίμιμοι des Demiurgen genannt. Im prägnanten Sinne sind sie tüchtiger als der jüdisch-christliche Schöpfergott und der stoische Zeus, der die Gesetze des Kosmos so festsetzte, dass niemand daran rütteln kann. Diese

ἀντίμιμοι sind nicht Feinde der Gottesvorstellung Δημιουργός, sie sind vielmehr Verbesserer oder Vollender seiner Schöpfung, weil sie als "Gegen-Akteure des Demiurgen" "fähig sind, den Tod aufzulösen". Erst sie bringen die Welt oder wenigstens einige aus der Menschenwelt in den Zustand, den der schlechthin Unsichtbare mit der Schöpfung beabsichtigte:[55] sie bemühen sich, die εἰκών zu retten, die innerhalb der Bedingungen einer vergänglichen Welt existiert (Satz 4c), nämlich den jesuanischen Menschen, der allein das Ebenbild des Unsichtbaren ist.[56] Die vom "Demiurgen" geleiteten Menschen sind unfähig, dem Zwang zum Vergehenmüssen, dem alles Gewordene unterliegt, zu entgehen; die Geschöpfe der jesuanischen Weisheit aber haben Kräfte, die sie (genauer: ihre εἰκών!) vor der alles Gewordene auffressenden φθορά bewahren (Satz 4d): das Axiom der Philosophen, dass nur Ungewordenes, Unentstandenes unvergänglich und unsterblich ist, bleibt damit gewahrt. Darauf ist der Autor sichtlich stolz!

Zähneknirschend bestätigt Clemens (288,5-7), dass die Valentinianer sich auf die Genesis berufen: sie verstehen den Gottesnamen Δημιουργός nicht von Plato, sondern von der Genesis her. Und ganz empört stellt er fest: Diese Gnostiker halten sich selbst für die einzigen Repräsentanten Gottes, und zwar in einer Weise, die erst durch das Auftreten Jesu möglich geworden ist. Clemens vermeidet, diese Genesis-Interpretation zu diskutieren, erst recht vermeidet er, zu diskutieren, wie diese Gnostiker die Jesustradition verstehen und pflegen. Er weicht lieber aus und behauptet, die Valentinianer lehrten einen doppelten Gott. Das aber ist sein Unvermögen, denn er kann den von ihm zitierten Text nicht begreifen.

Gegenüber der heute gängigen Beurteilung der Gnostiker ist noch mit Nachdruck auf das Stichwort in 4c hinzuweisen: diese Christen bezeichnen sich als πειρώμενοι. Sie sind keineswegs der Ansicht, "Vollendete" zu sein, und schon gar nicht sind sie "Enthusiasten". So werden sie heutzu-

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[55] Mit an Plato geschulter *Ironie* formulierten manche gnostischen Lehrer: Der "Baumeister" der Genesiserzählungen erschrickt darüber, daß seine Intentionen überholt werden von all den Menschen, die der im Verbund mit der Jesus-Sophia wirkende Gott erschafft. Siehe Anm. 25!

[56] Nach Irenäus *haer.* I 11,1 (170) hat Valentin für Jesus den Titel Θελητός (der Erwünschte), das ist der von Gott erwünschte Mensch. Wer die Vollmacht Jesu in sich entdeckt hat, ist ebenso ein Θελητός, befähigt εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Ἀοράτου (Satz 1c), von gleicher Befähigung und mit dem gleichen Auftrag wie Jesus, also mit diesem ὁμοούσιος. Clemens referiert im Zusammenhang Str. IV 91,2 (288,13.14) ganz richtig: ὁ Χριστός ..... αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς ὁμοούσιος λεχθείη. Möglicherweise gehört diese Jesus-Lehre ebenfalls in den hier diskutierten Quellentext.

tage gern abqualifiziert. Diese gnostischen Christen wissen sehr wohl vom Wagnischarakter des Lebens, sie wissen sehr wohl davon, dass alles menschliche Denken und Handeln fragmentarisch ist. Darum reden sie bewußt von Gottesmodellen, darum bezeichnen sie sich wissend als "Bemühende", "im Experiment Stehende", darum begründen sie ihre Lehre vom "aus der Mitte stammenden Menschen(kern)" mit einer Praxis, denn keiner kann diese Lehre verstehen, der nicht die Tatkraft und Vollmacht, zu der Jesus in Galiläa aufrief, erprobt hat. Durch Lesen und Lernen wird keiner zum Gnostiker. Gnostiker sind vielmehr Ringende: sie ringen darum, jesuanische Menschen zu werden, die sich entschieden davon abwenden, zu vergelten, zu strafen und es stets besser zu wissen, die aber Entgegenkommen, ertragende Geduld und allzeit vergebungsbereite Liebe einüben. Sie ringen um das Ebenbild des "Abba", das sie in sich tragen, um das Größerwerden des Besten, das es—senfkornklein!—in der Erfahrungswelt gibt, um die Ehre für den schlechthin Unsichtbaren, dessen einzige Vertreter und Zeugen sie sind, solange sie diesen Ringkampf nicht aufgeben.

Ergebnis

1. Basilides lehrt nur einen einzigen Gott, den Gott der jüdischen Tradition. Er nimmt platonische Theologoumena auf, um die creatio continua des Schöpfers präzise und pointiert zu formulieren; zugleich lehrt er, dass dieser Hirt aller Menschen in besonderer Weise die von ihm Berufenen hütet, nämlich die, denen die Jesusoffenbarung ein neues Wissen und liebendes Verhalten ermöglicht hat.

2. Valentin betont im 5. Fragment die absolute Unweltlichkeit des biblischen Gottes: er weigert sich, im Kosmos (= der Menschenwelt!) Spuren des Schöpfungshandelns aufzufinden. Dieser Kosmos werde erst für den vertrauenswürdig, der das "Unsichtbare", erst durch die Jesusoffenbarung Bekanntgewordene Gottes verstanden hat.

3. Der unbekannte Kommentator des 5. Fragments betont, dass wir Menschen gar nicht von Gott selbst reden können, sondern nur von unseren Gottesbildern. Sein eigentliches Thema aber ist, dass das Gottesbild eines Menschen durch die Tiefe seiner Selbsterkenntnis und Selbsterfahrung bedingt ist. Wer das Göttliche in den Kategorien der Macht und Allmacht denkt, kann den "Abba" Jesu nicht kennen und ehren. Das kann nur der, den die "Weisheit" Jesu zum Ertragen, Erdulden und Vergeben befähigt hat.

4. Basilides und Valentin sind Ethiker, ihre Lehre ist ganz auf die tägliche Praxis ausgerichtet. Was als Wichtigstes jeder lernen muß, ist das Beobachten

seiner eigenen Tätigkeit und ihrer Rückwirkung auf die anderen; Gnosis ist dann vor allem die Einsicht in die eigene Vergebungsbedürftigkeit und Begrenztheit, die mutig akzeptiert wird, erst recht aber ist sie die Erfahrung, vergeben zu können und zur jesuanischen Liebe befähigt zu sein.

Die Gnostiker gebrauchen verschiedene Gottesbenennungen, vor allem auch solche ihrer zeitgenössischen Philosophie und Theologie. Sie sind sich dabei bewußt, dass ihre Benennungen, wie z. B. "Beginner/Ἄρχων" oder "Baumeister/Δημιουργός" nur Hinweischarakter haben. "Denn wenn wir es (αὐτό—das Göttliche) von Fall zu Fall (πότε) namentlich benennen, indem wir—ohne wirklich den Sinn zu treffen—es benennen als Eines oder das Gute oder Denken oder das Selbst-Seiende oder Vater oder Gott oder Weltschöpfer oder Herr, so stellen wir mit solchem Reden nicht so etwas wie eine Benennung vor, sondern wir verwenden aus Hilflosigkeit nur Schön-Namen, damit die Reflexion (διάνοια) daran einen Halt habe und nicht zu Abliegendem sich verirre. Denn keine einzelne dieser Benennungen weist wirklich auf Gott, alle zusammen jedoch sind Fingerzeige (ἐνδεικτικά) auf das Vermögen des Allmächtigen."[57]

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[57] Clemens von Alexandrien Str. V 82,1f. (380,25-381,3). Einzelheiten der Formulierung mögen von Clemens stammen, der Grundsatz aber nicht. Übersetzung Schüngel.

ECHOES OF LONGINUS IN GREGORY OF NYSSA

BY

MALCOLM HEATH

1. *Gregory and Cassius Longinus*

In *Against Eunomius* Gregory of Nyssa repeatedly satirises his opponent's style.[1] The vocabulary used in the following passage is striking, and on closer investigation reveals something of Gregory's intellectual background (1.480):

> ταῦτα διὰ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ λέξεως γράφω, οὐ παρερμηνεύων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀλλὰ τὸ στομφῶδες καὶ κατεστοιβασμένον τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐπανορθούμενος, ὡς ἂν εὐσύνοπτον αὐτοῦ πᾶσι τὸ βούλημα γένοιτο, διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λέξιν σαφηνείας ἐκκαλυπτόμενον.
>
> I put these things in my own words, not to distort his meaning, but to correct the bombastic and impacted quality of his diction, so that what he intends can be easily grasped by everyone, unveiled through the clarity of the language.

Two words here are worthy of note. κατεστοιβασμένον ('impacted') has only a single earlier attestation: the third-century literary scholar, rhetorician and philosopher Cassius Longinus used it in his *Art of Rhetoric* to describe a stylistic shortcoming of Thucydides.[2] Familiarity with Longinus'

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[1] On Gregory's critique of Eunomius' style in general see E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Stuttgart 1915) 558-562; C. Klock, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Rhythmus bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 173). Frankfurt 1987, 145-158. So far as I am aware, the connection with Longinus has not been noticed previously.

[2] On Longinus see L. Brisson and M. Patillon, Longinus Platonicus Philosophus et Philologus, I. Longinus Philosophus, *ANRW* 2.36.7 (1994) 5214-5299; Longinus Platonicus Philosophus et Philologus, II. Longinus Philologus, *ANRW* 2.34.4 (1998) 3023-3108; M. Heath, Longinus *On Sublimity*, *PCPS* (forthcoming, 1999). The *Art of Rhetoric* is known from an extensive fragment (179-97 Spengel-Hammer) and an epitome by Michael Psellus (208-12 Spengel-Hammer, re-edited in P. Gautier, Michel Psellos et la rhétorique de Longin, *Prometheus* 3 (1977) 193-199). The comment on Thucydides is preserved only in the epitome (212.3 Spengel-Hammer = 88 Gautier). Since Psellus was the epitomator, the occurrence of κατεστοιβασμένον in his *Chronographia* (6.33) is presumably also dependent on Longinus.

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critical writings on Gregory's part is intrinsically plausible; Eunapius, a younger contemporary, testifies to Longinus' high reputation as a critic, and to the fact that a large number of his works were still in circulation and were held in great esteem (4.1.1-6 = 6.9-7.7 Giangrande).

στομφώδης ('bombastic'), a word which (with the cognate στόμφος) Gregory uses several times in *Against Eunomius*,[3] is also associated with Longinus. Jaeger (*ad* 1.480) comments that it is a technical term in rhetoric; but that is misleading. In Aristophanes *Clouds* 1367, στόμφαξ was applied to the style of Aeschylus; we learn from an anonymous commentator on Hermogenes (*RG* 7.963.17-964.9 Walz) that Longinus interpreted this passage in the context of a discussion of the word στομφώδης in book 21 of his *Philological Discourses*.[4] With the possible exception of the treatise *On Sublimity*, the date and authorship of which are disputed (see §2 below), there is only one occurrence of a cognate word in extant literary criticism and rhetorical theory before Longinus: Hermogenes uses the verb στομφάζειν (*Id.* 247.13 Rabe), but does not apply it directly to a style (he is describing the shape of the mouth associated with sounds appropriate to a certain style). The fact that Syrianus, in his commentary on this passage of Hermogenes (1.39.11-15 Rabe), felt the need to explain στομφάζειν and στομφώδης suggests that they were not standard technical terms. Two pupils of Syrianus also use the word: Proclus (*In Tim.* 1.64.22) and Hermias (*In Phaedr.* 9.17-19 Couvreur). This distribution of evidence suggests that στόμφος and its cognates were introduced into critical currency in late antiquity under Longinus' direct and indirect influence.

Elsewhere, Gregory makes ironical use of the language of sublimity (ὕψος) in his satire on Eunomius' style (1.29):[5]

> δηλοῦται γὰρ ἐκεῖ δῆθεν τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τὰ πάθη διὰ τοῦ λόγου εἰς ὕψος αἴρεται καὶ εἰς τραγῳδίας ὄγκον ἡ ἱστορία μετασκευάζεται
>
> For there his exploits are made known, his sufferings raised to sublimity through his discourse, and the story transformed into the magnificence of tragedy.

Here, too, we can infer a connection with Longinus. Proclus reports Longinus' analysis of the opening sentence of Plato's *Timaeus*, in which he

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[3] στόμφος: 2.360; στομφώδης: 1.480; 2.360, 413, 480, 607.

[4] Longinus' discussion was apparently drawn on by a later commentator on Aristophanes: cf. ΣV *Clouds* 1367. John of Sicily (*RG* 6.225.9-29) seems to have contaminated his source's note on στομφώδης in the *Philological Discourses* with his own recollection of *On Sublimity* 3.1.

[5] Cf. ὑψηλός 1.551, 3.6.35, 3.7.1.

shows how its structure achieves sublimity (*In Tim.* 1.17.4-20). The concept of sublimity appears elsewhere in Proclus.[6] In Syrianus' commentary on Hermogenes it is striking that sublimity is paired with grandeur (ὕψους καὶ μεγέθους μετέχειν 1.30.5), since Hermogenes himself never uses the word ὕψος,[7] although he speaks frequently of grandeur (μέγεθος) and magnificence (ὄγκος). Syrianus' introduction of sublimity into a context where it did not originally occur suggests that the neoplatonic interest in the concept is distinctive; these writers are not simply reproducing a critical commonplace. The implication is that some predecessor's treatment of the topic has exercised an influence on the tradition in which they were working, and the obvious candidate for the source of this influence is again Longinus.

ὄγκος, paired with sublimity in *Against Eunomius* 1.29, is also recurrent in Gregory and Longinus.[8] The word means 'bulk', can be used in a positive sense ('magnificence') or a negative one ('tumidity'). It is very widely distributed in ancient criticism (we have already noted its occurrence in Hermogenes), and is thus less distinctive. But there is one possible, if subtle, symptom of Longinian influence in Gregory's use of it. Longinus interpreted the Aristophanic στόμφαξ as meaning that Aeschylus' diction has φαντασία but not σύστασις (ὡς τῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ Αἰσχύλου φαντασίαν μὲν ἐχόντων, μηδεμίαν δὲ σύστασιν μηδὲ κρότησιν *RG* 7.964.6f.). Compare Gregory's remark (2.340) that Eunomius' over-inflated (ὀγκώδης) style, like mist seen from a distance, seems to have σύστασιν ... τινα καὶ φαντασίαν, although on closer inspection the sense disappears. Has the phrasing been suggested by a passage in Longinus that Gregory's use of στομφώδης had already recalled to mind?

2. *Gregory and* On Sublimity

The constellation of terms στόμφος, ὕψος and ὄγκος which we have traced in Gregory and Longinus also occurs in the treatise *On Sublimity*.[9] This work was universally attributed to Longinus until the beginning of the nine-

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[6] *In Tim.* 1.64.7-11 (citing Longinus' pupil Porphyry), 1.64.11-23; *In Parm.* 646.28 Cousin.

[7] The adjective ὑψηλός occurs three times.

[8] Gregory: ὀγκώδης 2.339; ὄγκος 1.81, 3.3.27, 3.5.26; ὀγκώσας 3.7.1. For Longinus see 214.13, 28 Spengel-Hammer, and the fragment of the *Philological Discourses* quoted by Lachares 294.14-35, in H. Graeven, Ein Fragment des Lachares, *Hermes* 30 (1895) 289-313.

[9] στόμφος 3.1, 32.7; ὕψος *passim*; ὄγκος 3.1 (ὀγκηρός), 3.4, 8.3, 12.3, 15.1, 28.2 (ὀγκόω), 30.2, 39.3, 40.2, 43.5.

teenth century; since then the attribution has been widely questioned, and most scholars now reject it. I believe, however, that the objections to Longinus' authorship are ill-founded, and that there are positive connections between the treatise and the fragments of Longinus which make the traditional attribution the most credible and economical hypothesis.[10] If that is so, then it is worth considering whether there is any evidence that Gregory's familiarity with Longinus' critical writings extended to *On Sublimity* (or, if the traditional attribution is not accepted, that he was familiar with *On Sublimity* in addition to works by Longinus). I note the following parallels:

(i) *Subl.* 3.1 ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ, πράγματι ὀγκηρῷ φύσει καὶ ἐπιδεχομένῳ στόμφον ('in tragedy, a thing that is by nature magnificent and tolerant of bombast'): cf. *Against Eunomius* 1.29 (quoted above) εἰς ὕψος . . . καὶ εἰς τραγῳδίας ὄγκον ('to sublimity . . . and . . . into the magnificence of tragedy'). Tragic ὄγκος is too common a notion for this parallel to be used as evidence in itself, but it may have some weight when taken with other possible echoes of the same chapter of *On Sublimity*.

(ii) *Subl.* 3.2 καί τινα τῶν Καλλισθένους ὄντα οὐχ ὑψηλά, ἀλλὰ μετέωρα, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ Κλειτάρχου· φλοιώδης γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ φυσῶν . . . ('certain passages in Callisthenes that are not sublime so much as elevated in mid-air, and even more those in Clitarchus; for he is a pompous fellow, blowing . . .'): cf. the parallel progression in *Against Eunomius* 3.7.1 ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους μετέρχεται λόγους καὶ μετεωρίσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὀγκώσας ἐν διακένῳ φυσήματι λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγαλοπρεπείας ἐπάξιον ('he proceeds to more sublime discourses, and elevating himself in mid-air and swelling himself up in empty blowing he tries to say something worthy of the grandeur of God'). But the evidential value of this parallel is weakened by Philo *De Ebrietate* 128: Ἀαρὼν δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἱερεύς, καὶ τοὔνομα ὀρεινὸς ἑρμηνεύεται, μετέωρα καὶ ὑψηλὰ φρονῶν λογισμός, οὐ διὰ μεγαλαυχίας κενοῦ φυσήματος ὑπόπλεων ὄγκον, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς ('Aaron is the priest, and his name means "mountainous"—i.e. reason that is elevated and sublime, not because of the swollen tumidity of boastfulness's empty blowing, but because of the greatness of his virtue').[11]

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[10] See Heath (n. 2).

[11] A number of other parallels between Philo and *On Sublimity* have been noted in the past: see D.A. Russell (ed.), *'Longinus' On the Sublime* (Oxford 1964) xxix-xxx. There is no consensus as to whether these parallels prove that the author of *On Sublimity* had read Philo.

(iii) *Subl.* 3.3-4 expounds the paradox that ill-judged attempts to avoid aridity (ξηρότης) lead to tumidity (ὄγκος), and hence to the very aridity that was being shunned: cf. *Against Eunomius* 2.607, on Eunomius' 'bombastic aridities' (τὰς στομφώδεις . . . ταύτας ξηροστομίας: the last word is a *hapax*).

(iv) *Subl.* 3.4 links περιεργασία ('over-elaboration') and τὸ μειρακιῶδες ('puerility'): cf. *Against Eunomius* 2.128-9, where κομμωτικὴ περιεργία ('over-elaborate embellishment') is linked to τὸ γλίσχρον καὶ μειρακιῶδες ('pettiness and puerility'). See also *Against Eunomius* 1.19, on the κομμωτικὴ περιεργία needed in the absence of truth.[12]

(v) *Subl.* 12.3 ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σεμνότητι ('in magnificence and solemn grandeur'): cf. the pairing ὀγκώσας . . . μεγαλοπρεπείας in *Against Eunomius* 3.7.1, quoted in (ii) above. Again, the parallel cannot be pressed, since this juxtaposition is not unique (cf. Aristotle *Poet.* 1459b28; Plut. *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 1.3); but the next example involves a possible further echo of the same passage.

(vi) In *Against Eunomius* 1.19 Gregory refers to the inherent beauty which illuminates the text like lightning (οἴκοθεν ἐπαστράπτει τοῖς λεγομένοις τὸ κάλλος) when the truth is expounded pure, unadulterated and without artifice. Lightning imagery is also applied ironically to Eunomius' style at 1.482: ὡς ἐπαστράπτει τῇ συντάξει τοῦ λόγου τὸ λεῖον καὶ κατεστιλβωμένον τῆς λέξεως ('how the polished brilliance of the diction illuminates the composition of his discourse like lightning'). Imagery of light, fire and thunderbolt is found frequently in *On Sublimity* (1.4, 12.3-4, 15.11, 17.2, 30.1,[13] 33.5, 34.4). Particularly interesting is *Subl.* 12.3, already mentioned under (v) above, where Plato's 'magnificence and solemn grandeur' is described as having less intensity (οὐχ οὕτως ἐπέστραπται) than Demosthenes. Since ἐπιστρέφειν has a recognised use in stylistic criticism to denote vehemence or intensity, it is methodologically correct for modern editors to retain the transmitted ἐπέστραπται. But Bentley's conjecture ἀπαστράπτει (justly described by Russell *ad loc.* as 'brilliant'), introducing a reference to lightning that fits well with the surrounding images of flame (ἐκφλεγόμενον) and thunderbolt (σκηπτῷ . . . κεραυνῷ), would give a striking parallel to Gregory's use of ἐπαστράπτει.

(vii) *Subl.* 34.2 σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουσα ('jests not lacking in taste'): cf. *Against Eunomius* 2.561 ἄμουσα σκώμματα, the only exact parallel I have traced,[14]

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[12] Cf. ἀναλήθεις in *Subl.* 3.4? A purely verbal echo, at most: the context and sense are different.

[13] The parallel with Longinus *Art of Rhetoric* 186.19-20 Spengel-Hammer has long been recognised.

[14] I report here the findings of a search of the TLG D CD-ROM.

although there are looser parallels in Plutarch (*Alexander* 39 τινι τῶν περὶ πότον καὶ σκώμματα οὐκ ἀμούσων) and Lucian (*Merc. Cond.* 34 οὐκ ἀμούσως . . . ἀποσκώπτων); cf. also Libanius *Prog.* 12.6.

These parallels are not by any standard of reckoning conclusive. But we could scarcely have hoped for conclusive evidence that Gregory had read *On Sublimity*: he is not a mechanical imitator, and has no reason to make a specific allusion to that text, the concerns of which are only incidentally relevant to his project. Given the probability that Gregory was familiar with the critical writings of Longinus (see (§1) above), the parallels might be thought suggestive if it is accepted that Longinus was the author of *On Sublimity*; but no stronger claim is warranted.

School of Classics, University of Leeds, *Leeds* LS2 9JT England

DER CHRISTLICHE REITERHEILIGE DES SISINNIOS-TYPS IM KAMPF GEGEN EINE VIELNAMIGE DÄMONIN

VON

WOLFGANG FAUTH

Die christliche Spätantike präsentiert in ihrer Ikonologie und Hagiographie eine in mehreren Varianten entgegentretende Konfiguration: Ein 'heiliger Reiter' durchbohrt mit seiner Lanze ein am Boden befindliches, verschiedenartig gestaltetes dämonisches Wesen. Der auf solche Weise dargestellte Sieg des Guten über das Böse soll hier, nach einer Übersicht über die wichtigsten Zeugnisse für die genannte Szene, eingeengt werden auf die Betrachtung des Zusammentreffens zwischen dem berittenen Heiligen (Sisinnios, Georg) bzw. seinen Äquivalenten (Erzengel Michael, König Salomon) und einer polyonymen menschenfeindlichen Dämonin.

Es wird zum einen versucht, aus den zahlreichen, zum Teil listenartig aufgereihten Namen und ihrer Bedeutung die Wesenheit dieser Dämonin und ihren originären Typus zu erhellen; dabei muß gelegentlich auch auf Belegmaterial zurückgegriffen werden, das außerhalb des engeren Rahmens der Reiterlegende liegt. Zum anderen bieten der Name und die Gestalt des Sisinnios Anlaß zu einer genaueren sprachlichen und literarischen Untersuchung. Um die Herkunftsfrage einer Lösung näherzubringen, wird die jüdische Überlieferung von den drei die Dämonin verfolgenden Engeln S(i)n(o)j, S(i)ns(i)n(o)j und S(a)m(a)ng(a)l(o)f herangezogen. Es besteht die Aussicht, über diesen Weg die Provenienz des Grundmotivs geographisch in etwa zu ermitteln.

I

Unter den bildlichen und legendarischen Testimonien für die Konfrontation des Reiterheiligen oder anderer 'Lichtgestalten' mit einer Erscheinungsform der dunklen, negativen Mächte sind vorab folgende zu verzeichnen:

1. Das syrische 'Buch des Schutzes', eine aus christlichem Besitz stammende Sammlung von Zaubersprüchen oder apotropäischen Gebeten (Brit. Mus. Ms. nr. 6673), enthält auch eine Anzahl von quadratisch geformten

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Amulettwiedergaben mit dem Bildtypus des 'heiligen Reiters', der vom Pferd aus eine am Boden liegende dämonische oder diabolische Kreatur durchbohrt.[1] Es handelt sich dabei im einzelnen um den Kampf (a) des Mar Georg von Lydda (Kappadokien) gegen den Drachen,[2] (b) des Mar Thomas gegen den Dämon des Wahnsinns,[3] (c) des Mar Gabriel[4] gegen die weibliche Verkörperung des 'Bösen Auges',[5] (d) des Rabban Hormizd[6] gegen den tollwütigen Hund,[7] (e) des Mar Daniel[8] gegen den lauernden Wolf,[9] (f) des Königs Salomon gegen den Dämonenfürsten Ašmedai,[10]

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[1] H. Gollancz, *The Book of Protection being a Collection of Charms* (London 1912) XXII-LXXXIV (Cod. A-C p. 3-87). Vgl. F. Macler, Formules magiques de l'Orient Chrétien, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 58 (1908) 11-27 fig. 1-6. E.A.W. Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (New York 1961) 272-282.

[2] E.A.W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia* (London 1888) XXXIII n. 1. J. Strzygowski, Der koptische Reiterheilige und der heilige Georg, *Ztschr. f. ägypt. Spr.* 40 (1902/03) 58. J.B. Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder des heiligen Georg* (Leipzig 1911). E.u. H. Melchers, *Die Heiligen. Geschichte und Legende* (Augsburg 1980) 244-246.

[3] Zum heiligen Thomas s. Melchers, *Die Heiligen* 406-408.—Vermutlich ist aber ein ägyptischer Märtyrer wie Thomas von Chandelet oder Thomas von Tanphot (H. Delehaye, Les martyrs d'Égypte, *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 [1922] 106. 112) gemeint.

[4] Über den heiligen (Erzengel) Gabriel s. Melchers, *Die Heiligen* 183-184. E. Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels* (London 1967) 117-119. 121 (Abb.), Vgl. A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* I (Bruxelles 1931) 69. II (Bruxelles 1931) 182. C.D.G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche* (Wiesbaden 1959) 46. 308.

[5] E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* II (New York 1953) 164. Vgl. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* I (Mosquae 1893) 333. W.H. Worrell, Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen, *Ztschr. f. Assyriol.* 23 (1909) 161-162. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (Paris-Liège 1927) 248-249. W. Staude, Le mauvais oeil dans la peinture chrétienne d'Abyssinie, *Journ. As.* 225 (1934) 231-249. A. Merlin, Amulettes contre l'invidia provenant de Tunisia, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 42 (1940) 486-493. C.D.G. Müller, Von Teufel, Mittagsdämon und Amuletten, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 17 (1974) 101-102. F.E. Dobberahn, *Fünf Äthiopische Zauberrollen. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Walldorf 1976) 20-21. 70-71 (Lit.). G. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires chez les Coptes d'Égypte* (Saint-Vincent sur Jabron/Sisteron 1978) 100-101. J. Russel, The Evil Eye in Byzantine Society, *Jahrb. f. Öst. Byzantinistik* 32 (1982) 539-548.

[6] Eponym des gleichnamigen nestorianischen Klosters bei Al-Kōs (J. Assfalg – P. Krüger, *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients* [Wiesbaden 1975] 86. 307).

[7] Vgl. C. Kopp, *Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche* (Roma 1932) 172-175. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* I: Die Übersetzungen (Citta del Vaticano 1944) 539-540. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche* 286.

[8] Vgl. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922) 20. 30.—Zur Identität s. L. Clugnet – F. Nau – I. Guidi (Eds.), *Vie et récits de l'Abbé Daniel le Scétiote* (Paris 1901). Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 78-79. Vgl. aber auch J. Mercier, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien. Kultbilder magischer Riten* (München 1979) 58 Abb. 10 (Daniel der Prophet).

[9] Vgl. E.A.W. Budge, *The Life of Takla Hâymânôt and the Miracles of Takla Hâymânôt* I (London 1906) pl. 38.

(g) des Märtyrers Thaumasios[11] gegen 'den Geist der Tochter des Mondes', (h) des Zain Chubraina[12] gegen den bösen Geist (der Pest?), (i) des Mar 'Abd-Išo' (Ebedjesus)[13] und (j) der Gottesmutter Maria gegen den Höllenherrscher Satan.[14]

Es sind also zeitlich, herkunftsmäßig und kategorial ganz unterschiedliche, zum Teil mit Pferd und Lanze von Natur aus völlig unvertraute Figuren in das besagte Amulettschema einbezogen worden.

2. Die äthiopischen Zaubertexte enthalten, bildlich oder schriftlich konzipiert, (a) die Austreibung eines Krankheitsdämons und seine Perfixion mit dem Schwert durch den als Drachentöter bekannten Erzengel Michael,[15] (b) die Attacke des lanzenbewehrten heiligen Georg[16] gegen 'böse Geister, Zauberer und Hexenmeister', wo das zugehörige apotropäische Gebet auch das Schwert des Michael und des Gabriel gegen sie beruft,[17] (c) die Tötung

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[10] Zu Ašmedai vgl. H.L. Jansen, Die Hochzeitsriten im Tobit-Buche, *Temenos* 1 (1965) 142-143. D. Winston, The Iranian Component in the Bible and Qumran, *Hist. of Rel.* 5 (1966) 193 u.n. 27. R. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* (New York 1967) 232. 237. R.N. Frye, Problems in the Study of Iranian Religions, in J. Neusner (Ed.), *Religions in Antiquity. Essays to E.R. Goodenough* (Leiden 1968) 589. C. Colpe, Asmodaios, Wörterbuch der Mythologie IV (Stuttgart 1974/1982) 293.

[11] Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922) 36. Vgl. J.E. Stadler/J.N. Ginal, *Vollständiges Heiligenlexikon* V (Augsburg 1892) 443.

[12] Vielleicht syrische Wiedergabe des Sanctus Cyprianus von Antiochien, der als Magier und Bekämpfer des bösen Geistes der Pest galt (Melchers, *Die Heiligen* 191-193).—Die Legende: Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von R. Benz (Heidelberg 1975) 733-737.

[13] G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* II (Citta del Vaticano 1947) 214-216. P. Kawerau, *Das Christentum des Ostens* (Köln-Mainz 1972) 83-89.

[14] Vgl. P. Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans in Tenebris* (Strasbourg 1922) 11-12.

[15] Mercier, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien* 20 Abb. 7. Vgl. F. Wiegand, *Der Erzengel Michael in der bildenden Kunst* (Stuttgart 1886) pl. 44. W. Hengstenberg, Der Drachenkampf des heiligen Theodor, *Oriens Christianus* N.S. 2 (1912) 263-264. A. Ehrhard, *Byz. Ztschr.* 22 (1913) 181 (Rez. Hengstenberg). G.F. Hill, Apollo and St. Michael: Some Analogies I, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 36 (1916) 158-162. P.G. de Jerphanion, L'origine copte du type de Saint Michel debout sur le dragon, *Compte Rend. Acad. Inscr.* 1938, 367-381. A. Rosenberg, *Engel und Dämonen* (München 1967) 94-96. J. van der Vliet, Satan's Fall in Coptic Magic, in M. Meyer/P. Mirecki (Eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden-New York-Köln 1995) 406-409 (Lit.).

[16] Melchers, *Die Heiligen* 244-246. Vgl. W. Staude, Die ikonographischen Regeln der äthiopischen Kirchenmalerei, *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 13 (1958) 280. E. Wagner, Die Illustrationen der äthiopischen Zauberrollen der Sammlung Littmann, in W. Hoenerbach (Hg.), *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies* (Wiesbaden 1967) 714. S. ferner R. Kriss/H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam* I (Wiesbaden 1960) 55.

[17] Mercier, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien* 71 Taf. 16; vgl. 30 Abb. XVI. 40 Taf. 1. 68-69 Taf. 15.

der dämonischen Schmiedekönige Mäzhab, Sämhuris, Bärqan und Mäjum durch den mit Krone und Speer ausgestatteten berittenen Salomon,[18] (d) das Erstechen der diabolischen Aberselia (Werzelja) mit dem Speer des heiligen Sisinnios (Susnejos).[19]

3. Spätantike bzw.mediaevale (byzantinische) Gemmen und Medaillons mit Amulettcharakter zeigen das ungeachtet der wechselnden Namen stereotype Gegeneinander des Reiterheiligen und seines meist weiblichen boshaften Kontrahenten.[20] Unter den das Duell bestreitenden Heilsträgern befinden sich sowohl Engel (Araaph und Uriel)[21] als auch der (meistens berittene) Salomon:[22] (a) Auf einem Phylakterion aus Alexandria wird dieser offenbar von einem Engel (Araaph?) geführt,[23] (b) auf einem anderen

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[18] Mercier, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien* 19. 115 Taf. 38; vgl. 92 Taf. 27.—Die Legende bei S. Euringer, Das Netz des Salomon, *Ztschr. f. Semit.* 6 (1928) 81-85. O. Löfgren, Äthiopische Wandamulette, *Orientalia Suecana* 11 (1963) 109-116. Vgl. A.Z. Aešcoly, Noms magiques des apocryphes chrétiens éthiopiens, *Journ. As.* 220 (1932) 121.

[19] R. Basset, Les légendes de S. Tertag et de Sousneyos, in *Mélanges Africains et Orientaux* (Paris 1915) 259-277. S. Grébaut, La légende de Sousneyos et de Werzeliá d'après le ms. éthiop. Griaule n° 297, *Orientalia* 6 (1937) 177-183. Löfgren, *Orientalia Suecana* 11 (1963) 100-101. Wagner, Die Illustrationen der äthiopischen Zauberrollen 711-712. Dobberahn, *Fünf äthiopische Zauberrollen* 28-32. 43-44. 115-116. Mercier, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien* 100 Taf. 31. 106 Taf. 34; vgl. 66 Taf. 14.

[20] G. Schlumberger, Amulettes byzantines anciens destinées à combattre les maléfices et maladies, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 5 (1892) 73-93. E. Peterson, *'EIC ΘΕΟC. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen 1926) 96-109 u. Abb. H. Seyrig, Invidia medici, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 5-6. R. Mouterde, Objets magiques, *Mél. Univ. St. Joseph Beyrouth* 25 (1942/43) 121-126 fig. 1. H. Möbius, Frühbyzantinisches Bleimedaillon, *Arch. Anz.* 1941, 251-252 Abb. 21. M.C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* I (Washington D.C. 1962) 53-54 pl. 38 nr. 60. Vgl. C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor-London 1950) 219-220. J. Engemann, Zur Verbreitung magischer Überlabwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 18 (1975) 25 Abb. 1. 37 Abb. 6.

[21] Schlumberger, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 5 (1892) 77 (nr. 3).

[22] J. Maspéro, Bracelets amulettes d'époque byzantine, *Ann. Serv. Arch. Ég.* 9 (1908) 246. A.A. Barb, Abraxas-Studien, in *Hommages W. Deonna* (Bruxelles 1957) 75-76. K. Wessel, *L'art copte* (Paris 1964) 217. 221-227. A. Delatte/Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris 1964) 261-264 (nr. 369-377). B. Bagatti, Altre medaglie di Salomone cavaliere e loro origine, *Riv. Ant. Chr.* 47 (1971) 331-342. Müller, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 17 (1974) 99 u. Abb. 7. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 112. F.M. Schwartz/J.H. Schwartz, Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society: 1. Ancient Magical Amulets, *Am. Num. Soc. Mus. Notes* 24 (1978) 184-187 (nr. 46-48).

[23] P. Perdrizet, CΦΡΑΓΙC CΑΛΟΜΩΝΟC, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 16 (1903) 46-47 fig. 1. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* II, 229.

aus Kleinasien[24] ist er, offenbar um der Intensivierung willen, mit dem christlichen Sisinnios-Sisinnarios kombiniert oder konfundiert,[25] (c) auf einem byzantinischen Amulett erscheinen Sisinnios und Michael vereint als Dämonenbekämpfer.[26]

4. Das bekannte, leider fragmentarische Fresko von Bawiṭ bei Achmunen (Herakleopolis Magna) aus dem Kloster des heiligen Apollo (Anba Aflu)[27] gibt dem weiblichen Dämon die onomastische Beischrift ΑΛΑΒΑCΔΡΙΑ (*Alabasdria*), während der schildbewehrte Lanzenreiter von E. Clédat, P. Perdrizet und E. Peterson unter Verweis auf den Bezug zu Horus-Apollon als der heilige Sisinnios gesichert wurde.[28]

5. Die christlich-syrische Zauberliteratur rückt den Mar ʿAbd-Išoʿ, den 'berühmten Märtyrer' Mar Georg (Mar Giwargis),[29] den Mar Thaumasios/us und den Mar Cyprianus (Mar Ḳupriana)[30] vor Augen, wenn es gegen das 'Böse Auge' und andere Plagegeister geht, wobei allerdings das typische Reiterszenario nur in den beigefügten Bildern zum Vorschein kommt.[31]

6. Auf den aramäischen Zauberschalen ergeht ein Appell an wehrhafte Engel wie Tiqaz, Qatros und Qatriawis, mit ihrem Speer die Lilith 'in der Haut des Herzens' zu treffen.[32]

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[24] G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris 1895) 118-120. Perdrizet, *Negotium* 27 fig. 7. Engemann, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 18 (1975) 25 Abb. 1.

[25] Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ* 107-108. 112. H.A. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* (Stuttgart 1931) 159-164. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 112. 113 (Abb.).

[26] A. Grabar, Amulettes byzantines du Moyen Age, in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris 1974) 534-535 (nr. 6).

[27] W.E. Crum, Der hl. Apollo und das Kloster von Bawît, *Ztschr. f. ägypt. Spr.* 40 (1902/03) 60-62.

[28] F. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit* I (Le Caire 1904/06) 80-81. P. Perdrizet, *Terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouqet* (Nancy 1921) 86 pl. LXXI. *Negotium* 13-14 fig. 6. 26. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 157-158. 169-170. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 115-117.—Darstellung des hl. Sisinnios in koptischen Handschriften: W. de Grüneisen, *Les caracteristiques de l'art copte* (Florence 1922) 63-64.

[29] H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris 1909) 115-117. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (München 1911) 296.

[30] Vgl. R. Basset, *Les apocryphes éthiopiens VI: Les prières de saint Cyprian et de Théophile* (Paris 1896) 1-5. S. Wingate, The Scroll of Cyprian: an Armenian Family Amulet, *Folk-Lore* 41 (1930) 182-187. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 85-86 (Ghabrianûs).

[31] W.H. Hazard, A Syriac Charm, *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 15 (1893) 284-295.

[32] Ch.D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula/Montana 1975) 56 (nr. 17, 7). 58 (nr. 18, 5-6). 60/62 (nr. 19, 11). W. Fauth, Lilits und Astarten in aramäischen, mandäischen und syrischen Zaubertexten, *Welt des Orients* 17 (1986) 87.

7. Im Testamentum Salomonis läßt der thronende israelitisch-jüdische Herrscher über Djinns, Ghuls und andere Unholde[33] die Kindbettfeindin Obyzuth fesseln und verbrennen.[34] Einer ihrer zahlreichen Namen lautet daher in der Michaelslegende Σωλωμωνη(ν)[35] als Ausweis ihres Zusammentreffens mit Salomon in der Wüste, dem Aufenthaltsort der Dämonen.[36]

II

Dem Namenrepertoire der schadenstiftenden Widersacherin mit seinen von magischer Diffusion diktierten orthographischen Veränderungen lassen sich Hinweise sowohl für ihre Wesensart und Handlungsweise als auch für die Vielfalt der auf sie bezüglichen legendarischen Varianten entnehmen.

1. Die soeben erwähnte Obyzuth ('Οβυζούθ) erhält die Schreibungen (a) Αβιζ(ι)ου, Αβυζου, Αβιζα, Αβηζατω u.ä. in den Versionen der griechischen Sisinnios- und Michaelslegende[37] nebst *Avesiha, Avezuha* in deren rumänischen Ablegern,[38] (b) *Apiton* im 'Anathema des Mar 'Abd-Išo'',[39] (c) *Abiti/o, Abizu, Abitar, Amizo* in denen der vom hebräischen 'Mysterium des Herrn' bewahrten Geschichte über die Begegnung zwischen Elijah und Lilith,[40] (d) *Abyzu, Amiz(u), Avitu* in der abweichenden Liste der Lilith-Namen bei J.E. Hanauer,[41] (e) 'Αβιζοῦ in einer Beschwörung des Codex Parisinus 395,[42]

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[33] Perdrizet, *Negotium* 32-35. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 175-184. A. Chastel, La légende de la reine de Saba, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 120 (1939) 38-41.

[34] Ch.Ch. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig 1922) 43*-45* (XVI 1-7). M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romances, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* II (London 1925/28) 1034-1035.

[35] F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (Gießen 1907) 23. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 111 (nr. 33).

[36] Vgl. G. Scholem, Some Sources of Jewish-Arabic Demonology, *Journ. Jew. Stud.* 16 (1965) 5. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* 209. 233. Fauth, *Welt des Orients* 17 (1986) 90-91 (Lit.).

[37] Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 99. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* 78. Vgl. C.N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Medii Aevi* V (Paris 1876) 575-576.

[38] R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig 1904) 298-299. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete* 28. H. Hepding, Kleine Beiträge zu magischen Formeln, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 23 (1924) 120-123.

[39] Gollancz, *The Book of Protection* LXIX (Übs.). 64 (Text).

[40] Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1025. 1257. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 107-108 (nr. 27). Th.H. Gaster, *The Holy and the Profane* (New York 1955) 21-22. S. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology* (New York 1964) 363-364. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* 21. 215. 238. Th. Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets* (London 1966) 115-116 (nr. 13).

[41] *Folklore in the Holy Land* (London 1907). Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels* 352.

[42] Müller, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 17 (1974) 100-101.

(f) *Abizu* übereinstimmend damit auf einem Silberamulett aus Kurdistan,[43] (g) Ἀβιζιόν als scheinbares Deminutiv auf einem Talisman aus Syrien.[44] Die etymologische Rückführung auf griech. ἄβυσσος, βύθος 'Abgrund' (= 'Höllenschlund') durch P. Perdrizet[45] wurde von A.A. Barb und C.D.G. Müller akzeptiert.[46]

2. Der lilithartige Charakter der Obyzuth-Abyzu grenzt die Perspektive ein auf den Kampf des Heiligen gegen weibliche Dämonen mit der Tendenz zur Bedrohung wehrloser Kleinkinder. Dazu gehört auch die mit der Person des Sisinnios verbundene Begebenheit; sie wird überliefert sowohl von griechisch-byzantinischen Quellen[47] und dem arabisch-jakobitischen Synaxar[48] als auch von äthiopischen Zaubertexten,[49] wo Sisinnios unter der Form *Susnejos* auftritt; die Mörderin seines erstgeborenen Kindes heißt dort—wie oben bereits bemerkt—Werzelja, und ihr Zusammentreffen mit Susnejos ist von den Zauberrollen auch bildlich festgehalten.[50] Da eben diese Werzelja als *Aberselia* in Form eines pluralischen Gattungsnamens ('alle Aberselia') von einem koptischen Exorzismus zitiert wird (London MS. OR. 5525),[51] hat A.M. Kropp von daher auf die christliche Sisinnios-Legende zurückgeschlossen[52] und auf deren Vorkommen in der äthiopischen Zauberliteratur hingewiesen.[53]

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[43] Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets* 171-172 pl. 53.

[44] A.A. Barb, Magica Varia, *Syria* 49 (1972) 344-349 fig. 1.

[45] *Negotium* 22.

[46] A.A. Barb, Diva Matrix, *Journ. Warb. Court. Inst.* 16 (1953) 211. Antaura. The Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother, *Journ. Warb. Court. Inst.* 29 (1966) 5. 9. *Syria* 49 (1972) 349.

[47] Perdrizet, *Negotium* 19-20. Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ* 114-117.

[48] R. Basset, *Le synaxaire arabe jacobite* IV (Paris 1922) 336-338. Vgl. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 129-130.

[49] Worrell, *Ztschr. f. Assyriol.* 23 (1909) 165-169. 24 (1910) 60-65. 68-69. 74-75. 77. 82. 86. 92. 29 (1914/15) 85-86. 89. 94. 100. 103-104. 123-124. Wagner, Die Illustrationen der äthiopischen Zauberrollen 711-713. Dobberahn, *Fünf äthiopische Zauberrollen* 28-32. 43-44. 116-119 (Lit.).

[50] Mercier, *Zauberrollen aus Äthiopien* 21. 27. 106 Tf. 34.

[51] A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* I (Bruxelles 1931) 15. II (Bruxelles 1931) 200 (XLVIII 23). W. Beltz, Die koptischen Zauberpergamente der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Arch. f. Pap. Forsch.* 32 (1986) 30. 84 ([A]belsellia).

[52] Vgl. F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique de l'ancienne empire jusqu'à l'époque copte* II (Paris 1925) 168-169.

[53] A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* III (Bruxelles 1930) 16. 200-201. Vgl. S. Pernigotti, La magia copta I. Testi, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 18,5 (Berlin-New York 1995) 3704-3705.

3. *Alabasdria* auf dem Fresko von Bawiṭ ist mit Sicherheit von ἀλάβαστ(ρ)ος abzuleiten, einem griechischen Fremdwort für eine bestimmte Gesteinsart, das nach K. Sethe aus dem Ägyptischen stammt;[54] andererseits legt der onomastische Katalog der Dämonin in der byzantinischen Tradition mit Μαρμαρου—zumindest volksetymologisch—eine Zugehörigkeit zu griech. μάρμαρος 'weißer Stein'[55] nahe. Infolge des damit gegebenen Hinweises auf die Härte (vgl. Hesych. μ 298 L. μάρμαρ· στερεόν) und demgemäß auf die Widerstandsfähigkeit der Gegnerin des Reiterheiligen gewinnt die etymologische Verbindung von kopt. *Aberselia*, äth. *Werzelja* mit semit.-hebr. *barzäl* 'Eisen'[56] an Wahrscheinlichkeit.[57] Dazu kommt, daß eine vergleichbare 'Historiola' (Tötung der Söhne der Smamit durch ein dämonisches Wesen) auf einem Amulett und einer Zauberschale aramäischer Provenienz das griechische Wort *Sideros* (*sdrws*) 'Eisen' zur Bezeichnung der kindbedrohenden Schadensmacht verwendet[58] und daß die Herausgeber dieser magischen Texte angesichts einer solchen Eigentümlichkeit sowohl auf die äthiopische Werzelja als auch auf die Βαρδελλους in den Katalogen der griechisch-byzantinischen Legende verwiesen haben.[59]

4. Den an dem Fresko von Bawiṭ sichtbar werdenden Bezug zu Ägypten, wo Horus mit dem Speer in seinem Kampf gegen die typhonischen Tiere Krokodil und Nilpferd den Prototyp für koptische Heilige in gleicher Position hergab (s.u.S. 416),[60] unterstreicht das von den Fassungen der griechischen Sisinnios-Legende der Dämonin verliehene Nomen magicum Αιγυπτια(νη).[61]

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[54] *Sitz. Ber. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1933, 888-889. Vgl. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (Heidelberg 1954) 62.

[55] H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* II (Heidelberg 1961) 176-177.

[56] O. von Lemm, *Koptische Miszellen* 19 (1907) 18-19. Vgl. P. Schäfer/S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* I (Tübingen 1994) 221/226. 231.

[57] Vgl. Peterson, *'EIC ΘEOC* 118. Dobberahn, *Fünf äthiopische Zauberollen* 181 (gegen E. Littmann, *Geschichte der christlichen Literatur des Orients* [Leipzig 1909] 239).—S. ferner W. Beltz, Die koptischen Zauberpergamente der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Arch. f. Pap. Forsch.* 30 (1984) 84 (kopt.*[A]belsellia* [= Aberselia] und *tarabastro* 'Alabaster').

[58] J. Naveh/S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem-Leiden 1985) 104-107. 111 (nr. 15). 188-191. 196 (nr. 12 a.b).

[59] Naveh/Shaked, *Amulets and Magic* Bowls 108. 116.

[60] H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952) 312. 317. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge 1970) 346. S. Lewis, Coptic Horsemen, *Journ. Am. Res. Cent. Eg.* 10 (1973) 27-63. S.I. Johnston, Riders in the Sky: Cavalier Gods and Theurgic Salvation in the Second Century A.D., *Class. Phil.* 87 (1992) 308-309 u.n. 27.

[61] J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia 1913) 263.

5. Der vermutete sprachliche Einfluß von hebr. *barzäl* 'Eisen' kann—wie unter Punkt 3 notiert—ebendort die Deformation Βαρδελλους < *Βαρβελ(λ)ους und in der Michaelslegende Αναβαρδαλαια < *Αναβαρβαλαια veranlaßt haben.[62] Die assoziative Konsonantenverschiebung b > d (labiale zu dentaler Media) hat in diesen magischen Nomenklaturen eine Parallele im Wechsel der Liquidae r und l: Μαρμαλατ(ους) < *Μαρμαρατ(ους),[63] gestützt durch *Marmera* im äthiopischen 'Netz des Salomon',[64] ferner im Austausch der Labiale b und m: Αναμαρδαλεα < *Αναβαρδαλεα.[65] Der von P. Perdrizet erwogene unmittelbare etymologische Zusammenhang mit griech. Μορμώ[66] und μόρμορος· φόβος (Hesych. μ 1670 L.) ist daher nicht ohne weiteres gegeben; die diversen aufgezählten Nomina apocrypha der Dämonin gehören vielmehr zunächst einmal zu den zahlreichen, mit den Silben **bar-* und **mar-*, zum Teil dupliziert (**barbar-*, **marmar-*), auf der Grundlage des Aramäischen gebildeten Zaubernamen für machthaltige, ihrer Natur nach meist ambivalente übermenschliche Wesen.[67] Die Gemeinsamkeit mit Μορμώ, μόρμορος beschränkt sich demnach auf den solchen Silben, ungeachtet ihrer vokalischen Tönung, eigentümlichen, durch Duplikation eventuell noch verstärkten 'barbarischen', das heißt expressiven, fremdartig-unverständlichen und zugleich schreckenden, pejorativen Lauteffekt.[68]

6. Eine onomatopoetische, manchmal dissimilatorisch entschärfte Intensivreduplikation liegt auch bei Καρκαρικρυ, Καρκανιτω < *Καρκαριτω u.ä.-vor. Wie Καρχους (vgl. κάρχαι· καρκίνοι [Hesych. κ 942 L.]) enthalten diese Bildungen die Wurzel *καρ- 'hart, rauh, scharf' (vgl. κάρκαροι· τραχεῖς [Hesych. κ 831 L.]).[69] Der Name stellt somit das gefährliche Attribut krebsscherenartiger scharfer Zähne an der Dämonin heraus, bestätigt durch

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[62] Vgl. Perdrizet, *Negotium* 21. W. Fauth, Seth-Typhon, Onoel und der eselsköpfige Sabaoth, *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973) 84.

[63] Vgl. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete* 28. Müller, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 17 (1974) 101.

[64] Euringer, *Ztschr. f. Semit.* 6 (1928) 182/183. 193.

[65] Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 117.

[66] Vgl. E. Rohde, *Psyche* II (Leipzig-Tübingen 1898 [Darmstadt 1961]) 407-411. Th.H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament* (London 1969) 579.

[67] Vgl. W. Fauth, *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973) 81-83. Dardaniel (PGM LXII 12-16), *Ztschr. f. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 98 (1993) 67-68. *Helios Megistos. Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike* (Leiden-New York-Köln 1995) 56. 79. 104. 107. S. ferner H.M. Jackson, The Origin of Some Names in the Sethian Gnostic System, *Vigiliae Christianae* 43 (1989) 74-75.

[68] Fauth, *Ztschr. f. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 98 (1993) 63-66.

[69] Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, 789. 790. 796.

Καρκώ· Λάμια (Hesych. κ 834 L.) und Καρκινάρ (CCAG 4,132),[70] beide zu griech. καρκίνος 'Krebs'.

7. Auf ihr monströses Aussehen, auch bestialische Formen und Gestaltanteile einschließend, richten sich die folgenden Appellative: (a) Αμορφου(ς), *Amorpho* ('ungestaltet' = 'mißgestaltet'),[71] (b) Λαοδρακανα (= *Λαοδράκαινα 'Steinechse'), Χαρμοδρακαινα (= *Χαρχοδράκαινα 'scharfzahnige Schlange'), (c) Απλετου (zu griech. ἄπλετος 'ungeheuer'), (d) Ξιρομαστου (verschrieben aus *Ξιφομάστου 'Schwertbrüstige'), (e) Μυια, Μηα, *Miha* u.ä. ('Fliege'), (f) Πετομενη, Πετασια ('Fliegende, Geflügelte'), (g) Κεραμηδοτραχουσα (verderbt aus *Καμηλοτρίχουσα 'mit Kamelhaaren').[72]

8. Andere Alternativbenennungen verdeutlichen ihren Drang nach körperlicher Schädigung und ihre Gier nach menschlichen, nicht zuletzt auch kindlichen Opfern:[73] (a) Αχορταρη ('Unersättliche'; zu griech. ἀχόρταστος = ἄπληστος; ἀχορτασία 'Heißhunger'), (b) Ψυχανασπάστρια ('Seelenverschlingerin'), (c) Αιματοπινουσα ('Bluttrinkerin' = griech. αἱματοπῶτις), (d) Παταζαραια (= *Παταξαραία), Παταξαρω ('Schlagende'), (e) Σκιλλουσ(ι)α (verschrieben aus *Σκύλλουσα 'Kratzende, Zerraufende, Raffende'),[74] (f) Στριγ(κ)λα, Στριλγμα, *S(a)trina* (= griech. στρίγξ 'Eule'. lat. *striga* 'Hexe'),[75] (g) Τροφοπανικτρα (= *Τροφοπνίκτρια 'Würgerin der Brut'), Παιδοπνικτρια ('Kindswürgerin'), dem 'Mutter Würgerin der Knaben' (syr. *amā hanūqtā d'taliē*) im 'Anathema des Mar 'Abd-Išo'' bzw. der arabischen *'Umm al-*

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[70] F. Boll, Griechische Gespenster, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* 12 (1909) 149-150. W. Deonna, The Crab and the Butterfly, *Journ. Warb. Court. Inst.* 17 (1954) 56-57. 73.

[71] Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts* 264.

[72] Vgl. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 99. 117. Perdrizet, *Negotium* 20-23. Ohrt, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 23 (1924) 39. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 111-113. Ch. Josserand, Io et le taon, *Ant. Class.* 6 (1937) 260-261. Th.H. Gaster, A Canaanite Magical Text, *Orientalia* 11 (1942) 45-46 (Lit.).

[73] Vgl. M. Grunwald, Aus Hausapotheke und Hexenküche, *Jahrb. f. jüd. Volkskunde* 25 (1923) 211 (nr. 190). G.G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York 1960) 72-73 u.n. 27.

[74] Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 99. Perdrizet, *Negotium* 20. 23-24. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete* 23. 28. 73. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* I, 326. Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1257. A. Delatte/Ch. Josserand, Contribution à l'étude de la démonologie byzantine, *Ann. Inst. Phil. Or. et Slave* 2 (1934) 231-232.

[75] W. Fauth, Römische Religion im Spiegel der Fasti des Ovid, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 16,1 (Berlin-New York 1978) 131. Lilitu und die Eulen von Pylos, in *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann* (Innsbruck 1982) 63. Magie und Mysterium in den Metamorphosen des Apuleius, in *Chartulae. Festschrift für Wolfgang Speyer* (Münster 1998) 134. Vgl. M. Schuster, Der Werwolf und die Hexen, *Wiener Studien* 48 (1930) 166-168.

sibjān '(Würgende) Mutter der Knaben' (= Ḳarīnah) entsprechend.[76]

9. Bemerkenswert ist nun, daß die restlichen, bisher nicht analysierten Epiklesen der Dämonin auf Bereiche verweisen, die prinzipiell größeren weiblichen Gottheiten des hellenisch-mediterranen Raumes zugehören: (a) Πελαγια in der zweiten Version der Michaelslegende erinnert an die Aphrodite Pelagia als schaumgeborene Herrin der See (Ποντία, Εὔπλοια),[77] wobei nicht zu vergessen ist, daß auch die jüdische Lilith eine Affinität zu dieser Sphäre aufweist.[78] (b) Μαυλ(ιστ)ου (zu griech. μαῦλις 'Kupplerin, Bordellwirtin' [Hesych. μ 117 L.])[79] berührt die hetärische Seite der kyprischen Aphrodite und ihrer semitischen Verwandten (Aštart Qadeš);[80] dabei ist zu notieren, daß 'Kupplerin' und 'Hexe' in der antiken Literatur zuweilen deckungsgleich sind.[81] (c) Αριανη[82] führt zunächst auf die kretische Ariadne,[83] das heißt auf eine mythisch verblaßte Göttin mit sowohl astralen ('Αρίδηλα) als auch chthonisch-vegetativen Konturen ('Αριάγνη), an Aphrodite wie an Dionysos und Persephone herangerückt,[84] mag auch durch die graphische Veränderung zu Καρ(ι)ανη in einigen der christlich-byzantinischen Listen eine Assoziation an die arabische Ḳarīna(h) nahegelegt werden.[85] (d)

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[76] Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts* 258-260 (nr. 42). Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 26. 37. 40. 42. 103. 111. Naveh/Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* 118. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 82-83. 101. 118. D. Pielow, Dämonenabwehr am Beispiel des Zārs und des islamischen Amulettwesens, *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges.* 147 (1997) 361 u. Anm. 27.

[77] K. Tümpel, Die Muschel der Aphrodite, *Philologus* 51 (1892) 398-401. A. Lesky, *Thalatta* (Wien 1947) 99-100. W. Fauth, Das Kasion-Gebirge und Zeus Kasios, *Ug. Forsch.* 22 (1990) 113.

[78] Vgl. I. Levi, Lilit et Lilin *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 68 (1914) 17-18. Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1253. 1255. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 107. 109. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* 220. 223. 231.

[79] Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 117. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, 186.

[80] W. Fauth, Sakrale Prostitution im Vorderen Orient und im Mittelmeerraum, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 31 (1988) 29-32. Hierodulie, *Reallexikon f. Ant. u. Christentum* 15 (1989) 74-76 (Lit.).

[81] J.C. Baroja, *Die Hexen und ihre Welt* (Stuttgart 1967) 57-58. W. Fauth, Venena Amoris, *Maia* 32 (1980) 275.

[82] E. Peterson, Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina barbara, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. 75 (1926) 396.

[83] H. von Geisau, Ariadne, *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* I (Stuttgart 1964) 543-545.

[84] H.J. Rose, *Griechische Mythologie* (München 1969) 175.

[85] N.S. Blackman, The Karīn and Karīneh, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.* 56 (1926) 163-169. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 3-39 (nr. 1-15). 82-86. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 82-83. Pielow, *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges.* 147 (1997) 367 u. Anm. 40.

Σεληνου(ς)[86] geht auf die Mondgöttin als Patronin der Zauberei und des Hexenwesens,[87] besonders in ihrer Personalunion mit Hekate,[88] zu deren schrecklicher Erscheinung und Wesensart die oben aufgeführten Nomina apocrypha Αβυζου, Αμορφους, Αχορταρη und Αιματοπινουσα durchaus passen würden. (e) Γυλ(λ)ου(ς), Γελου, Γιλ(λ)ου(ς)[89] wurde aufgrund komparatistischer Hypothesen seitens der Orientalistik meist mit dem sumerischen Dämon Gal(l)u identifiziert.[90] Daß dies abzulehnen ist—ebenso wie die Rückführung auf den arabischen Ghul[91]—geht aus folgenden Fakten hervor:

a. Der sumerische Gal(l)u ist männlich, die von S. Langdon behauptete Verweiblichung ganz unglaubwürdig.

b. Alle Alternativnamen der Dämonin in den Katalogen der griechisch-byzantinischen Legende vom Reiterheiligen sind aus dem Griechischen erklärbar.

Somit bietet es sich an, auf die bei Sappho (fr. 47 Bgk.) bezeugte Γελλώ zurückzugreifen, von Hesych (γ 107 L.) als mädchenhaftes Ebenbild der Empuse (Ἔμπουσα) und als von den Frauen gefürchtete, kinderraubende Unholdin interpretiert,[92] im Mittel- und Neugriechischen zu Γυλοῦ, Γιλ(λ)ώ, Γελοῦ verändert[93] und demgemäß den einschlägigen Paradigmata der Legendenlisten adäquat. H. Herter hat die von E. Schwyzer[94] erkannte Zuge-

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[86] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 298. Pradel. *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete* 28. W. Fauth, Arktos in den griechischen Zauberpapyri, *Ztschr. f. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 57 (1984) 97.

[87] Perdrizet, *Negotium* 23. W. Fauth, Selene, *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* V (Stuttgart 1975) 83.

[88] Th. Hopfner, Hekate-Selene-Artemis in den Zauberpapyri, in *Pisciculi. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums F.J. Dölger dargeboten* (Münster 1939) 140-141.

[89] Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* V, 572-576. O. Kern, Verschollenes über Porphyrios, *Hermes* 54 (1919) 217. F. Ohrt, Namenversteck in zwei alten Segensformeln, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 24 (1925) 38-39. K. Svoboda, *La démonologie de Michel Psellos* (Brno 1927) 42. 55. D.B. Oeconomides, Yello dans la tradition des peuples hellénique et roumain, in *IV. International Congress for Folk-Narrative Research in Athens* (Athen 1965) 328-334.

[90] Vgl. C. Frank, Zu babylonischen Beschwörungstexten, *Ztschr. f. Assyriol.* 24 (1910) 161. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts* 262. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology* 365.

[91] E. Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation* (London 1933) 21-24. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 117.

[92] Rohde, *Psyche* II, 83. 407-408. Vgl. W. Fauth, Ištar als Löwengöttin und die löwenköpfige Lamaštu, *Welt des Orients* 12 (1981) 28-30.

[93] Vgl. P. Maas, *Byz. Ztschr.* 17 (1908) 224-225 (Rez. Pradel). Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* I, 336. Th. Schermann, *Spätgriechische Zauber- und Volksgebete* (München 1909) 24-26. J.C. Lawson, *Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1910) 176-179.

[94] *Griechische Grammatik* I (München 1968) 478 Anm. 7.

hörigkeit zur Wurzel *γελ- 'glänzen' aufgenommen ('die Glänzende').[95] Das fügt sich zu der durch Σεληνου(ς) repräsentierten Natur des Mondhaften, während die Erklärung des Hesych-Lexikons die gespenstische Eigenschaft der 'Greiferin' (Ἔμπουσα)[96] und Kindesräuberin formuliert.[97] Γελλώ ist also ebensowenig mit B. Hemmerdinger sprachlich von sum. *Gal(l)u* herzuleiten[98] wie Λάμια ('die Gierige')[99] von akk. *Lamaštu*.[100] Wohl aber wird im letzteren Falle eine gewisse typologische und funktionale Ähnlichkeit[101] dadurch hergestellt, daß sowohl Lamaštu als Lilitu/Ardat Lili dämonische Sonderformen der Großgöttin Ištar zu sein scheinen,[102] ähnlich wie die polyonyme dämonische Gegnerin des spätzeitlichen Reiterheiligen durch einige ihrer Alternativnamen personale Berührung mit der zu dieser Spätzeit dominierenden, synkretistisch expandierten Herrin des Himmels, des Mondes, des Meeres, der Unterwelt, der Erde und der erdverbundenen magisch-sexuellen Potenzen anzeigte.

III

Beim Übergang der Betrachtung von der vielnamigen Dämonin auf deren sakrosankte Kontrahenten sind folgende Einzelheiten der legendarischen Überlieferung hervorzuheben:

1. Nach Codex Parisinus 2316 (p. 432) begegnet Michael, vom Himmel herabkommend, dem 'unreinen Geist' der Παξαρεα mit knöchellangen Haaren und feurigen Augen, Frauen und Kinder heimsuchend; er zwingt sie, ihre zwölf Namen preiszugeben.[103]

2. Die von F. Pradel verzeichnete Variante läßt Michael, vom Sinai herabsteigend, auf die Hexe Αβυζου Παταξαρω treffen und ihr vierzig(!) mit

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[95] H. Herter, Böse Dämonen im frühgriechischen Volksglauben, *Rhein. Jahrb. f. Volkskunde* 1 (1950) 119.

[96] W. Fauth, Aphrodites Pantoffel und die Sandale der Hekate, *Grazer Beiträge* 12/13 (1985/86) 202-203. 206.

[97] Vgl. Levi, *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 68 (1914) 15-16. S.I. Johnston, Defining the Dreadful: Remarks on the Greek Child-Killing Demon, in M. Meyer/P. Mirecki (Eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden-New York-Köln 1995) 361-387 (Lit.).

[98] De la méconnaissance de quelques étymologies grecques, *Glotta* 48 (1970) 51.

[99] Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, 80. Vgl. Rohde, *Psyche* II, 409-410.

[100] So zuletzt D.R. West, Gello and Lamia: Two Hellenic Demons of Semitic Origins, *Ug. Forsch.* 23 (1991) 361-368. S. aber schon Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 114.

[101] Vgl. A. Goetze, *Journ. Cuneif. Stud.* 11 (1957) 81. Fauth, *Grazer Beiträge* 12/13, 202.

[102] Fauth, Lilitu und die Eulen von Pylos 54-59. *Welt des Orients* 12 (1981) 29-31.

[103] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 298-299. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 112 (nr. 34).

Γιλου und Μορφου eingeleitete Zauberbezeichnungen abnötigen.[104] Es ist jedoch, wie in der ersten Version, keine Rede davon, daß er beritten sei oder die Teufelin mit der Lanze durchbohre; wohl aber gibt es einen Hinweis auf seine Vergesellschaftung mit dem heiligen Sisinnios, wie das oben (S. 405) bei Salomon zu bemerken war, wenn jene verspricht: 'Wo diese zwölf Namen sind und dein Name, Michael, und dein Name Sisinnios und Sinodoros, werde ich nicht in das Haus gehen des Dieners Gottes mit dem Namen NN.'

3. Daß Michael und Sisinnios (Sisoe) gemeinsam dem 'unreinen Geist' Avestitza, dort 'Flügel des Satans' geheißen, entgegentreten, berichtet die rumänische Tradition.[105]

4. Dieselbe Tradition läßt aber auch den ersteren allein vom Ölberg kommen, den 'Satansflügel' Avezuha (= Obyzuth) mit dem Schwert verwunden und in das öde Bergland, also die Dämonenregion verbannen.[106]

5. Anderweitig rettet der heilige Sisoe (Sisinnios) allein, zu Pferd und wohl auch bewaffnet, das Kind seiner Schwester Meletia vor dem Teufel.[107]

6. Daneben gibt es wiederum die Variante der personalen Multiplikation mit der Trias Siso (= Sisinnios), Sidor (= Sinodoros) und Fidor (= Theodoros).[108]

7. Das permanente Schwanken hinsichtlich der Zahl wie auch der Identität und der Aktionsweise der Dämonenbestreiter gilt ebenfalls für die etwas abweichende Szenerie der Kollision mit den weiblichen Fiebererregern am Roten Meer:

(a) Eine russische Ikone zeigt auf der einen Seite St. Sisinnios, wie er seine rechte Hand gegen die zwölf verschiedenartig gekleideten Mädchen, auf einem Felsen des Meeres befindlich, ausstreckt, auf der anderen den Erzengel Michael, wie er sie mit seinem Stab bedroht.[109]

(b) Daneben gibt es anscheinend auch die Darstellung aus dem slavischen Raum, wonach Sisinnios allein, auf einer Steinsäule des Roten Meeres sitzend, es mit diesen Schadengeistern aufnimmt.

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[104] Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete* 23.

[105] Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1257-1259. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 114-115 (nr. 38).

[106] Hepding, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 23 (1924) 121-122. Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1008-1009. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 115-116 (nr. 39. 40).

[107] Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1015-1018.

[108] Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 114 (nr. 37).—Zu Theodoros von Euchaïta s. O. Volk, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* X (1965) 39-40. Melchers, *Die Heiligen* 730.

[109] O. Janiewitsch, AYPA, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* 13 (1910) 629. Barb, *Journ. Warb. Court. Inst.* 29 (1966) 3-4.

(c) Dagegen kommen nach einer anderen Version auf das Gebet des Heiligen die beiden Engel Si(c)hail und Abas, um die aus dem Roten Meer aufsteigenden Fieberbringerinnen zu verfolgen,[110] so daß die Singularität des Sisinnios durch eine Zweizahl von Gesandten des Himmels, also einer anderen Wesenskategorie, zur Dreiheit ergänzt wird, wie sie zuvor schon einmal—allerdings in dem homogenen Schema von drei Heiligen—vorkam, während die Allianz Heiliger—Engel auf Sisinnios und Michael zurückweist.

8. Analog dazu läßt die armenische Überlieferung (a) den Sisianos (= Sisinnios) allein mit eisernem Messer(!) gegen die schlimme, Frauen und Kinder befallende Inkarnation des Bösen angehen, (b) gewissermaßen dupliziert als Sisi (= Sisoe) und Sisiane (= Sisinnios) gemeinsam mit zwei Engeln (Noviel und Padsiel) diese Inkarnation bekämpfen[111] und so eine Duplizität beider Helferkategorien zum Zuge kommen, (c) in dem als 'Schriftrolle des heiligen Kyprian' bekannten armenischen Amulett den Sisinnios, gleich Michael, vom Berge Sinai herabsteigen und auf den durch feurige Augen und Kamelhaare gekennzeichneten Dämon Abjahu (= Obyzuth-Lilith) treffen; er zwingt ihn zu dem Geständnis, daß er Frauen befalle und Kinder würge, und gibt ihn erst wieder frei, nachdem dieser bei Gott und den Engeln geschworen hat, alle Frauen zu verschonen, wenn sie ihn bannen 'Im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes und im Namen des heiligen Sisinnios'.[112] Die Vermutung von Th. H. Gaster, der Ausdruck 'vom Berge Sinai' sei eine Korruptel von 'mit dem heiligen Sinoi', so daß hier erneut eine Dualität der Dämonenbestreiter gegeben sei,[113] ist ohne Anhalt, bemerkenswert dagegen, daß Sisinnios weder als beritten und bewaffnet geschildert wird noch seinen Widersacher tötet, sondern ihn (wie Michael)[114] 'neutralisiert'.

9. Die von L. Allatius, De templis Graecorum recentioribus (Coloniae 1645) verzeichneten griechischen Versionen bieten mit Σισίννιος (Σισύνιος) und Συνίδωρος (Σισυνίδωρος)[115] durchweg eine Verdoppelung, wobei das Heiligenpaar entweder zu Pferde die sich ständig verwandelnde Γυλοῦ verfolgt

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[110] Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1030. 1260. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 116-117 (nr. 41).

[111] M.H. Ananikian, *Armenian Mythology* (Boston 1925) 309-310. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 104 (nr. 22. 23).

[112] Wingate, *Folk-Lore* 41 (1930) 169-182.

[113] Gaster, *The Holy and the Profane* 23.

[114] Vgl. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche* 163.

[115] Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 109-110 (nr. 28. 29). Löfgren, *Orientalia Suecana* 11 (1963) 100.

und ihre Namen zu nennen zwingt, sie aber nicht tötet, sondern—wie oben—verbannt oder aber als Brüder die sieben Kinder ihrer Schwester Melitene dem Weibsteufel wieder zu entreißen trachtet.[116]

10. Anderswo findet sich für den Gefährten (Bruder) des Sisinnios der (wohl aus Σισύνιος entstellte) Name Διονύσιος[117] oder seine Verweiblichung zu Σισιννία, indem die Schwester, sonst Μελιτηνή geheißen, in einer apotropäischen Formel für den Bruder eintritt.[118]

11. Die Neigung zur Akkumulation läßt schließlich eine Triade entstehen: (a) Σισίνιος, Σίνης καὶ Σηνόδωρος,[119] (b) Σινήσιος, Σηνόδωρος, Σισίννιος,[120] zu der sich im zweiten Falle noch die Schwester Μελιτηνή (Μελετινή) gesellt.

12. Das Häufen der unheilabwehrenden Märtyrernamen in Form einer Art 'Familie' ist funktional vergleichbar mit der Koordination von Sisinnios (Σισίννιος, Βισισίννιος), Salomon (Σολομών) und den vier Erzengeln (Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Οὐριήλ, Ῥαφαήλ) auf einer Amulettgemme ägyptischen Ursprungs und byzantinischer Zeit aus dem Britischen Museum (nr. 1938, 10), wo zudem die Rückseite Horus (= Christus) auf den Krokodilen abbildet.[121] Bei der notorischen Paarbildung von Sisinnios scheint die bisher nicht aufgetretene onomastische Variante Βισισίννιος durch Umwandlung einer semitischen Konjunktion (*w'* 'und') zur magisch-expressiv verstärkenden prothetischen Silbe entstanden zu sein (s.u.S. 423). Salomon und die Erzengel deuten in Verbindung mit Horus auf eine für die Spätantike charakteristische Fusion von jüdisch-christlichen mit—unter Umständen christianisierten—ägyptischen Elementen.[122]

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[116] Worrell, *Ztschr. f. Assyriol.* 23 (1909) 158-161. Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1019-1024.

[117] Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 248-249.

[118] Seyrig, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 7-9. Barb, *Syria* 49 (1942) 349-354 (nr. 1-4).

[119] Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi* V, 574. Perdrizet, *Negotium* 15-19. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 110-111 (nr. 30).

[120] Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, 99. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 111 (nr. 31).—Vgl. J. Moreau, Zur Passio der Hl. Drillingsbrüder, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 3 (1960) 134-140.

[121] A.A. Barb, Three Elusive Amulets, *Journ. Warb. Court. Inst.* 27 (1964) 10-13.—Zu Horus auf den Krokodilen s. zuletzt R.K. Ritner, Horus on the Crocodiles, in W.K. Simpson (Ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven 1989), 105-111.

[122] Vgl. Peterson *'EIC ΘEOC* 121-122. Wagner, Die Illustrationen der äthiopischen Zauberrollen 713-714.

IV

Die bei Sisinnios anzutreffende Triadenbildung hat dazu angeregt, sie mit einer seit dem siebenten Jahrhundert n. Chr. in der jüdischen Magie und Folklore vorkommenden Dreizahl von Engeln zusammenzuhalten, welche die kindertötende Lilith verfolgen, sie mit allerlei Strafen, unter anderem mit Ertränken, bedrohen, sie zwingen, ihre Nomina abscondita zu verraten, und ihr das Versprechen abnehmen, alle zu verschonen, denen die Namen dieser drei Engel als apotropäischer Talisman zur Verfügung stehen.[123]

In der modernen Wiedergabe der Belege weist der Konsonantismus geringfügige Divergenzen auf: (a) *Snwj Swsnwj Smnglf*, (b) *Swnj Swswnj Snjglj*.[124] Die Vokalisierung hingegen differiert stärker: (a) *Snoi Snsnoi Smnglf* (Sefer Raziel),[125] (b) *Sanw(a)i Sansanw(a)i Semanglof* (Silberlamelle aus Kurdistan),[126] (c) *Snoi Snsnoi Smglf* (Alphabetum Siracidis),[127] (d) *Sanwi Sansanwi Samangalaf* (persisch-jüdisches Amulett),[128] (e) *Senoi Sansenoi Samangeloph* (Elias Germanicus),[129] (f) *Sini Sinsinni Smangalof* (jüdisches Amulett),[130] (g) *Snoi Snsni Smngelof* (jüdisches Amulett),[131] (h) *Sanvi Sansanoi Samangales* (Paolo Medici),[132] (i) *Sinoi Sinsinoi Smnglf* (spätjüdische Kindbettamulette bis in moderne Zeit).[133] Die Lesungen bleiben, wie J. Bowman richtig bemerkt hat,[134] zumindest hinsichtlich des Vokalismus, ganz unsicher.

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[123] Vgl. I. Hampp, *Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet* (Stuttgart 1961) 177-179.

[124] Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* II, 212. Naveh/Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* 25. 104/105.

[125] Peterson, *'EIC ΘEOC* 118. Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 224-225. Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess* 226-227 fig. 2.

[126] Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets* 143-144 pl. 6. 166-167 pl. 45.

[127] Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1031-1032. 1252. Vgl. I.M. Casanovicz, Two Jewish Amulets, *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 37 (1917) 50/51. J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (Cleveland-New York 1961) 101.

[128] J. Bowman, Five Persian Jewish Amulets, *Abr-Nahrain* 17 (1976/77) 17-18.

[129] M. Delrio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (Colonia Agrippina 1657) 1014. Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* 224-225.

[130] M. Ginsburger, *Amulettes judéo-alsaciennes* I (Straßbourg 1929) 213. Vgl. D. Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux* (Paris 1940) 3.

[131] M. Grunwald, Aus Hausapotheke und Hexenküche, *Mitt. Ges. f. jüd. Volkskunde* 5 (1900) 60 (nr. 201).

[132] I. Zoller, Lilith, *Riv. di Anthropol.* 27 (1926/27) 371.

[133] Gaster, *The Holy and the Profane* 21.

[134] *Abr Nahrain* 17 (1976/77) 19.

Was das Verhältnis des seltsamen, mit magischen Lautähnlichkeiten gebildeten Dreivereins von Namen und deren Trägern zu der oben notierten Sisinnios-Triade angeht, so sind verschiedenartige Thesen vorgetragen worden.[135] Mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit gehört die homoionyme Engeldreiheit, für die es alttestamentliche Vorbilder gibt (Gen. 18, 1-5) ebenso wie eine vor allem byzantinisch-ostkirchliche Ikonographie,[136] dem jüdisch-hebräischen Legendenreservoir über himmlischen Schutz vor der kinderfeindlichen Dämonin an; dabei ist mit E. Peterson zu betonen, daß die Engel nicht beritten sind und keinen tödlichen Angriff gegen die Lilith-Gylu führen.[137]

Der Kontakt dieser Engelepisode mit der christlichen, griechisch-byzantinischen Sisinniosgeschichte könnte im Raum Palästinas (aramäisches Smamit-Sideros-Amulett)[138] erfolgt sein, da ein koptischer Reliquienüberzug drei Reiter darstellt, von denen einer eine Schlange tötet.[139] Dieser während spät- und nachantiker Zeit durchaus mögliche Kontakt ergab dann folgerichtig (a) eine an sich überflüssige Vervielfältigung des Reiterheiligen, (b) seine gelegentliche Substitution durch den ursprünglich nicht berittenen jüdischen König Salomon oder den Erzengel Michael parallel zu der Elijah-Lilith-Legende.[140] Er weist als gemeinsames, die Assoziation förderndes Moment außer dem Faktum des Konflikts mit der Dämonin (Gylu-Werzelja-Sideros-Lilith) noch die tatsächliche oder vermeintliche nominale Kongruenz von Sisinnios und Snsni (Sinsinni, Sinsinoi) auf.

Um festzustellen, was es damit auf sich hat, ist es erforderlich, zunächst die an Person und Namen des heiligen Sisinnios haftenden Unklarheiten und Schwierigkeiten zu notieren und die dazu vorgetragenen Meinungen zu bewerten:

1. Erledigt hat sich seine von M. Gaster und P. Perdrizet befürwortete Identifikation mit dem homonymen Schüler Manis[141] und damit die Verlegung der Ursprungsfigur (samt den an ihr haftenden Legendenzügen) nach Persien bzw. Parthien oder Mesopotamien.[142]

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[135] Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1028-1029. 1031 (z.T. verfehlt). Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts* 262.

[136] G.H. Mohr, *Lexikon der Symbole* (Düsseldorf-Köln 1974) 76.

[137] *'EIC ΘEOC* 120.

[138] Naveh/Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* 120-121.

[139] R. Pagenstecher, Ein koptischer Reliquienüberzug mit Madonnendarstellung, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* 19 (1916/19) 424-433.

[140] Naveh/Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* 121.

[141] Gaster, *Studies and Texts* II, 1031. 1262-1263. Perdrizet, *Negotium* 13-15.—Zu dem Manichäer Sisin s. W.B. Henning, *Selected Papers* I (Téhéran-Liège-Leiden 1977) 284.

[142] Vgl. Strzygowski, *Ztschr. f. äg. Spr.* 40 (1902/03) 59. Peterson, *'EIC ΘEOC* 124-127.

2. Desgleichen ist die Annahme einer persischen Herkunft des Namens—unter Verweis auf Sisan, den Minister des Nimrod, in der syrischen 'Schatzhöhle' und auf Sasan in Salomon von Basras 'Book of the Bee'[143]—gewiß aufzugeben. *Sīsin* ist aramäisch (das gilt übrigens auch für den Namen des Mani-Jüngers).[144]

3. Wenn von einer östlichen Herkunft des Reiterheiligen gesprochen wurde,[145] sollte das am ehesten auf das byzantinische Anatolien (einschließlich Armenien) bezogen werden;[146] von daher würde sich am ehesten die Ausbreitung der Legende einerseits in die nordwestlichen Randgebiete des Schwarzen Meeres (Rumänien, Bulgarien, Südrußland),[147] andererseits nach Ägypten, Syrien und Äthiopien sowie die Lokalisierungen des Geschehens in Palästina (Ölberg) und am Roten Meer (Sinai) ungezwungen erklären.

4. Da das Heiligenlexikon von J.E. Stadler und J.N. Ginal über zwanzig Personen namens Sisinnios verzeichnet,[148] bleibt die Ermittlung eines historischen Sisinnios im Ungewissen.[149] Am nächsten liegt noch die vom arabischsprachlichen koptischen Synaxar vorgenommene Gleichung mit einem Märtyrer, Sohn des Sosipatros, aus Antiochia zur Zeit Diokletians (284-305 n. Chr.),[150] getauft in Nikomedia (Bithynien); das deutet, zumal der Name seiner Schwester Melitene mit einer Stadt an der kappadokisch-armenischen Grenze, dem Geburtsort des heiligen Georg,[151] übereinstimmt,

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Perdizet, *Negotium* 16. 19. S. dagegen schon Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 123-127. 154-155.

[143] Peterson, *'EIC ΘEOC* 118. Dobberahn, *Fünf äthiopische Zauberrollen* 120. 123-124.

[144] W. Sundermann, Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer, *Die Sprache* 36 (1994) 245-246. Vgl. schon W. Fauth, SSM BN PDRŠŠA, *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges. 120* (1970) 252.

[145] J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* II (Wien 1918) 631-632. Vgl. O. von Wesendonck, Die Herkunft des christlichen Reiterheiligen, *Or. Lit. Ztg.* 23 (1920) 260-268. O. Wulff, Ein Rückblick auf die Entwicklung der altchristlichen Kunst, *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher* 2 (1921) 364 u. Anm. 1.

[146] Hengstenberg, *Oriens Christianus* N.S. 2 (1912) 81-83. 85-106. J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* I (Wien 1918) 28-29. 82. 215. 296. 425. 428.

[147] Vgl. P. Peeters, *Analecta Bollandiana* 27 (1908) 69 (Rez. Pereira).

[148] Stadler/Ginal, *Vollständiges Heiligenlexikon* V, 334-335.

[149] Vgl. Peeters, *Analecta Bollandiana* 27 (1928) 69-70 (mit Bezug auf R. Basset, *Les apocryphes éthiopiennes* IV [Paris 1894] 10-28 und H. Hyvernat, *Les actes des martyrs de l'Égypte* I [Paris 1886] 99).

[150] E. Wüstenfeld, *Synaxarium, das ist Heiligenkalender der koptischen Christen* (Gotha 1879) V-VI. Basset, *Le synaxaire arabe jacobite* 336-337. Naveh/Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* 117-118. Vgl. Winkler, *Salomo und die Karina* 153-154.

[151] A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* III (Leipzig 1892) 176.

auf Antiochia in Kilikien, Karien oder Pisidien.[152] Das griechische Synaxar läßt ihn aus Kyzikos an der Propontis kommen;[153] auch das fügt sich in den oben beschriebenen geographischen Radius.

5. Nachdem das koptische Ägypten und das christliche Äthiopien die Sisinnios-Legende rezipiert hatten,[154] wird eine Herkunft aus Antinoë behauptet.[155] Im übrigen kannte das koptische Christentum mehrere Märtyrer mit dem Namen Sisinnios in Ägypten,[156] darunter den renommierten Sisinnios von Tantheto[157] in der Nähe des Apa Apollo-Klosters von Bawiṭ.[158] Einer von ihnen soll der oben erwähnte, dem Familienkreis des Kaisers Diokletian zugehörige und in Nikomedia, also seiner Taufstadt, getötete Sohn des Sosipatros sein.

6. An dem zuvor abgesteckten geographischen Umkreis hat sich nun auch die Überlegung zu orientieren, wie der christliche Märtyrer zu Pferd und Lanze gekommen ist; denn daß ihm diese Attribute ursprünglich ebensowenig zukommen wie dem jüdischen Salomon, dürfte einleuchten. Es erscheint daher nicht abwegig, mit J.R. Goodenough auf den thrakisch-kleinasiatischen, somit das Pontosgebiet und Südosteuropa einbegreifenden Reitergott Heros[159] zu verweisen,[160] der als θεὸς Ἥρων seit den Ptolemäern in Ägypten verehrt[161] und dort möglicherweise dem zu römischer Zeit eben-

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[152] H. Treidler, Antiocheia (nr. 4-8), *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* I (Stuttgart 1964) 387.

[153] H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Bruxelles 1902) 250.

[154] Von Lemm, *Koptische Miszellen* 19 (1907) 499. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1992) 103. 129. 137. Basset, *Le synaxaire arabe jacobite* 313.

[155] Acta Sanctorum IV 587. Vgl. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922) 75 (Alexandreia). Perdrizet, *Negotium* 14.—Zur Lage von Antinoë s. E. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris 1893) 51. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 114.

[156] Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 113-114. A. Beltz, Die koptischen Zauberpergamente der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Arch. f. Pap. Forsch.* 29 (1983) 67-69. 32 (1986) 63 (Index).

[157] Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922) 112. Hyvernat, *Les actes des martyrs d'Égypte* I, 99.

[158] Vgl. H. Delehaye, *Synaxaire copte* II (Le Caire 1951) 114. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 112. 114.

[159] G. Kazarow, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (Budapest 1938). J. Wiesner, *Die Thraker* (Stuttgart 1963) 95. 107. 112. V. Velkov/V. Gerassimova-Tomova, Kulte und Religionen in Thrakien und Niedermösien, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 18,2 (Berlin-New York 1989) 1322-1335.

[160] *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* II, 228.

[161] G. Lefèbvre, Le dieu Ἥρων d'Égypte, *Ann. Serv. Arch. Ég.* 20 (1920) 237-249. G. Capovilla, Il Dio Heron in Tracia e in Egitto, *Riv. Fil. Istr. Class.* N.S. 1 (1923) 424-

falls kriegerisch gerüstet und zum Teil beritten dargestellten Horus[162] angenähert wurde.[163] Es hat den Anschein, daß eine motivische Linie von dem thrakischen Reitergott bzw. -heros zu den zahlreichen sakrosankten Drachentötern verläuft.[164] Zwar sind die Einwirkungen des reitenden ägyptischen Horus und des im ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. mit ihm gleichgesetzten Heron[165] auf Reiterheilige wie Georg, Sisinnios und Salomon schwer zu qualifizieren und zeitlich oder umfangmäßig festzulegen, doch kann eine Übernahme des Grundmotivs (Bezwingung eines monströs-dämonischen Wesens durch eine soteriologische Gestalt)[166] seit dem 6./7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wohl mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit in Betracht gezogen werden.

V

Wenn es zutrifft, daß die spezielle ikonologische oder legendarische Konzeption des berittenen und lanzenbewehrten christlich-jüdischen Streiters (Sisinnios-Salomon) gegen das Böse in seinen mannigfachen Inkorporationen, insbesondere gegen die kindbedrohende Dämonin des Aberselia-Obyzuth-Gylu-Typus, erst aus spätantiken bzw. mittelalterlichen Einflüssen der Heros (Heron-Horus)-Figur resultiert, so steht nichts im Wege, die Präfiguration sowohl für den christlichen Heiligen Sisinnios (Sisoe, Susnejos) als auch für die jüdische Engeltriade S(a)nw(a) S(a)ns(a)nw(a) S(a)m(a)ng(a)l(a)f/S(i)n(o)j S(i)ns(i)n(o)j S(a)m(a)ng(a)l(o)f auf einem religionsgeschichtlich-ethnographischen Terrain zu suchen, das von kleinasiatisch-pontischen, ägyptisch-koptischen, jüdisch-palästinensischen bzw. syrischen Kulturzonen eingegrenzt oder berührt wird.

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467. E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* I (Alexandrie 1926) 110-114 pl. LVIII. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* 295-296.

[162] Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* 313-314. Vgl. J. Bergman, Horus und das Pferd, in *Studia Aegyptiaca* I (Budapest 1974) 13-26. K. Parlasca, Pseudokoptische 'Reiterheilige', in G. Koch (Hg.), *Studien zur spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst und Kultur des Orients* (Wiesbaden 1982) 19-27.

[163] Vgl. Perdrizet, *Negotium* 8-11 u. fig. 2. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Horus et St. George, in *Études d'Archéologie Orientale* I (Paris 1880) 78-79. M. Rostovtzeff, Kleinasiatische und syrische Götter im römischen Ägypten, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 504-506. 510-513. J. Wiesner, Fahrende und reitende Götter, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* 37 (1941/42) 41-43.

[164] Vgl. W. Speyer, Heros, *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum* XIV (1988) 874.

[165] Vgl. A.A. Barb, Der Heilige und die Schlangen, *Mitt. Anthropol. Ges. Wien* 82 (1953) 18-19. Parlasca, Pseudokoptische 'Reiterheilige' 24.

[166] Clermont-Ganneau, Horus et St. George 78-82. 187-189. Vgl. J. Doresse, Cryptographie copte et cryptographie grecque, *Bull. Inst. Ég.* 33 (1950/51) 216 n. 2 pl. I.

Der Vokalismus oszilliert übrigens nicht nur—wie bereits oben bemerkt—bei den jüdischen Engelnamen, sondern auch bei dem des christlichen Märtyrers: Das syrische 'Anathema des Mar Georg' nennt zum Schluß neben Mar Simon Petrus, Mar Babi und Mar Cyprian auch den Mar Sassan (d.h. Sisinnios).[167] Folglich kann man mit A.A. Barb[168] die Hypothese wagen, daß die besagte Präfiguration in dem dämonenbekämpfenden Gott (Heros) Sas(a)m auf der kanaanäischen Inschrift von Arslan Taš (früher Ḫadattu nahe Serug/Sarug) in Syrien [7. Jh. v.])[169] entgegentritt, weil dieser auf der Rückseite eines Amuletts mit Dolch und Doppelaxt bewaffnet vorwärtsschreitend dargestellt wird, während auf der Vorderseite eine geflügelte und behelmte Sphinx sowie darunter eine kindverschlingende Wölfin mit Skorpionschwanz zu sehen ist. Die theriomorphen Monstren werden von der Inschrift apostrophiert als 'Fliegerin' (*'ft'*), 'Würgerin des Lammes' (*ḫnkṯ 'mr*),[170] Lili(t) (*ḫḫ*), 'Räuberin' (*mbzt*) und 'Zerschlagerin' (*mḥṣt*).[171] Abgesehen davon, daß der weibliche Widersacher des Sas(a)m mit Lili(t) eindeutig bezeichnet und der Kategorie der jeweiligen Gegnerinnen des Salomon und Sisinnios adäquat ist, besitzen alle von der Amulettinschrift verwendeten negativen Appellative ihre Entsprechungen in den onomastischen Katalogen für Obyzuth-Gylu: (a) die 'Würgerin' (= Παιδοπνικτρια, Στραγγ/καλια),[172] (b) die 'Fliegerin' (= Πετασια, Πετομενη), (c) die 'Räuberin' (= Σκιλουσ(ι)α < *Σκύλλουσα), (d), die 'Zerschlagerin' (= Παταζαραια < *Παταξαραία).

Die Vokalschwankungen bei der Wiedergabe von Sas(a)m treten in den späteren onomastischen Belegen ähnlich stark auf wie bei den lilitverfolgenden Engeln und dem hexentötenden christlichen Heiligen. Ich habe vor längerem die Beispiele **Sasōm* (in *'Abdsasōm*), *Sasmai*, Σεσμα(ι/ς), Σοσομαι, *Sisamoi*, Σεισάμης aus örtlich und zeitlich divergierenden Befunden zusammengestellt.[173] Die Echolalie der magisch anmutenden Dreiheit Snw Snsnw

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[167] Gollancz, *The Book of Protection* LXX/68 (Cod. B § 8).

[168] *Journ. Warb. Court. Inst.* 27 (1964) 14.

[169] H. Donner/W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* I (Wiesbaden 1966) 6-7. II (Wiesbaden 1968) 43-47 (nr. 27). Vgl. Fauth, *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges.* 120 (1970) 238-239. F.M. Cross/R.J. Salley, Phoenician Incantations on a Plaque at the Seventh Century B.C. from Arslan Tash in Upper Syria, *Bull. Am. Soc. Or. Res.* 197 (1970) 42-49 (verfehlt hinsichtlich der Rolle des Sas(a)m).

[170] Gaster, *Orientalia* 11 (1942) 44-52. Donner/Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* II, 44. 46. Fauth, *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges.* 120 (1970) 239-240.

[171] Vgl. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament* 579. Fauth, *Welt des Orients* 12 (1981) 34-35. 17 (1986) 83.

[172] Fauth, *Welt des Orients* 17 (1986) 73-74. 80. 83.

[173] *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges.* 120 (1970) 230-237.

Smnglf dürfte sich auf S(n)sm/n (mit angehängtem, hebraisierend entstellten griech. ἄγγελος in ihrem letzten Glied) reduzieren lassen. Der Hinweis auf solche 'Lallbildungen' (*ssj sjsj ssjn*) der späteren semitischen Epigraphie wurde seinerzeit von mir gegeben.[174] Zudem habe ich—wie zuvor schon G. Scholem und A.A. Barb[175]—den Zaubernamen Σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης der Papyri und Gemmen[176] als mögliches deformiertes 'Endprodukt' über syr. *Shsjghl br Prngjs*, aram. *Sjsgjn br Prwngs* (*Ssgn br Prgjs*)[177] auf *Sas(a)m bn Pdrššа* des Arslan Taš-Amuletts zurückgeführt. Desgleichen wurde das Σεισενγ und Σεσενεμ magischer Dokumente,[178] vor allem aber das *Sjsjn w Sjsjn* der aramäischen Zauberschale aus Chusistan,[179] dem Σισίννιος Βισισιννιος der Gemme des Britischen Museums aus dem Iran (o.S.) genau entsprechend, angemessen berücksichtigt.[180]

Im übrigen erhält die zeitlich weitreichende Verknüpfung des magischen Kampfes zwischen Sas(a)m und den theriomorphen Hypostasen der Lili(t) mit den christlich-spätantiken Kollisionen zwischen Engeln oder Heiligen und dämonischen Mächten weiteren Rückhalt durch eine zweite Amulettinschrift aus Arslan Taš.[181] Auf ihr ist das schlangengestaltige 'Böse Auge' (*'n bsm* 'Auge der Schlange') mit Skorpionfüßen zu sehen. Der beigegebenen Inschrift zufolge greift sowohl der kanaanäische Gott Baal als auch ein Gott oder Engel Sjj (*'l sjj*) diese dämonische Kreatur (*rb 'n* 'Großauge'—*gl 'n* 'Rundauge') an.[182]

Das 'Böse Auge' bekämpfte auf einem gleich zu Anfang erwähnten christlich-syrischen Amulett der berittene Mar Gabriel (o.S. 416); auf dem

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[174] *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges.* 120 (1970) 253.

[175] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 100. Barb, *Journ. Warb. Court. Inst.* 27 (1964) 14-15.

[176] K. Preisendanz – A. Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* I (Stuttgart 1973) 28. 34. 36. 106. II (Stuttgart 1974) 14. 43. 44. 69 u.ö. F. Maltomini, Due papiri magici di Ginevra, *Studi Class. e Orient.* 36 (1986) 300. 305.—Delatte-Derchain, *Les intailles magiques* 292 (nr. 410). 434 (nr. 302).

[177] Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 86. 89. 94-99. P. Gignoux, *Incantations magiques syriaques* (Louvain-Paris 1987) 52/53. 58 (III 74). J.W. Wesselius, New Syriac Magical Texts, *Bibl. Or.* 48 (1991) 715.

[178] M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie* (Paris 1897) 420. M. Siebourg, Ein gnostisches Goldamulett aus Gellep, *Bonner Jahrb.* 103 (1898) 145.

[179] C.H. Gordon, Two Magic Bowls in Teheran, *Orientalia* 20 (1951) 306/307.

[180] *Ztschr. Dt. Morgenl. Ges.* 120 (1970) 253 Anm. 274. 275. 255.

[181] A. Caquot – R. du Mesnil du Buisson, La séconde tablette ou petite amulette d'Arslan Tash, *Syria* 48 (1971) 391-406.

[182] Y. Avishur, The Second Amulet Incantation from Arslan Tash, *Ug. Forsch.* 10 (1978) 29-34.

koptischen Sisinnios-Fresko von Bawiṭ ist es, von allerlei Tieren und Waffen attakkiert, oberhalb der Alabasdria zu sehen.[183] Mit Recht hat Y. Avishur[184] an die ebenfalls weiter oben notierte Begegnung des Propheten Elijah mit Lilith (o.S. 418) sowie an die Beschwörungen Salomons gegen das 'Böse Auge' und Lilit[185] erinnert, und Th.H. Gaster brachte die Formulierung der zweiten Amulett-Inschrift von Arslan Taš 'Inkantation gegen den Blutsauger' (*lḥš lmzḥ*) durchaus korrekt in Bezug zu den Blutsaugerinnen Gello (Gylu), Lamia und Lilit,[186] zumal in den christlich-byzantinischen Gylu-Nomenklaturen Αιματοπινουσα ('Bluttrinkerin') zu finden war (o.S. 410).

Zusammenfassung

Die ikonologischen und hagiographischen Dokumentationen der feindlichen Begegnung zwischen dem oder den Repräsentanten des Heils (d.h. des Guten) und den Inkarnationen des Unheils (d.h. des Bösen) sind zu christlich-byzantinischer Zeit über ein umfangreiches geographisches Gebiet verbreitet und weisen mannigfache, nicht selten stark voneinander abweichende personale und aktionale Ausprägungen auf.

Die Untersuchung hat ergeben:

1. Das lokale Zentrum der Entstehung und damit auch die Ausgangsregion des legendarischen Grundmodells ist an der Peripherie des südöstlichen Mittelmeeres (Kleinasien-Palästina-Syrien-Ägypten) zu suchen, wobei eine genauere Fixierung (kanaanäisch-syrischer Raum ?) hypothetisch bleibt.

2. Das partielle Phänomen des Reiterheiligen (Sisinnios), einen weiblichen Dämon wechselnden Namens (Alabasdria, Aberselia, Werzelja, Obyzuth, Gylu) mit der Lanze durchbohrend, zeigt sich in der griechisch-byzantinischen, äthiopischen und koptischen Tradition am stärksten ausgebildet; dabei deuten jedoch Kombinationen oder Überberlagerungen mit Salomon oder Michael als Protagonisten Einflüsse jüdischer Magie bzw. jüdisch-christlicher Angelologie an.

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[183] Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires* 116-117.—Vgl. allgemein B. Spooner, The Evil Eye in the Middle East, in M. Douglas (Ed.), *Witchcraft, Confessions and Accusations* (London-Sidney 1970) 311-319 (Lit.).

[184] Avishur, *Ug. Forsch.* 10 (1978) 30-31.

[185] Vgl. H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin-Leipzig 1930) 57-65.

[186] Th.H. Gaster, A Hang-Up for Hang-Ups. The Second Amuletic Plaque from Arslan Tash, *Bull. Am. Soc. Or. Res.* 209 (1973) 20-21. 23-24. Avishur, *Ug. Forsch.* 10 (1978) 31-33.

3. Die Tendenz zur Vervielfältigung des Sisinnios über den Weg einer Art zwei—oder dreifacher geschwisterlicher Familiengemeinschaft könnte durch einen im Umkreis Palästinas erfolgten Kontakt mit der indigenen jüdischen Triade der drei lilithverfolgenden und -bestrafenden Engel ausgelöst oder doch gefördert worden sein.

4. Ein Indiz für die syrisch-kanaanäische Provenienz einer Art Prototyp des christlichen Sisinnios, mit dem aramäischen Zwischenglied Sjsjn w Sjsjn (= griech. Σισίννιος Βισισίννιος), ergibt sich möglicherweise aus den frühen Amulettinschriften von Ḫadattu-Arslan Taš, auf denen Dämonenbestreiter wie Sas(a)m und Sjj zum Teil bildlich dargestellten theriomorphen Verkörperungen des vielnamigen und -gestaltigen bösen Geistes (Lili, 'Böses Auge') entgegentreten.

Seminar für Klassische Philologie
D-37037 *Göttingen*, Humboldtalee 19

REVIEWS

Jens Schröter, *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte. Studien zur Rezeption der Logienüberlieferung in Markus, Q und Thomas.* Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 76, Neukirchener Verlag. Neukirchen 1997, 529 pages.

After a longwinded discussion on the pros and cons of form critical analysis the author argues that the two-sources theory (Q and Mark as sources of Matthew and Luke) is a plausible scientific model to which the Gospel of Thomas should now be added. Then follows a fair survey of the questions concerning Mark, Q, and Thomas.

Mark is a sort of biography, written about 70 A.D., which tells a story based on oral tradition. Its author did not use any written sources, neither for the parables in chapter 4 nor for the Passion narrative.

Q, the supposed written Greek source of Matthew and Luke, is of about the same date: it began possibly with a description of the baptism of Jesus and certainly with a temptation narrative, but contained no tradition about Jesus' death. It transmits both sapiential and prophetic sayings, but these cannot be separated into successive layers. These logia were conducted into orations. Its basic idea is that Jesus is identical with the Son of Man, the divine judge who comes at the end of the world-process. Q most certainly did not influence Mark.

The Gospel of Thomas is a pure collection of sayings attributed to Jesus. It was composed toward 140 A.D. in "Syria" (i.e. Aramaic Christianity centred in Edessa (Mesopotamia)). It has no common source with Q. The absence in it of the title Son of Man, so characteristic of Q, does not indicate an early date of Thomas (± 70 A.D.), but must be explained as a consequence of its sapiential Christology. It contains Judaic Christian elements: stress on sabbat-rest (27), prohibition of interest (95), commandment to love your brother (25). Doublets in Matthew and Luke, but not doublets in Thomas, prove that two written sources have been used. Above all, the Gospel according to Saint Thomas is definitely not gnostic, but only on the way to Gnosis.

In this Schröter agrees with Van den Broek. The latter holds that Thomas is a mystic and ascetic, teaching a mutual indwelling of Christ and man, which tends toward monism and harmony: one half of a doublet in Thomas

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extols reconciliation with your wife: "if two make peace with each other in this one house" (48). But the implied esoteric meaning of Jesus' words becomes clear in the other half of the doublet: "when you make the two one, you shall become sons of Man" (106). Thomas aims to transcend duality (in: Tj. Baarda ed., *Het Evangelie van Thomas*, Zoetermeer 1999, 46-66).

Then follow very subtle and elaborate investigations into the logia which Mark, Q and Thomas have in common:

> mission of the apostles (Thomas 73 parr.);
> exorcism (Th. 35);
> lamp on lampstand (33);
> cross-bearing (55-101);
> force to move mountains (43-106), but Schröter fails to quote the parallel in the Syrian Didascalia (duo si convenerint in unum et dixerint monti huic, tolle et mitte te in mare, fiet) and so invalidates his argumentation.

The important conclusions of these impressive inquiries are:

> sometimes Thomas is independent of the ecclesiastical gospels (86: foxes have their hole etc.); sometimes Thomas is dependent upon them (14: eat what they set before you (even if it is not kosher: cf. Luke 10:8; the author of Q still is Law abiding)); in some cases certainty can not be reached.

Schröter stresses his point that the Sayings of Jesus have a different shade of meaning in these three sources anyhow. But they all wrote in remembrance of Him, whether their memories were grounded in history or not. As far as the Gospel of Thomas is concerned, Schröter concludes that it represents the views of radical, ascetic, wandering Jewish Christians, who were familiar with the traditions about Jesus current in the Syro-Palestinian region (= the *territorium* of Aramaic Christianity), but interpreted these traditions in a special way: their Kingdom of God was already there, spread upon the earth. Nevertheless, Schröter admits that the Gospel of Thomas may quite well transmit early traditions.

Here one might ask: which Jewish Christians? Were they the followers of James the Zaddik, the brother of the Lord, for the sake of whom heaven and earth have been created (Thomas, logion 12)? They lived on in Palestine and Western Syria: still in the fourth century Saint Jerome found them in Beroea (Aleppo), preserving their Gospel of the Nazoreans. In the same region lived the group that brought forth the (sources of the) Pseudo-Clementine writings: they too honoured James as *episcopus episcoporum*. They were all for marriage and procreation of children (*Homilies* 19, 21, 3). Ferdinand Christian Baur had already established that legitimate wedlock was the main tenet of their religion.

Or were these Jewish Christians Encratites, severe ascetics, attested to in the Pastoral Letters of "Paul" to Timothy and Titus? They are said to have been Jewish teachers, who held that the resurrection had already taken place and for that reason forbade to marry and commanded to abstain from meats (1 Tim. 4:3). They may have come from the Diaspora, perhaps from Alexandria.

Against this background I want to make two remarks, not to criticize the excellent work of Schröter, but rather to contribute to the ongoing debate on Thomas:

1. In 1905 and 1909, J.H.A. Michelsen was the first to identify the Gospel of Thomas. This happened in two articles in *Teyler's Theologisch Tijdschrift* 3, 1905, 153-164, and *idem*, 7, 1909, 214-233. He supplied the gap in *Papyrus Oxyrrhynchus* 655 after ελ . . . as ἔλαβον: this splendid emendation was confirmed by Coptic Thomas 39: ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲓ = Greek: ἔλαβον. He then related this papyrus to Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* XVIII, 15, 7 and other similar passages in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, and stated that this logion contained a very specific Jewish Christian version of a Word of Jesus. According to them the Pharisees are the legitimate successors of Moses, who had received the oral tradition or Mishna as the keys of Gnosis, that is: the right interpretation of the written Law. They did not curse the Pharisees as Q did: ("Woe" in Mt. 22:13 and Luke 11,52); but simply stated that they had hidden the keys and so neither they themselves entered nor did they admit others. Neither the Pseudo-Clementines nor Thomas state here that the Pharisees are hypocrites, as Matthew 23:13 does.

That same remarkable "omission" also occurs elsewhere in Thomas:

> in logion 100 (give Caesar what is Caesar's) as compared with Mark 12:13-17 parr.; in logion 89 (why do you wash the outside of the cup?) cf. Mt 28:25 (hypocrites), Luke 11:40: fools; in logion 26 (mote in brother's eye (cf. Q = Luke 6:43-Mt 7:5))

One wonders whether Jesus ever called the Pharisees: "hypocrites". Now, J. v. Amersfoort, in his Utrecht dissertation of 1984 (*Het Evangelie van Thomas en de Pseudo-Clementines*, 171-180), has proven that the version of this Saying in Thomas is independent of the canonical Gospels. It would seem, however, that logion 102 says exactly the same in other words, using a well-known Hellenic proverbial expression:

> Jesus said: Woe to them, the Pharisees, for they are like a dog, sleeping in the manger of oxen: for neither does he eat nor does he allow the oxen to eat.

Here the view of Schröter seems to be confirmed. The curse ("Woe") could easily come from the Synoptics. But does not this doublet indicate that the

author of the Gospel of Thomas used two written sources, the one Judaic, under the *aegis* of James, the brother of the Lord, which originated in Jerusalem, the other Hellenic and Encratite, under the *aegis* of Judas Thomas, identified with Jude, another brother of Jesus and the apostle of Edessa?

2. My second remark concerns the date of the Greek Gospel of Thomas. Logion 36, in Greek preserved in *Oxyrrhynchus Papyrus* 655, has been translated in the following way:

> Do not be concerned from morning until evening and from evening until morning neither about your food and what you will eat nor about your clothing and what you will wear. You are far better than the lilies which neither card (οὐ ξάνει) nor spin. translation Attridge 123

The wording of Thomas pictures a scene from daily life, seen with the sharp look of an innocent eye: a woman totally engrossed in her typically feminine household work, combing the wool and sitting at her spinning-wheel. That same poetical eye has beholden the millions of red anemones that around Easter cover the pleasant lands of Galilee: they are more beautiful than the glorious red robe of king Solomon.

The above quoted logion has a parallel in Q, of which only the parallel in Matthew 6:28 is relevant for us (but cf. Luke 12:22):

> And why take ye thought for raiment. Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow (lege: αὐξάνει); they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of those.

Could not αυξανει in Q for ουξανει be due to an error of a scribe, who misread a written source or misheard a *grammaticus* dictating a written text, which must have been the Judaic source of the Gospel of Thomas. In that case this Judaic source must have originated in Jerusalem and can hardly have been later than 50 A.D. The Greek of this writing was good, as it is in the Letter of James. The Aramaisms it undoubtedly contains could have been taken from the oral tradition.

The Encratite source of Thomas was also written in Greek. The Semitisms it contains may reflect an Aramaic surrounding. It is a plausible guess that it dates from about 100 A.D. The doublets in these two sources presuppose that the Encratite author used the Judaic Christian source and transposed it into his own ideology. Q also was written in elegant Greek. It may have been composed somewhere in Palestine, perhaps in Caesarea, before 60 A.D. The Gospel of Thomas was composed about 140 A.D. in Edessa. Its original language was Greek: there is no evidence whatsoever that it was Syriac of Aramaic. It is not possible to contrast Syriasms with

Aramaisms, because Eastern Aramaic (Edessa) and Western Aramaic (Palestine) offer only minimal differences. The Gospel of Thomas had at least two sources: a Judaic one and an Encratite one. Its author was not directly familiar with the canonical Gospels. They were not in use in Edessa in 140 A.D. The first Gospel in the East was the Diatessaron (180 A.D.).

Noord Houdringelaan 32, GILLES QUISPEL
NL 3722 BR *Bilthoven*

Gregor von Nyssa, *Über das Sechstagewerk. Verteidigungsschrift an seinen Bruder Petrus*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert von Franz Xaver Risch (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 49). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1999. 276 S. DM 220.—ISBN 3-7772-99006.

Endlich liegt eine vollständige moderne Übersetzung der *apologia* Gregors vor. Sie trägt den Titel "Über das Sechstagewerk"; dass sie eine Verteidigungsschrift ist, wird erst im Untertitel deutlich. Dagegen lautet der griechische Titel Ἀπολογία περὶ τῆς Ἑξαημέρου. Diese merkwürdige Sachlage verrät schon den komplexen Charakter dieses Werkes. Scheinbar eine Verteidigung der Homilien zum Sechstagewerk des Basilius, Gregors Bruder, ist es jedoch tatsächlich ein selbständiger Kommentar zum Schöpfungsbericht in Genesis. Gregor schreibt dieses Werk, nachdem er eine Abhandlung *De conditione hominis* verfasst, und damit Basilius' unvollendet gebliebene Auslegung vervollständigt hat. (Wenn Sokrates in seiner *Historia ecclesiastica* IV 2 über diese Vervollständigung spricht, muss er diese Abhandlung vor Augen haben. Der Verf. sagt (S. 1), dass Sokrates dort über die *apologia* spricht, aber diese Apologie ist nicht die Vervollständigung, sondern die Verteidigung.)

Gregors *apologia* ist im Laufe der Zeit relativ, d. h. im Vergleich mit Basilius' Werk, wenig beachtet worden. Sie ist, wie der Verf. bemerkt (S. 46), im Schatten des Basilius geblieben. Es handelt sich jedoch um eine grossartige Leistung, eine höchst originelle Interpretation (eines Teiles) der Schöpfungsgeschichte, die zu Recht als erste eine kritische Edition bekommen hat. Im Jahre 1855 wurde sie von G.W. Forbes mit einer lateinischen Übersetzung herausgegeben. Der Verf. folgt, mit wenigen Ausnahmen, dieser Ausgabe. Mit Forbes unterteilt er auch den Text in 78 Abschnitte.

Die Auslegung Gregors fusst auf folgender Grundidee: Die Anfangsworte der Genesis "Im Anfang schuf Gott den Himmel und die Erde" bedeuten, dass Gott zunächst alles im Keim geschaffen hat. Er hat von all dem Seienden die ἀφορμαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι καὶ δυνάμεις insgesamt im Augenblick grund-

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gelegt (Abschnitt 9). Aus diesen Keimen hat sich die Welt nach innerer Konsequenz (ἀκολουθία) entwickelt. Moses hat diese notwendige Ordnung in Form einer Erzählung (ἐν διηγήσεως εἴδει, Abschnitt 9) beschrieben. Was er bietet, ist tatsächlich ein Physiktraktat in Form einer Erzählung. Die Worte Gottes sind eine Andeutung dieser Ordnung, mit anderen Worten: in der Ordnung der Weltentwicklung spricht Gott (und sie ist damit für uns einigermassen erfahrbar; s. u.).

Der Verf. gibt eine Übersetzung, eine Einleitung und einen Kommentar in Form von Anmerkungen. Letztere sind sehr ausgedehnt (130 Seiten) und enthalten vieles, was zur Erklärung des ziemlich kurzen Textes Gregors (45 Seiten) beiträgt. Der Verf. meint jedoch, dass sie bei weitem nicht hinreichen, "Komplexität und Schwierigkeit von Gregors Denken in der Apologie zu bewältigen" (S. 57). Er hat sich in der Übersetzung um Wörtlichkeit bemüht, "um dem deutschen Leser die Möglichkeit zu bieten, Gregors Rhetorik wenigstens ansatzweise nachzuempfinden" (S. 56).

Es war in der Tat keine leichte Aufgabe, diesen schwierigen Text zu übersetzen. Leider muss man feststellen, dass es dem Verf. nicht immer gelungen ist, eine genaue Übersetzung zu liefern. An vielen Stellen vermisst man die Treffsicherheit in der deutschen Wiedergabe.

Wie oben erwähnt, sieht Gregor in Gen. 1,1 die ἀφορμαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι καὶ δυνάμεις der Dinge angedeutet. Der Verf. übersetzt ἀφορμαί mit 'Mittel' (auch in Abschnitt 7, S. 63). Es handelt sich hier jedoch um Anfänge, Ursachen, Keime, d. h. um einen Beginn, nicht um ein Mittel.

Der Terminus δύναμις wird mit 'Vermögen' übersetzt. Der Verf. tut dasselbe, wo Gregor von der δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ spricht. Obwohl man im Lateinischen in beiden Fällen *potentia* gebrauchen kann, meine ich, dass 'Vermögen' in beiden Fällen unrichtig ist. Im ersten Fall würde ich 'Keimkräfte', im zweiten 'Kraft' oder 'Macht' vorschlagen.

Auch λόγος wird oft nicht zutreffend übersetzt. Gregor spricht von τὸν ἄρρητον τῆς δυνάμεως λόγον (Abschnitt 12). Dies wird mit "in der unaussprechlichen Weise des Vermögens (Gottes)" übersetzt. Vgl. auch die Übersetzung S. 64, unten. M.E. hat λόγος hier die Bedeutung 'Wesen' (Forbes übersetzt hier, wie auch in Abschnitt 9, mit *ratio*). Und wenn Gregor im selben Abschnitt 12 vom φωτιστικὸν λόγον, der in die Natur hineingelegt ist, spricht, dann ist das nicht "das erleuchtende Wort" sondern "das erleuchtende Wesen" (Forbes: *rationem illuminatricem*).

Gregor unterscheidet in der Schöpfung τὸ νοητὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν (Abschnitt 14). Der Verf. übersetzt νοητός stets mit 'vernünftig'. Das Wort bedeutet aber "was nur geistig wahrgenommen, mit dem Verstande begriffen wer-

den kann, intellektuell" (Pape). Es handelt sich um die übersinnliche Welt, die man 'das Geistige' oder 'das Intellektuelle' nennen kann, aber nicht 'das Vernünftige'. Vernünftiges gibt es auch in der sichtbaren Schöpfung.

Zu welchem merkwürdigen Ergebnis die Übersetzung des Verfassers führt, zeigt sich in Abschnitt 75, wo Gregor mit Bezug auf Paulus' Aufstieg in den dritten Himmel sagt: "Mir scheint der grosse Apostel . . . die Grenzen der gesamten wahrnehmbaren Natur durchschritten zu haben und εἰς τὴν νοητὴν κατάστασιν παρεισδῦναι". Der Verf. übersetzt: "in den vernünftigen Zustand geraten zu sein". Was könnte das bedeuten? Gregor meint "in die geistige Seinssphäre geraten zu sein". Es handelt sich hier um die übersinnliche Welt, in der sich die Wasser über dem Himmel befinden. Mit diesen Wassern meint die Schrift nach Gregor τὸ τῶν νοητῶν δυνάμεων πλήρωμα d.h. "die Fülle der geistigen (nicht: vernünftigen) Mächte" (Abschnitt 19).

Bisweilen hat der Verf. Gregors Gedankengang nicht richtig verstanden.

Am Ende des Proömiums (Abschnitt 6) formuliert Gregor den Zweck seiner Apologie. Zunächst sagt er, was man nicht von ihm erwarten darf: Τὸ μὲν οὖν συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἐνστάσεις τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς ἡμῖν προτεινομένας καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραπόδας παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἡμῶν ἑρμηνευθέντων, ὅσα δοκεῖ μὴ συμβαίνειν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὑπολήψεσι, μηδεὶς ἀπαιτείτω τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον. Der Verf. übersetzt: "Dass ich mich also in die Widerstände verwickle, die uns aus der Heiligen Schrift vorgehalten werden und aus den von unserem Lehrer erläuterten bekannten Dingen, was nicht mit den allgemeinen Meinungen übereinzustimmen scheint, das verlange niemand von meiner Überlegung". Hier scheint mir der Terminus 'Widerstände' nicht richtig. Es handelt sich um die 'Einwürfe', die von Gegnern aus der Schrift gemacht werden. Und was könnte "die bekannten Dinge" bedeuten? M.E. soll παραπόδας (oder παρὰ πόδας) die Art und Weise der basilianischen Auslegung ausdrücken. Es soll etwa bedeuten 'auf dem Fuss folgend', d. h. genau, buchstäblich. So war die Interpretation des Basilius.

Und Gregor fährt fort: οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό μοι πρόκειται, τὸ συνηγορίαν τινὰ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου φαινομένοις ἐναντιώμασι ἐπινοῆσαι. Die Übersetzung lautet: "Denn nicht das ist meine Aufgabe, eine Art Verteidigungsrede für die vordergründig scheinenden Einwendungen zu erdenken". Kehrt Gregor sich gegen 'scheinbare Einwendungen'? M.E. sind die ἐναντιώματα 'die scheinbaren Widersprüche', die Gregor am Anfang seines Proömiums erwähnte: τὰ δοκοῦντα κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον τῶν γεγραμμένων συμασίαν ἐναντίως ἔχειν, "was davon nach der vordergründigen Bedeutung des Geschriebenen sich widersprüchlich zu verhalten scheint".

Im Abschnitt 7 sagt Gregor: ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως συνδρομός ἐστι τῇ βουλήσει ἡ δύναμις. Übersetzung: "dass bei der göttlichen Natur das Vermögen

mit dem Willen zusammentrifft". In Anmerkung 84 erklärt der Verf. συνδρομός mit 'zusammentreffend' oder 'zusammenlaufend', 'zusammenkommend', und fügt hinzu "ist bei Gregor ein beliebtes Wort für die enge, unmittelbare Verbindung von Verschiedenem". Bekanntlich sieht Gregor die Materie als eine Verbindung (συνδρομή) von Eigenschaften (siehe Abschnitt 7, Ende). Aber bei Gott ist nicht von einer Verbindung von Verschiedenem die Rede, sondern vom Zusammenfallen, von Einheit. Wenig später sagt Gregor über Gottes Weisheit und Kraft: . . . καὶ ἓν ἀμφότερα δείκνυσθαι. Der Verf. übersetzt: "(dass) sich einer als beides erweist", was m. E. keinen Sinn ergibt. Der Autor verwechselt Subjekt und Prädikat. Gregor sagt: "dass sich die zwei als eines erweisen". Kraft und Weisheit sind eins. Es handelt sich also nicht um 'zusammentreffen', sondern um 'zusammenfallen'. Der Unterschied lässt sich so verdeutlichen: in Gott fallen Weisheit und Macht zusammen, sie sind eins. In der Materie treffen das Leichte, das Schwere usw. zusammen, aber sie sind nicht eins.

Im selben Abschnitt sagt Gregor über die Eigenschaften, die zusammen die Materie bilden, dass sie an sich ἔννοιαι ψιλαὶ καὶ νοήματα seien. Der Verf. übersetzt ἔννοιαι mit 'Überlegungen'. Wie könnte man 'das Leichte', 'das Schwere' usw. 'Überlegungen' nennen? Es handelt sich um Begriffe.

Am Ende von Abschnitt 9 sagt Gregor, wie oben erwähnt, dass Moses in Gen. 1 ein Physiktraktat in Form einer Erzählung verfasst und dabei Gottes anordnende Stimme dem jeweils Entstehenden vorausgeschickt habe. Und das tut er mit Recht, sagt Gregor, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ καθ' εἰρμόν τινα καὶ σοφίαν γινόμενον, θεοῦ τις ἄντικρύς ἐστι φωνή· διότι θεοῦ μὲν οὐσίαν ἥτις ἐστίν, οὐ γινώσκομεν· τὴν δὲ αὐτοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοδύναμιν ἐν νῷ λαβόντες, τὸν θεὸν ἀνειληφέναι τῇ διανοίᾳ πιστεύομεν. Die Übersetzung lautet: "denn alles, was in bestimmter Reihe und Weisheit entsteht, ist geradezu eine bestimmte Stimme Gottes, weshalb wir von der Ousia Gottes nicht wissen, welche sie ist. Wir glauben aber Gott mit dem Verstand aufgenommen zu haben, wenn wir die Weisheit an sich und das Vermögen an sich in der Vernunft erfassen". Der Verf. hat διότι . . . γινώσκομεν auf das Vorhergehende bezogen, es gehört aber zum Folgenden. Er hat auch διότι nicht richtig verstanden; wie an verschiedenen anderen Stellen (Abschnitt 9, gegen Ende und Abschnitt 16 Mitte) übersetzt er es mit 'weshalb' oder 'deshalb'. Aber διότι gibt eine Ursache an, 'weshalb' eine Konsequenz. In der obigen Übersetzung ist Gregors Gedankengang verloren gegangen. Was er sagt, ist folgendes: Dem jeweils Entstehenden schickt Moses Gottes anordnende Stimme voraus. Das tut er mit Recht, denn in allem, was ordentlich und weise zustandekommt, kann man sozusagen die Stimme Gottes hören. (Und dann endet Gregor mit einer Überlegung über unsere Kenntnis von Gott:)

Denn Gottes Wesen kennen wir zwar (μέν) nicht, aber (δέ) wenn wir Ihn (aufgrund der Weisheit und der Macht in den Dingen) als die Weisheit und die Macht selbst denken, dann glauben wir Ihn mit unserem Denken erfasst zu haben.

Aus dem oben Gesagten wird deutlich, dass die Übersetzung dieses grossartigen Textes nicht in jeder Hinsicht gelungen ist. Sie bedarf an vielen Stellen einer gründlichen Bearbeitung.

2312 GD *Leiden*, Haarlemmerstraat 106 J.C.M. VAN WINDEN

R.B. ter Haar Romeny, *The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 6). Leuven: Peeters, 1997. ISBN 9068319582, BEF 2400.

The works of Eusebius of Emesa are of crucial importance for the history of early Christian Bible exegesis. It is probably thanks to his bilingual background—though he was a native of Syriac-speaking Edessa, he mastered Greek as well—that he was particularly interested in translation problems and became the main source for the Εβραιος and Συρος readings known from editions of the LXX, in particular from the edition by J. Wevers. Moreover, he may be considered as the first identifiable representative of the Antiochene 'school'—he was the teacher of Diodore of Tarsus—, while at the same time he was a pupil of Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius of Emesa therefore, is one of the possible links between the work of the latter and that of Origen on the one hand and the Antiochenes on the other.

Recently two developments in scholarship have given an important stimulus to the research on this intriguing person and his exegetical work. First of all, V. Hovhanessian's publication of the Armenian translation of a Greek Commentary on the Octateuch and Reigns should be mentioned. This work is attributed in the manuscript to Cyril of Alexandria, but identified by the editor as the work of Eusebius of Emesa: a conclusion that is now widely accepted. Of no less importance are F. Petit's recent editions of different branches of the Catena of Genesis and the fundamental and clarifying studies she has devoted to this work which contains a considerable number of fragments from Eusebius' Commentary.

Building on this solid foundation, Ter Haar Romeny has written a substantial doctoral dissertation on Eusebius' Commentary on Genesis. His main focus is on the Biblical text used by the author, that is to say, on

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the Septuagint version the latter usually renders extensively, but equally on the alternative versions he quotes. In order to clarify the problems raised by these readings and to establish their identity, the author compares and discusses with remarkable accuracy and patience the passages which, besides a quotation from LXX, appeal to them. While following this method, he naturally makes use of the Armenian commentary and the relevant passages of the Catena; but he also takes into account other sources containing fragments of Eusebius' commentary: in particular the Epitome of Procopius of Gaza and the commentaries of Diodore of Tarsus and Ishodad of Merw. His conclusions regarding the alternative Εβραιος and Συρος readings are especially remarkable. Convincing arguments are adduced against the solution proposed by F. Field—in his edition of (the fragments of) Origen's Hexapla—who suggested that both indications refer to integral Greek versions of the Hebrew text. Instead, HR makes a strong case for the attractive hypothesis that, by the Hebrew (Εβραιος), Eusebius meant a version of the Hebrew text—closely related to the Masoretic text—that was rendered by him *ad hoc* with the help of Hebrew informants. The Συρος readings, on the other hand, were borrowed from an early witness to the Peshitta tradition and translated—equally *ad hoc*—into Greek by Eusebius himself.

HR does not confine himself to establishing the identity and provenance of the Bible readings quoted by the Emesene. Especially in the fourth chapter of his book he raises the question of the place occupied by the alternative readings in Eusebius' exegetical method and he compares his stance on this issue with those of other early Christian authors who made use of them, in particular Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Jerome, and the later Antiochenes. Eusebius' approach turns out to be unique from several points of view. On the one hand, he appears to be the first known Christian exegete to have recognized the decisive priority of the Hebrew text. On the other hand, he differed in some respects from Jerome who shared this view, but was more consistent in giving the Hebrew text a central position and had other means of access to it, and, for example, did not make use of the Peshitta.

From the foregoing it will have become clear that HR's study is an important contribution to current research on Eusebius of Emesa and his work and indirectly also to many other issues related to the translation and the exegesis of the Bible in the Early Church.

Preludelaantje 6, 3438 TT *Nieuwegein* G. ROUWHORST

Petri Callinicensis patriarchae Antiocheni tractatus contra Damianum. III. Libri tertii capita xx-xxxiv ediderunt et anglice reddiderunt R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham (= *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 35). Turnhout-Leuven, 1998, XLVI, 553 p.

Voici le troisième volume de l'editio princeps (texte syriaque avec traduction anglaise) du traité *Contra Damianum* de Pierre de Callinique. Les circonstances et l'enjeu de la dispute (Damien confondait les hypostases et les propriétés caractéristiques du Père, du Fils et de l'Esprit) ont été évoqués dans nos comptes rendus des deux premiers volumes (*Vigiliae Christianae*, t. 49, 1995, p. 202-204 et 51, 1997, p. 110-111). Comme dans les chapitres précédents, Pierre reproduit de longues sections des écrits de son adversaire, les analyse et met en évidence les faiblesses de l'argumentation. Les deux adversaires font souvent appel au témoignage des Pères. Neuf auteurs sont cités: Athanase d'Alexandrie, Basile de Césarée, un Ps.-Basile de Césarée, Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Eustathe d'Antioche, Grégoire de Nazianze, Grégoire de Nysse, Pierre IV d'Alexandrie et Sévère d'Antioche. On mentionnera encore les nombreux passages provenant de six ouvrages différents de Damien, ainsi que quelques extraits inconnus par ailleurs du *Syndocticon* de Pierre lui-même. L'extrait attribué à Pierre IV d'Alexandrie ainsi qu'un certain nombre d'extraits sévériens ne sont conservés que par le présent traité.

L'analyse du contenu (chapitre par chapitre), la traduction anglaise, ainsi que les index (noms propres, citations scripturaires, autres sources) rendent l'ouvrage parfaitement accessible aux non-syriacisants; ce n'est là qu'un seul des nombreux mérites des éditeurs.

B-9000 *Gent*, Vaderlandstraat 30 José Declerck

Caroline P. Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes.* Kritische Ausgabe der Übersetzung Rufins Buch 7-10. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von H.J. Frede und H. Stanjek (Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 34). Freiburg, Herder, 1998. 357 S.

Der von Caroline P. Hammond Bammel edierte Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes in der Übersetzung Rufins ist mit dem Erscheinen des dritten Bandes, der die Bücher 7 bis 10 enthält, vollständig (vgl. *Vig. Chr.* 52, 1998, 446 zum zweiten Band). Die Edition dieses letzten Bandes ist anhand

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der hinterlassenen Notizen der Handschriftkollationen postum von Frede und Stanjek besorgt worden. Damit wurde eine wichtige Textausgabe hoher Qualität zu Ende geführt.

Wie Rufin in seinem Epilog selbst bemerkt hat, hat er Origenes' Kommentar oft mehr bearbeitet als übersetzt. So erlaubt er sich bisweilen sprachliche Bemerkungen, die sich auf lateinische Varianten beziehen und damit als Hinzufügungen des Übersetzers zu bezeichnen sind. Wie von vornherein zu erwarten, ist der Epilog sorgfältiger stilisiert worden als der Kommentar, wobei selbst eine literarische Anspielung nicht fehlt: für *inextricabilis . . . labor* (S. 861, Zeile 2) vergleiche man Vergil, *Äneis* 6,27 *Hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error.*

Die Wahl der Herausgeberin, namentlich in den Bibelzitaten äusserst wenig Satzzeichen zu verwenden, ergibt zwar ein 'ruhiges' Druckbild, erschwert aber bisweilen die Lektüre. Als Beispiel sei hier angeführt: *Considera enim necessitates corporis appetentiam cibi digestionum pudorem posteritatis reparandae verecundiam ut seritur suboles ut editur ut nutritur* (S. 566, Z. 6-9). Frede bemerkt zur Textgestaltung (S. 551): 'Vielleicht hätte die Autorin noch gelegentlich Änderungen an der Rezension vorgenommen oder sich zur Textherstellung in den letzten Büchern des Kommentars näher geäussert, wie sie auch einen Nachtrag zur Klassifizierung der ihr erst später bekannt gewordenen Handschrift in Padua plante. Unsere Aufgabe sahen wir in der Fertigstellung und Veröffentlichung ihrer kritischen Edition.'

In der sorgfältig einheitlich gehaltenen Orthographie fallen einige Abweichungen von der Regel auf. So ist *mt* statt *mpt* die Regel, doch findet sich neben *redemtionem* (z. B. S. 570) einmal die Schreibung *redemptionem* (S. 575, zweite Zeile von unten). Gleichfalls sind die Formen *coruptionis* (S. 565, Zeile 2) neben *corruptio* (z. B. S. 565, Zeile 6) und *hereticorum* (S. 792, Zeile 16) neben *haeretici* (S. 796, Zeile 5) auffällig. Wenn wir S. 760, vierte Zeile von unten, *comesationes* lesen, während der kritische Apparat uns informiert, dass lediglich die Handschrift W die Lesart mit nur einem *s* aufweist (die anderen Handschriften haben *ss*), bleiben die verwendeten Kriteria unklar. Weiter scheint mir S. 754, Zeile 10 (*Conscientia quoque quis subditur*) *conscientiae* zu bevorzugen (*conscientia* findet sich nur in der Handschrift H).

Die Lesart der Handschriften führt zu auffälligen Formen wie *Johanes* (S. 563, Zeile 6 von unten et alibi), *Mosei* als Genitivform (S. 621, Zeile 2 et alibi), *nubtialia* (S. 680, Zeile 3 von unten). S. 697, Zeile 16 ist statt *alterioribus* (*qui superbit et insultat lapsis alterio-ribus*; keine Varianten) wohl *altioribus* zu lesen. Wie in *alterio-ribus* ist in ein Wort am Ende einer Zeile manchmal ein Bindestrich eingedrungen (Komputerfehler? Beispiele u.a. S. 627,

629, 679, 689, 695, 726, 751, 755, 779, 790, 792, 804, 812, 817, 835, 845, 851).

Problematisch ist die Lesart von *Rom.* 16,11 (S. 839, 10-11: *Salutate Tryfenam et Trifosam quae multum laborant in Domino*), wo aus dem folgenden Kommentar sich zu ergeben scheint, dass *multum* zu Unrecht in den Text aufgenommen worden ist: *sed non omnium laborem constat esse in Domino . . . Uidetur haec* (sc. Persis, *Rom.* 16,12) *magis laudari quam Tryfena et Tryfosa; quoniam quidem illas laborasse dicit in Domino, hanc autem multum laborasse in Domino.*

6523 LH *Nijmegen*, Postweg 152 G.J.M. Bartelink

Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe. Introduction par R. Gryson. Livres XII-XV. Texte établi par R. Gryson et C. Gabriel avec la collaboration de H. Bourgois et V. Leclercq (Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 35). Freiburg, Herder, 1998. 347 S.

Die kritische Ausgabe des umfangreichen Kommentars des Hieronymus zum Propheten Jesaja hat langjährige Vorarbeiten gefordert. Der erste Band erschien 1993 (vgl. *Vig. Chr.* 49, 1995, S. 897), der zweite 1994 (vgl. *ibid.* 50, 1996, S. 220), der dritte 1996 (vgl. *ibid.* 51, 1997, S. 333). Jetzt ist der vorletzte Band erschienen mit dem Kommentar zu Jesaja 40,27–57,2.

Wie die Herausgeber bemerken, bildet der Anfang des zwölften Buches einen klaren Bruch in der Textüberlieferung. Mehrere Handschriften gehen nur bis zum Ende des elften Buches, einige fangen mit dem zwölften Buch an. Im allgemeinen wird die Qualität der Textüberlieferung allmählich geringer. Schliesslich bleiben nur wenige gute Handschriften übrig. Wie das oft bei längeren Texten der Fall ist, ist die Revision der Handschriften allmählig weniger intensiv gewesen.

Bei Hieronymus' Behandlung der zwölf Edelsteine (*Is.* 54,11; S. 1551-1558) findet men in den Handschriften viele Varianten, wie ja auch die Vulgathandschriften in den bekannten Stellen in *Ezechiel* 28 und *Apokalypse* 21, wo Serien von Edelsteinen genannt werden, diese darbieten. Bei dieser Vielheit der Lesarten ist die Wahl nicht leicht. Warum man die Lesart *chrysoprassum* (statt *chrysoprasum*) gewählt hat, ist nicht ganz klar (S. 1553, Z. 4 von unten). Ähnliches gilt für *zmaragdus* statt *smaragdus* (so auch in *Ez.* 28,12, S. 1558) und für *berillum* (S. 1557, Z. 3 von unten) neben *berillio* (S. 1558, Z. 8 von oben).

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Dietmar Schmitz (ed.), *Ilona Opelt: Kleine Schriften* (Prismata: Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft IV). Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Wien: Lang, 1997. 469 pp. ISBN 3-631-49339-8. SFr 95,00.

Professor Ilona Opelt held the chair of classical philology at the University of Düsseldorf from 1968 until her tragic death in 1991. She is the author of a considerable œuvre, in which her numerous studies of 'Schimpfwörter' in various texts and authors loom large. However, this was by no means the only area of her interest, as appears from her impressive list of publications. The variety of subjects which she dealt with is brought out well in this selective collection, in which Prof. Opelt's patristic studies have received an honourable place.

Table of Contents

Zum Geleit, 7; Vorwort des Herausgebers, 9-14; Ilona Opelt (1928-1991), 15-16.

I. *Lesefrüchte zur Historischen Geographie:*

A. *Griechischer Orient*: Der Edelstein im Bauch des Fisches. Ein orientalisches Novellenmotiv bei Johannes Moschos, 17-21; Das Nationalitätenproblem bei Eunapios von Sardes, 23-28; Das Ende von Olympia. Zur Entstehungszeit der Predigten zum Hebräerbrief des Johannes Chrysostomos, 29-33; Ein Edikt des Kaisers Valens, 35-38; *B. Das Heilige Land*: Das Grab des Riesen Goliath, 39-46; Quellenstudien zu Eucherius, 47-52; Des Hieronymus Heiligenbiographien als Quellen der Historischen Topographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes, 53-84; Der "Hebestein" Jerusalem und eine Hebekugel auf der Akropolis von Athen in der Bedeutung des Hieronymus von Sach. 12, 1/3, 85-94; *C. Afrika*: Der Goldring im Bauch des Fisches, 95-102; Augustins Epistula 20* (Divjak). Ein Zeugnis für lebendiges Punisch im 5. Jh. nach Christus, 103-111; *D. Europa:* Zur literarischen Eigenart von Eucherius' Schrift De Laude Eremi, 113-120; Das Mündungsgebiet des Axios-Wardar in byzantinischer Zeit, 121-135; Arar, Der Grenzstrom zwischen Häduern und Sequanern, 137-145; *E. Asien*: India as depicted by a Greek Traveller in the 6th century A.D., 147-156.

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II. *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Sprache:*

Latente Arabica bei Albertus Magnus, 157-160; Firmico Materno sobre las Bacanales (de errore profanarum religionum 6,9), 161-168; Vom Sprachbewußtsein der Römer. Antrittsvorlesung vom 6.5.1969, 169-179; Formen der Polemik bei Lucifer von Calaris, 181-201; Schimpfwörter in der Apologie De errore profanarum religionum des Firmicus Maternus, 203-211; Schimpfwörter bei Arnobius dem Älteren, 213-221; Schimpfwörter bei Lysias, 223-231; Sklavenbeschimpfungen in Helmolds Chronik, 233-241; Griechische Supplemente zur politischen Polemik der Römer, 243-255; Etimologie Ebraiche nei *Moralia* de Gregorio Magno, 257-264.

III. *Literarhistorisches und Motive:*

Das Bienenwunder in der Ambrosiusbiographie des Paulinus von Mailand, 265-269; Eine Beschreibung des Himmelsglobus in Senecas Tragödie "Hercules Furens", 271-276; Das Drama der Kaiserzeit, 277-299; Hieronymus' Leistung als Literarhistoriker in der Schrift *De viris illustribus*, 301-317; Eccerinis, Das Tyrannendrama des Albertino Mussato, 319-327; Der Antike Autor und sein Buch, 329-339; Die Diktion der lateinischen Pachomiusbriefe, 341-344.

IV. *Porträts und Rezeption in Antike und Neuzeit:*

Lukrez bei Hieronymus, 345-350; Sallust in Augustins Confessiones, 351-356; Vergil bei Marius Victorinus, 357-368; Das Bild Solons in der christlichen Spätantike, 369-377; I Germani nella Letteratura Latina della tarda Antichità. Un capitolo dell' ideologia, 379-385; Der Prophet Muhammed als Unterweltbüßer in der Divina Commedia, 387-396; Origene visto da San Girolamo, 397-401; Puskin und die Antike, 403-423; Seneca bei Augustin, 425-430; Das Bild des Kaisers Augustus bei Dante, 431-434; Die Verfolger der Christen und der Juden in der Divina Commedia, 435-439.

Vollständiges Schriftenverzeichnis, 441-454.

Indices: Index: Namen, Sachen, Wörter, 455-464; Index geographicus, 465-469.

JAN DEN BOEFT

Fernando Bermejo Rubio, *La escisión imposible. Lectura del Gnosticismo Valentiniano* (Plenitudo Temporis: Estudios sobre los orígenes y la antigüedad cristiana 5), Salamanca, Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1998. 416 p., 3.200 ptas.

Ce livre promet de donner une nouvelle interprétation de la gnose valentinienne. Son approche peut être caracterisée comme psycho-sociale. Dans un exposé qui s'inspire de la philosophie de R. Girard, Bermejo Rubio propose une 'méchanique victimaire' comme pivot du valentinianisme. La divinité, le *Bythos*, se trouve exculpée de toute responsabilité du mal mondial. En revanche, la faute de la présence de la négativité est ascrite à une victime *extérieure* à l'être divin. Au moyen de l'expulsion, voire de la destruction de l'altérité (notamment le cosmos), l'équilibre du plérôme sera sauvegardé. Ce 'méchanique victimaire' se répète au niveau anthropologique: loin d'être agent d'un mal quelconque, le moi humain reste à jamais immaculé, l'élément étranger demeurant coupable de tout. De sorte que le corps doit être separé de l'esprit. Mais, du fait que l'élément exclu fait partie intégrale de l'organisme entier, cette opération pseudo-chirurgicale ne peut qu'échouer. D'où le titre de ce livre: 'La scission impossible'.

L'auteur n'éprouve point la fausse honte à réclamer que son interprétation représente 'sin duda una lectura—dada su concreción—"fuerte"' (p. 240). En fait, une analyse psycho-sociale semble bien applicable à la théologie et l'anthropologie valentiniennes. Le refus de reconnaître le péché comme sien propre s'explique facilement comme une déviation psychologique, comme l'inculpation exclusive d'un groupe social par un autre témoigne d'habitude d'une faiblesse interne des accusateurs. Toutefois, on peut se demander si une combinaison de dimensions gnoséologiques et axiologiques (p. 228) soit vraiment une contribution originelle au débat du valentinianisme. Au contraire, en élaborant sa thèse de manière assez monotone, l'auteur fait résonner des opinions depuis longtemps connues.

Quoique ce livre n'apporte guère de nouveau concernant l'histoire du courant valentinien, l'analyse psycho-sociale proposée par Bermejo Rubio n'en est pas moins fondée. Qu'on songe à la description que donne St Augustin de sa situation mentale durant ses années manichéennes: 'Jusqu' alors en effet, il me semblait que ce n'est pas nous qui péchons, mais que je ne sais quelle nature étrangère pèche en nous. Et il plaisait à mon orgueil d'être en dehors du péché et, quand je faisais le mal, de ne pas confesser ma culpabilité (. . .), mais j'aimais à m'excuser en accusant je ne

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sais quoi d'autre qui était associé à mon "moi", mais qui n'était pas moi' (*Conf.* V, 10, 18). Tout se passe comme si cette description s'applique aussi à Valentin et ses disciples.

NL – 3583 AD *Utrecht*, Adr. van Ostadelaan 109 B H.G. SCHIPPER

Gunner B. Mikkelsen, *Bibliographia Manichaica. A Comprehensive Bibliography of Manichaeism through 1996* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum Subsidia I). Turnhout, Brepols 1997. XLVI and 314 pp., 74 EuR.

This bibliography intends to meet the need of a survey of literature on Mani and his religion. Its largest section contains the titles of books and articles written in European and West Asian languages, and a second part presents an enumeration of works in East Asian languages (Chinese, Japanese). In limited number, the bibliography mentions the editions of texts relevant to Manichaeism. It is impressive how many titles the author was able to collect, although he confesses that 'the compilation of a comprehensive or, even more so, a complete all-inclusive bibliography of Manichaeism, remains of course a chimerical goal' (XIII). This consideration seems to be in contradiction with the book's subtitle.

Speaking again of the title: it declares to cover publications through 1996, but from the Introduction it appears that the first half of 1997 is also taken into account. Probably, the author wished to include the most recent volume of the Manichaean Studies series (no. 3, edited by L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo).

The aforesaid modesty of the author has its real grounds. Indeed, some relevant publications on Manichaeism fail. Furthermore, some of the cross-references are clearly mistaken. Although this bibliography is most welcome for the study of Manichaeism, one cannot follow it implicitly. Therefore, it might be useful to list here some addenda, as well as some corrigenda.

Addenda:

p. 13 E.-Ch. Babut, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme*, Paris 1909. – A book that is still instructive for the history of Priscillianism and its relation to Manichaeism.

p. 22 U. Bianchi (ed.), *Le origini dello gnosticismo. Colloquio di Messina 13-18 aprile 1966* (= Studies in the History of Religions 12), Leiden 1967. – This collection, which contains several interesting contributions for

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the student of Manichaeism, ought to be mentioned of its own.

p. 25 J. den Boeft/J. van Oort (ed.), *Augustiniana Traiectina. Communications présentées au Colloque International d'Utrecht 13-14 novembre 1986*, Paris 1987.

p. 36 N. Brox, '"Doketismus" – eine Problemanzeige', in: *ZKG* 95 (1984), 301-14.

p. 54 P. Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques*, Paris 1964. – A book that is important for the history of Manichaeism in Western Europe and North Africa.

p. 66 H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Early Syriac Christianity', in: *VC* 50 (1996), 159-77. – In this article, Drijvers discusses the question whether some apocryphal books might be of Manichaean origin.

p. 144 G. Madec, *Saint Ambroise et la philosophie*, Paris 1974. – In this book, Madec makes some interesting remarks on Ambrose's view of Manichaeism.

p. 153 M. Meyer/P. Mirecki (ed.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, Leiden 1995.

p. 180 C. Pietri/L. Pietri, *Die Geschichte des Christentums* II. *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Freiburg 1996.

p. 190 G. Quispel, 'Makarius und das Lied von der Perle', in: U. Bianchi (ed.), *Le origini* etc., 625-44.

p. 192 G. Quispel (ed.), *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen. Beschouwingen over de invloed van een Egyptische religie op de cultuur van het Westen*, Baarn 1992.

p. 207 W. Rordorf, 'Terra Incognita. Recent Research on Christian Apocryphal Literature, especially on some Acts of Apostles', in: *SP* XXV (1993), 142-58.

p. 268 D. Voorgang, *Die Passion Jesu und Christi in der Gnosis* (= Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 23, Theologie, Band 432), Frankfurt 1991.

Corrigenda:

p. 19	Ad no. 203	Di Berardino.
p. 58	Ad no. 684	Davids, J.A. (J.A. Davids being an uncle of A. Davids no. 685).
p. 140	Ad no. 1699	*RechAug* 25 (1993).
p. 168	Ad no. 2034	Boekencentrum.

NL – 3583 AD *Utrecht*, Adr. van Ostadelaan 109 B H.G. SCHIPPER

K. Anatolios, *Athanasius: The Coherence of His Thought* (Routledge Early Church Monographs). London-New York, Routledge, 1998. 258 pp., £ 45.00, ISBN 0-415-18637-4.

Khaled Anatolios was already known for two recent articles in which he, *inter alia*, reacted against the downplaying in some scholars' accounts of the importance Athanasius attached to Christ's humanity (*The Soteriological Significance of Christ's Humanity in St. Athanasius*, in *St. Vlad. Theol. Quart.* 40 (1996) 265-284 and *The Body as Instrument: a Reevaluation of Athanasius' Logos-sarx Christology*, in *Coptic Church Review* 18 (1997) 78-84). In this beautifully written book, his revised dissertation, he adresses a much wider question: what gives the Alexandrian bishop's doctrine its coherence? Anatolios convincingly argues that the answer must be looked for in the radical distinction, and simultaneous relation, between God and the world. Though Athanasius maintains the primacy of divine transcendence, there is in his theology much more reciprocity and importance attached to the human answer to divine grace than is supposed in some presentations of his doctrine. Anatolios portrays Athanasius as a theologian who succeeded—more than Schleiermacher or Barth—to articulate a balanced and dynamic theology that preserved the tension between both poles: 'Despite some shortcomings, such as the lack of emphasis on Christ's human soul, ... he was able to maintain this tension at the high pitch of the simultaneous emphasis on the utter unlikeness between God and the world and on our deification to the point of being "Word-ed" in the Word' (p. 206).

In the first chapter Anatolios briefly surveys the relationship between God and the world in pre-Athanasian theology. Against Middle-Platonic, Neo-Platonic and Gnostic streams, Athanasius clearly belongs to the successors of Irenaeus in that he stresses that only God himself, and not some kind of intermediator, can relate the created world to God. Chapter two outlines how in the doublework *Contra Gentes-De Incarnatione Verbi* the relationship between the utterly different Father and the created mutable world shapes Athanasius' theology. Anatolios sees the incarnation and the cross as the pivotal elements in the work ("the center to which all the other data are made to converge"). The chapter is structured around the headings cosmology, theological anthropology, christology and redemption. I especially enjoyed the nuanced treatment of the bodiliness of the Incarnate Word. Chapter three discusses, after a succinct overview of the historical and theological background, in much the same vein the three *Orationes contra Arianos*. Anatolios amply demonstrates the continuity of this writing with

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the *Contra Gentes-De Incarnatione*. Besides the model of participation to express the relation between God and world, Athanasius in the CA also develops the image of giving and receiving, a poignant expression of the reciprocal character of this relationship while at the same time vouchsafing the primacy of divine transcendence.

The fourth and final chapter treats 'the context of grace': the human response to God's offer of grace in the Incarnation. Here the lion's share of the attention goes to the *Vita Antonii*. Anatolios argues at length against the idea of Gregg and Groh (*Arianism, a View of Salvation*), according to whom a historical critical analysis of the VA reveals two different redactions and soteriologies present in the work: an Arian, voluntaristic one and an ontological, Athanasian one. Anatolios shows that both soteriological models are not mutually exclusive and both present in Athanasius, not only in the VA but also in other works, e.g. the *Epistula ad Marcellinum* and the *Festal Letters*. The latter receive a rather brief treatment. It would have been interesting if Anatolios had extended his research to the other ascetical writings. There he could have found some more material to sketch Athanasius vision of the divine "gracing" activity and the human response to it. It might be good to refer here to the unpublished doctoral dissertation of C.M. Badger.

There is much to praise in this book. In my view the author's greatest merit is that he succeeds in presenting Athanasius as a theologian, grappling with issues that are still relevant for us today, more than as a historical figure of a long forgotten past. The argumentation is underpinned by many large fragments in English translation.

This is the work of an author who loves Athanasius and knows his work very well. He often comes with hitherto unsufficiently noticed facts: e.g. that the term governance (ἡγεμονία) to denote the relation between God and the created world is never used for the relation between God and humanity (p. 59).

The subject of his research is original, well-defined and brilliantly developed. Anatolios resisted the temptation to try to present "the Athanasian sytem"; instead he allows for thoughts to develop and happily points to inconsistencies. He is at his best when he can solve these by placing them back in the overall vision, underpinning his argumentation with texts.

He gives preference to a close reading of the Athanasian text and is weary of arguments deriving from preconceived modern frameworks entirely foreign to Athanasius.

On the dating of the writings composed during his third exile, Anatolios

presents it as if they were written in one sitting (p. 89). Most of these writings, however, went through several stages of composition (e.g. EpEpisc final redaction probably in 361). There are a few misprints, one of which is a bit annoying: on p. 88 the Council of Serdica is dated in 342, on p. 228 note 15 in 343.

I end with one critical remark of a more technical nature. It has to do with the section on the *Festal Letters*. Anatolios nowhere gives the reader a hint to their complex textual tradition (large portions preserved in Syriac and Coptic, small fragments in some other languages). He uses the English translation of the FL in the NPNF series, which is an (incomplete!) translation of the Letters preserved in Syriac. Hereby he did not only neglect the edition with French translation of the Coptic texts by Lefort (CSCO, with some small later addenda by Coquin) but, as regards the Syriac version, he neither consulted Lorenz' edition of the Syriac text of the important Tenth Festal Letter, with translation and commentary (*Der Zehnte Osterfestbrief des Athanasius von Alexandrien*, BZNW).

To conclude: Thanks to the breadth of the presentation, the well-argued not seldom innovative points brought forward and the many useful quotations of important Athanasian texts, this is an excellent book. I highly recommend it.

Faculteit Godgeleerdheid,
Sint-Michielsstraat 6,
B-3000 *Leuven*

JOHAN LEEMANS

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